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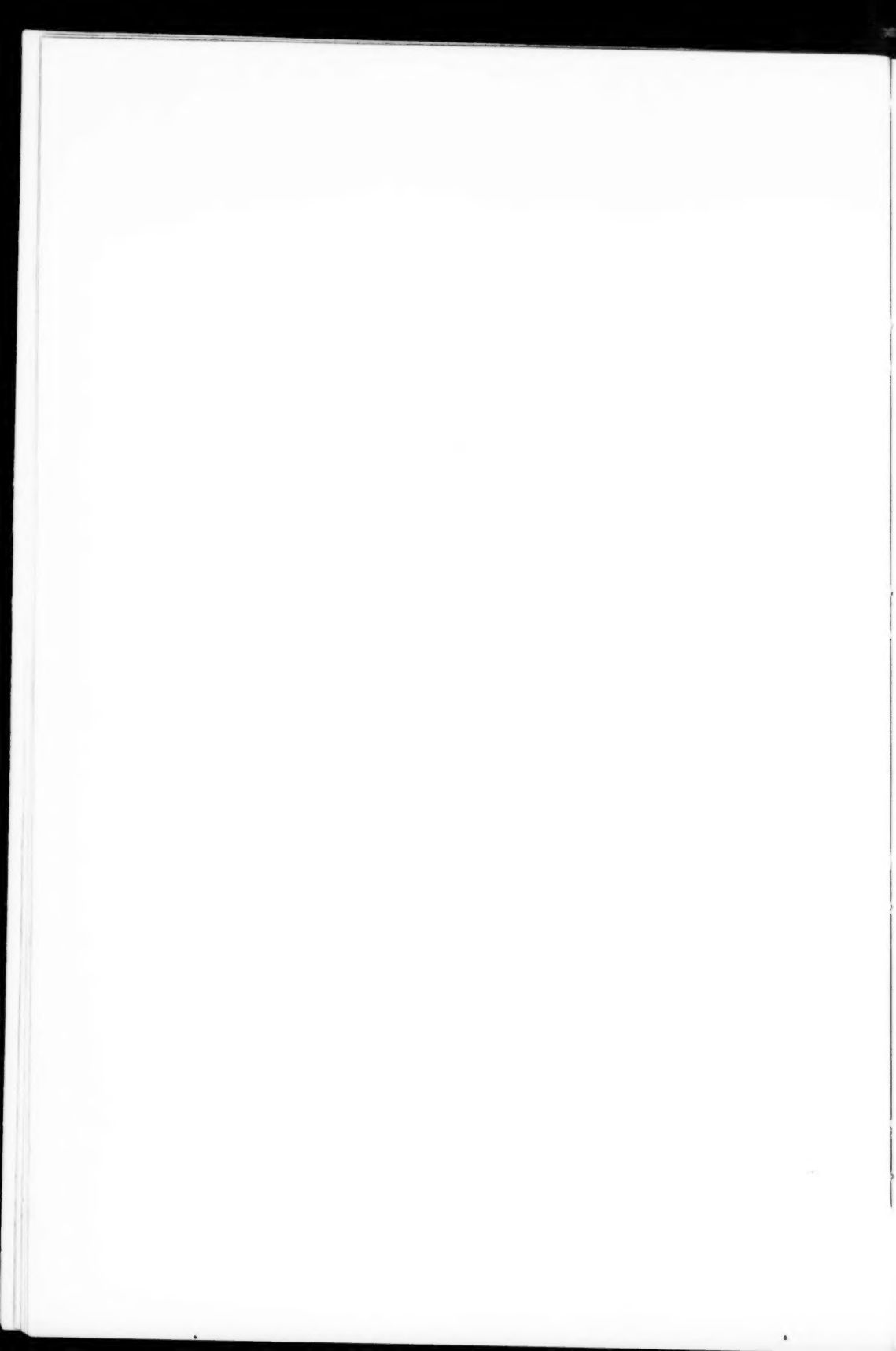
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A. GENERAL SESSIONS



A. GENERAL SESSIONS

SOME SIGNIFICANT TRENDS SINCE CLEVELAND, 1912

(PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS)

Gertrude Vaile, Denver

I am sure I speak for the whole Conference when I say that it is a great pleasure to meet again in Cleveland. Cleveland is the only place in the country where the Conference has ever met for a third time. This city is well known in the country for its interest in social work. That it should invite the Conference for a third time is further evidence of it. And certainly the Conference must have enjoyed being here before to accept again so heartily. I, for one, can speak of the pleasure of the last Conference here when we were so hospitably and interestingly entertained in this city. That was one of my first Conferences, and I would now heartily welcome especially our younger members and hope they may find a zest as great in this Conference.

Times have changed so rapidly that a whole revolution of thought in social work has taken place since the first meeting in 1880 and even since the second in 1912. As Judge Mack pointed out in his presidential address in 1912, the emphasis in 1880 was upon *alleviation* of distress, *correction* of wrongdoing. In 1912 it was upon *prevention*. The social conditions that make for poverty, inefficiency, and crime must be removed. That note of social justice, so clearly sounded by Miss Addams in 1910, was gathering a mighty volume. The demand for more equal opportunity for a right and wholesome life for all people rang through every section of the Conference.

And yet another note was beginning to be heard. President Mack said: "For some years we have been passing beyond the age of mere preventive work. The eradication of evil is not enough—constructive philanthropy demands that it be replaced by the positive good."

The most outstanding developments since President Mack spoke seem to me to be: first, the clarifying and widening of that ideal of positive good as our goal; second, the gathering together of our resources and efforts toward our goal in ever larger and more far-reaching organizations; third, the realization, still a recent one, that large-scale organization has brought with it important new problems of organization and leadership. To certain of these and their relation to the future of social work I shall later refer.

I have said that positive good is our goal. For the past dozen years the

vital dominating thought in our social program, which even the destructive confusion of the Great War never blurred, but rather sharpened, has been this of raising life to its highest value. A more abundant life—the individual to become the best he can be—the community to become the finest and fullest expression of social life that it can be, with no one left behind: such is the goal that grows more clear before us. We see it concretely expressed in the changing emphasis in many lines of social work.

The public health program has passed noticeably through those stages of cure and prevention into that which seeks no less than positive radiant health. Without diminishing careful work for cure and prevention, the interest of the health movement has turned increasingly to well baby clinics, health teaching in the schools, periodic examinations of adults, and health insurance.

This spirit that would increase positive well-being has, of course, always marked the settlement movement in all its dynamic efforts. In the past dozen years it has found greatly increased expression in other organizations for education and recreation, such as Boy and Girl Scouts and interesting new efforts for continuing education for adults, both foreign and native-born.

Social case work in dealing with the troubles of individuals is more and more definitely seeking to raise life to its highest level. When Miss Richmond, in her little book, *What is Social Case Work?*, declared that the task of social case work is the development of personality through right adjustments between the individual and his environment, she gave clear expression and therefore renewed and better directed impetus to the thought which had long been in the minds and demonstrated in the work of the best case workers. For years they had been saying that the giving of relief, the securing of medical aid, the finding of employment—all these and other enormously useful practical services to people in trouble were merely instruments in the real task of building character under difficulties and helping people to get into a right adjustment with life and fulfil their own highest possibilities.

And so with all other kinds of social work. The positive good, including as it does the earlier efforts mercifully to relieve and righteously to prevent evil, is our goal.

As our ideal of that objective has grown wider and clearer and we have worked toward it in more concrete detail, the lines of class and other superficial distinctions have broken down. We find that the children of the well-to-do, even as those of the poor, call for the attention of the visiting teacher or get into the juvenile court, that the paying patient may be just as much in need of medical or psychiatric social service as the free patient, that the child of the very rich may even be malnourished no less than the child of the very poor.

Thus the daily findings of social work reinforce the age-long teaching of religion and philosophy about the brotherhood of man. The practical program and the reach of social work expands—and the breadth of fellowship and the democratic spirit with which we carry it on.

We need to beware, however, lest in the enthusiasm with which we feel the wider call of social work, especially its release from that economic point of view which has made it seem to many people to pertain only to the poor and mainly to their poverty, there should be a dimming of our realization of how hideously poverty, just sheer poverty, does increase all the ills with which we are dealing. If the children of the rich are malnourished, it is a matter of understanding and self-control. If the children of the poor are malnourished, it is a matter of understanding and self-control plus the precarious opportunity of commanding the things and conditions needed for proper nourishment. If some children reach the juvenile court from well-to-do homes, far more reach it through the consequences of homes too crowded for decency: mothers who have to neglect their children in order to earn their living; lack of any playground but the street; too little schooling; too early work. We dare not forget the grewsome fact shown us by the federal Children's Bureau that infant mortality increases as the father's income diminishes.

Our wider aims have always to include the former ones. We must still seek to relieve suffering with ever greater compassion as our understanding grows; and that cry for social justice, so clear in 1912, demanding social and industrial conditions that shall insure to all people the opportunity for a right and wholesome life, needs to ring no less insistently today if we are to advance substantially toward that positive good in human life for all of us which is our aim.

Such are our goals. Turning now to my second point, we are trying to reach those goals through ever larger, more compact, more far-reaching organizations. Great organization is the order of the day in every field of human endeavor—business, politics, education, religion—as well as in social work. Great organization indeed is an inevitable tendency of our age, because the miracles of transportation and communication have brought all people into one closely knit web of interdependent life.

We cannot escape, and we absolutely need, large organization in social work. We need it because our program is so widely inclusive of our whole community and because it is made up of so many highly specialized parts that must be related to each other, and because the success of our efforts depends so largely upon wide community understanding and support. By means of organization weakness may be supplemented by strength, the contribution of every kind of work and every individual may take its place corrected, perfected, and shared by all to the increased power of all.

The growing interest of the Conference in this subject is evidenced by the large attendance at the meetings of the division on The Organization of Social Forces, which had not been created when we met here in 1912. While the subject of large intricate organization may seem especially pressing in great cities, particularly those which have established community federations, a glance at this year's program will show it applying also to counties and to small local communities in their affiliation with state-wide and nation-wide activities.

But with all the advantages of large organization, there are also admittedly great dangers. In Mr. Woods' presidential address in Kansas City he quoted the poet, Tagore, as saying, "Man is reducing himself to a minimum to make amplest room for his organizations." Yet here we are developing great organization for the very purpose of raising man to his highest possibilities. Can we do it?

American thought has developed with consummate genius vast organization to deal with material things. Has it ability as great in developing organization of ever larger dimensions for the creation of human personality and conditions under which personality may function at its best? It is indeed a task for the highest genius and the greatest capacity for fellowship. I believe that America with all its democratic traditions is capable of it.

I come now to my third thought about social work development since 1912, the looming up into our consciousness of certain problems inherent in large-scale organization. I shall speak of only two of them. These and others are receiving earnest attention from thoughtful persons who are guiding social organization.

One problem that quickly confronts us is the fact that direct efforts to secure the widespread community understanding and support that is needed for any social work organization are not in themselves sufficient to insure its continuing strength without the development also of a very strong inner group within the organization.

Certainly it is necessary to develop our organizations as widely as we can. The fundamental task of any social work organization is to create, as universally as possible in the community, strong impelling convictions about the social values for which the organization is working. Such convictions are the only basis of enduring vitality and power of growth in the organization. In creating such convictions one essential is, of course, a widespread presentation of the issues as clearly and truly and impressively as possible. The importance of this matter is attested by a new division of the Conference, appearing for the first time this year, on Social Interpretation.

Yet, important as it is to carry our message to a wide constituency, I believe it is even more important to develop a strong inner group of people who are so close to the work and so devoted to the cause that they think about it, talk about it, labor for it, in season and out. It is the lack of sufficient sustaining strength in that inner group that has caused the breakdown of much good social work even when there seemed a wide general interest in it. This has been the case with many a fine nursing service established in counties by the Red Cross after the war, then transferred to public funds and auspices, perhaps with quite a stir of enthusiasm as a general recognition of public responsibility; and yet the first wave of economy swept it away because there was not sufficient strength of conviction in the community and active devotion among its friends to hold it.

As a field for a national association I have known communities where an organization, either a federation or a single society, attained a large contribut-

ing constituency and general recognition in a community and yet slowly thinned out. The support became more and more perfunctory; the organization lost its prestige and effectiveness and its power of growth. In every instance the difficulty seemed to be due to waning activity on the part of boards and other persons in close touch with the work itself. The dynamic inner groups must always remain a necessity for any sound organization.

In this connection I am reminded of a discussion in a little group of social workers who had just seen a certain popular play that dealt with that ever fascinating theme, how Jesus would live in twentieth-century America. The playwright's interpretation seemed to them, among other inadequacies, to leave the hero's life too unrelated to have lasting effect. One member of the group commented that Jesus himself was an organizer, a statement that was sharply challenged. But she insisted that "for what he set out to do he was a masterly organizer." He did not simply spread his message broadcast upon the multitude and let it go at that. If he had, it would probably soon have vanished from the earth. He personally selected twelve men and for three years trained them intensively to carry on his work. Moreover, he gathered around him out of the multitude a considerable company of people, seventy or more, who were filled with the spirit of his mission, and sent them out, two by two, to carry the message. Probably most of them would always have needed to work together in small groups rather than to stand out as leaders. But their labors, along with those of the great leaders, kept the message constantly fresh and convincing to a larger and larger multitude. It seems to me there is an analogy here for social work if we are going to hold and deepen the conviction of our multitudes and rally them more widely.

This brings me to another of the problems of big organization that is looming before us, the question of leadership. In the past we have had great leaders, outstanding individual pioneers. They have been inspiring figures in this Conference and have had profound influence upon the thought of the country and the trend of social work. Such people as Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Robert Woods, Mary Richmond, Julia Lathrop, Amós Butler, Owen Lovejoy, Florence Kelley—to name a few who are still with us, or have been till very recently—have deeply affected the beginnings of different kinds of social work in this country. Not all of these leaders were great executives. They were great seers and crusaders. They stood out in the public mind identified with their cause and inspired a host of followers who carried it forward.

Whether more such leaders will rise up to follow these I am rather doubtful. Perhaps our present form of organization calls for a different type of leadership. The whole host of social work has now, through organization and the labor of many, moved forward to occupy positions to which the great leaders heroically blazed the way. In the new order social leadership does not stand in the same way. Indeed, we find in positions of organization leadership persons of executive powers who may or may not have powers of social insight and leadership. We

are not alone in this situation. The educational people met it before we did. Time was when a university president needed to be a great scholar and a man of great influence with young people. Now he is expected to be a great executive, and if he can have those other qualities too, it is fortunate.

Even if we have in a social work executive position a person of all the desired qualities, the very necessities of the position tend to make him remote from the fundamental task of the organization, the people whom it exists to serve, and the conditions of life about which it is concerned. The client of a family welfare society in a large city knows her district visitor, and may perhaps know the district secretary. Few clients, if any, know the general secretary; and the worst of it is that he does not know them. Ordinarily he knows only the abstract problem of which they are an evidence and even that indirectly, through elaborate organization machinery. Yet he must interpret their needs to the public and determine policies for meeting them.

What then? In a field of endeavor whose whole concern is personality and the conditions under which personality can be at its best shall we allow the work to be depersonalized and lose the values of vital personal leadership?

A possible way out occurs to me in a remark made by a relative of mine who served in the Great War. He commented that the individual was utterly lost in the vastness of it all—one little atom in a stupendous whole. This war, he remarked, was very different from any previous war because of its magnitude and organization. In other wars generals had been heroes to their men. They had led them, inspired them to action. In this war few of the men even knew who their generals were. The generals themselves were administrative officers, somewhere off on the edge of things, carrying out plans made by officers still higher and more remote. But in the captain or the first lieutenant, if he was a man of judgment and courage and strong human qualities, there would be found the leader of men. A good captain could do almost anything with his men.

Remote as our purpose is from that of military or even industrial organization, and different as our method must accordingly be, yet there is in all big organization at least this likeness: that the executive head tends to grow personally more remote and absorbed in executive duties, and that the function of leadership becomes increasingly important as exercised in small groups by workers in the lower organization ranks. With us there is leadership, often of remarkable quality in its human insight and power, in inconspicuous places. It may not be of a largely executive type, and yet may be essential human leadership. We find it in a district visitor of a family welfare society dealing with a difficult client and the client's difficult associates. We find it in some supervisor drawing out the finest qualities of the workers under her and analyzing the work with an insight that makes new discoveries of principles and problems and methods in a way that challenges and inspires those around her. There is no lack of vital creative work, far-reaching in its influence, though the worker may be unknown beyond her own little group.

Of course we hope to have big social work leadership in the big organization positions, and must have, so far as possible. But it is hard to find all the desired qualities combined in one person. His leadership is likely to need to be largely supplemented. I wonder whether our unique problem now is not the development of a widely diffused decentralized leadership throughout the organization and the devising of means by which it can be effective. The development of such leadership requires the careful training of workers. They need now not only broad understanding and social vision, but also detailed technical skill. Social work has become a great network of interrelated specialties of which our twelve Conference divisions give only a suggestion. It is, indeed, only by the careful analysis of different parts of our work, and bringing to bear upon them all that related science can offer that we may now hope to make sound and substantial progress. Only a trained worker can do that.

When we last met in Cleveland the need of training had received only a little recognition. Schools of social work were very few and very new. Since then other special schools have arisen and training for social work holds a dignified place in many universities. A division has been created in the Conference on Professional Standards and Education. And a new national organization has been formed of social workers themselves for the advancement of their professional standards and training. The need of training is now very generally accepted.

In addition to good preliminary training I believe something else is important to a social worker who would develop that insight necessary for true leadership. Referring again to my New Testament analogy, much of the strength of those leaders lay in the fact that they always felt themselves to be in close touch with the ultimate source of their power.

A Hindu writer, some time back, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, describing a "holy man" of Benares, quotes him with reference to the destroying effect of routine on the human soul, even when the routine is in the noblest possible cause. The holy man explains that he gives his disciples work in caring for the sick and other important services, but when he finds one becoming absorbed in the daily task he sends him away to the high Himalayas until his soul is again turned Godward. Only so can he become wise and truly useful. Our social workers are greatly subject to routine. Moreover, most of them are overwhelmed with duties greater than they can fulfil, and often of such a critical and emergent nature that they can hardly leave them even when the regular hours of work are past. Perhaps they cannot often get away to the high mountains, but at least they do need some remote peak of their own, and they need more and longer opportunities to retire to it, away from the drive of the day's work, if they are ever to see deeply enough to qualify for leadership.

Assuming in various organization ranks the presence of workers, both paid and volunteer, of personal qualities and training adequate for some measure of leadership, we return to the organization problem. To make that decentralized

type of leadership effective requires a peculiarly democratic kind of organization. It means the creation of facilities for thinking well together and the development of the capacity for doing it. Mere calling for suggestions from the staff to be passed up to the executive, as business organizations often do, does not answer the purpose. Real and constant opportunities for thinking and planning together are needed in order that the knowledge, thought, and feeling of those who are closest to the work may be drawn out, challenged, and sifted. Thus the rich experience and resourcefulness of those who have gifts of leadership may be enhanced and woven into policies, jointly created all the way from the bottom to the top of the organization.

Only so, I believe, can the executives, who are necessarily so concerned with theoretical issues and the machinery of organization, keep the intimate human contact with the job that will qualify them to guide it to human and social ends. In this way only can the essential qualities of such leadership be developed and used to full effectiveness. And in this way a strong working group may be built up in which even those of least originality may yet have their contribution increased by a deepened realization of their relationship to the whole work, and so the movement be strongly and steadily carried forward in the community.

In all that I have said about leadership within organization I am not unmindful that some of the finest thought, and most deeply influential, if it can reach us, must always come from the people who do not work at their best in already established organizations. This is another of the problems of large-scale organization in social work. There is, and must always remain, pioneering work to be done by persons who see and are stirred by things that no considerable group of people have yet realized. Perhaps most real geniuses are of such nature. I heard a mining man not long ago regretting that there are now fewer prospectors than of yore. He remarked that with all that expeditions of geologic experts could do which the prospector could not do, there was yet much that could only be done by the faith and the long patience of the old prospector, with his searching eyes, roaming the hills alone. We must still keep open an opportunity and a welcome for the contributions of our seers who see what the rest of us have been slow to recognize.

In closing, let me sum up what I have tried to say. The conscious goal of social work is no longer cure nor prevention, but positive good, the raising of life to its highest values. We are organizing our forces on a larger scale to carry out that purpose. But large-scale organization develops new problems which vitally affect progress toward such a goal. Among such problems appears that of developing an inner group of strong influence and vitality in the organization if the needed widespread understanding and interest in the community is to be steadily maintained; also the problem of leadership, which seems to be now not so much that of outstanding individuals as a more diffused leadership through small groups. A very democratic type of organization is needed to make such leadership effective and to hold in great organizations those personal qualities

which are so important in work that seeks not material, but spiritual and social, ends.

There is a strange vision of the prophet Ezekiel, in which I never could see the meaning there in the Book, but which is a wonderful symbol of twentieth-century social work. It is the vision of the four living creatures whose form symbolized different kinds of life, and whose appearance was as a flaming fire, a burning lamp. Wherever the living creatures went, they ran very straight and fast and their going was like lightning. By each living creature was a wheel, and a wheel within the wheel. And wherever the living creature went, the wheels went, and when the living creatures were lifted up above the earth, the wheels were lifted up—"for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels."

Wherever we go we shall have to have our wheels, and they will doubtless grow more intricate, wheels within wheels, but the hope of social organization—indeed, the hope of humanity itself in this day of organization—depends upon how fully the spirit of the living creature is within the wheels.

A WIDER FELLOWSHIP

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Wider fellowship with the healing forces of "Nature."—You will not be surprised that I begin with an analogy from the fields of medicine in which I have passed most of my days. Medicine exists and claims its usefulness by reason of an extraordinary wide fellowship with the rocks and earths out of which its inorganic remedies are digged; with the forces of electricity, X-ray, light, heat, magnetism, which it uses to cure disease; with the trees, shrubs, flowers, roots, which furnish some of its best remedies, with the animal kingdom whence we get insulin, thyroid extract, diphtheria antitoxin, smallpox vaccine; and with the body of healthy man himself, whence we transfuse living blood to save and replenish life.

The physician finds these physical, chemical, biological forces already at work as his allies, already active in our food and respired air to aid him in the work which he also is called to do. He recognizes this gigantic fellowship, this great torrent of energy sweeping already in the direction of health. He allies himself with it, and by his ingenuity adds something to the value of its action. For instance, he finds sunlight preventing or curing rickets in children; but sunlight cannot everywhere and always be had. So artificially, in the light of the quartz lamp, he focuses the most valuable of luminous rays on the needy child, and so aiding, directing, applying, modifying, and imitating the forces of solar energy he does his bit.

Again he finds that nature prevents goiter by supplying, to millions of people

living near the ocean, a sufficiency of iodine through the air, water, or food which they take in. But as all people do not live near the sea, the physician supplies to growing children living in the interior the needful iodine concealed in chocolate candy.

It is because the physician recognizes the prodigious ingenuity and power of nature's healing life, because he finds that he can vary, adapt, and focus this so as to add to its value, that he maintains his place of usefulness. He is of use because he knows two essential facts: first, that he would be nowhere if it were not that he has countless allies—silent, incessant, magnipotent; second, that by studying these independent healing forces he can improve their action. Thus he is saved from the twin dangers of trying frantically to stem the tide of disease by his own efforts alone, and also of fancying himself useless because nature is doing vastly more than he can ever hope to do. He avoids both fanaticism and fatalism because he is aware that many other forces fight ceaselessly on his side, yet leave room for his effort *when he does his best*.

All this I have written to lead up to what I have to say about the "breathless habit" which I find so common among social workers, but which I hold is incompatible with good social work. Why is it that social workers are forever chasing the tail of day-before-yesterday, trying desperately to keep abreast of their work, strained almost to the breaking-point. It is not because they are always facing emergencies. Although her clients are always trying to persuade her that aid must be given at once because of an emergency which never happened before and will never occur again, no one knows better than the social worker that this assertion is not true, and that emergencies are rare events in a social worker's life. Surely the doctor faces as many emergencies; yet doctors, as I know them, are nothing like so breathless a tribe as social workers. Why?

I believe the answer is that social workers are overworked and breathless because they rarely limit their intake or cut off the day's work when they have accomplished their proper stint. And this refusal to limit the number of persons whom they attempt to aid is due, in turn, to failing to realize how gigantic and multifarious are the other forces working on their side. Just as in medical work the healing forces of nature are doing a hundred times as much as all the doctors put together, though still the tiny contribution of the doctor is demonstrably effective, so in social work the remedial forces working for the social worker's end, but wholly independent of his knowledge or control, are vastly greater than anything that one social worker or all social workers can accomplish, and yet leave room for a good day's work. Suppose we do not undertake to help each newcomer who presses for aid when we have already undertaken all that we are able to do. The chances are very considerable that aid will come to him from some other source, from the forces of what we call "self-help," that is, the ability of individuals somehow or other to wriggle themselves out of their troubles, finding aid here, there, and everywhere, but not chiefly through social agencies. Such outside aid in social problems is as potent as the medicinal forces

of nature. Indeed, nature is likely to do so much that there is small chance that we, with all our expertness, can contribute anything unless we are fresh and fit to do our best. But I contend that work done in a hurry is never our best or near it. If our client's situation presents real difficulty, it will surely require of us some originality, else someone else would have solved it before. But originality is a wild bird, never caught in a hurry nor without our best efforts; sometimes not to be caught at all.

In the back of our breathless minds there is a sense that if we do not look after all who ask our aid, nobody and nothing else will. In other words, we think ourselves essential to the salvation of all those who ask the aid which we are trained to give. We ignore the spiritual forces of healing which surround our souls as the material forces of healing envelop our bodies. More concretely, what have I in mind when I speak of these spiritual forces of healing which may accomplish all that we can do even with our best efforts, and are almost sure to excel us when we are in our chronically breathless state? Most of us recognize them vaguely and anonymously when we recall how many evils are cured and problems solved "by time." Of course time is a mere blanket label for a congeries of concrete forces. Time itself does nothing. But under this general heading come all those maturing processes of physical growth, of new experience, new friends, new work, new aspects of old friendships or of old work, new responsibilities, remedial economic changes, which act without consciousness of any individual's need. Even forgetfulness is sometimes a powerful ally, for we forget not only the things which we want to remember, but often our sorrows also, and even our temptations. The water of a running stream is always pure to drink; it purifies itself by running; the impurities fall to the bottom. So I believe that by forgetting we drop out much that is poisonous or tyrannous in our spiritual make-up, and so are helped without any conscious activity, our own or another's.

There are many instances, though not as many as there should be, in which the social worker reaches out to avail herself of a great healing force and brings it to someone's aid as the doctor focuses the energies of sunlight or the physiological activity of an organic extract borrowed without leave from some other animal. The use of foster homes, so long a sound and efficient help in the care of neglected or delinquent children, is parallel to the therapeutic borrowings of the doctor. A social worker cannot of herself make a foster home, any more than a doctor can make sunlight, but both can be found and utilized where before they have lain idle. Thus great beneficent forces hitherto doing less than they might are called to our aid. I rejoice to see that this great spiritual force, the healing and reviving influence of a foster family, is being used more and more for adults mentally or physically ill, and for the aged as well as for children. We surely shall need to discover and mobilize for our aid other great vital forces like this. I believe that much more can be done than has hitherto been attempted in social therapeutics by discovering and paying leaders—I mean natural

leaders of boys, of girls, of men, of nations. I take it that a probation officer is intended to be such a natural leader of young people, though most of us know how woefully far short of this he usually falls.

I have dwelt on the presence of these efficient but often unutilized social forces which, like a wider potential fellowship, encircle the tiny body of social workers who often fancy themselves isolated and unfellowed, because I think a wider recognition of this encircling presence can help us in several ways. First, it can increase our courage. In the long run, and apart from emergencies, work is seldom worth undertaking unless one can believe that a great deal more like it is going forward anyhow, whether we are aware of it or not. If social problems were really as desperate as we often assume them to be, it would be hardly worth while for us to attempt any remedy of our own. But because we are working side by side with forces, conscious and unconscious, which in any case will accomplish vastly more than we can, though they still leave room for our effort, we need never be discouraged.

Moreover, we shall no longer lead such frantic lives of strain and hurry as we are accustomed to when we realize that unless we can give our best we probably shall fail to contribute anything to the remedial forces already immanent in the world around us. Thus armed with a consciousness of a fellowship of unseen but potent allies, we shall be able to assure ourselves and those who ask our help, when we must limit the number of our clients and of our hours of work, that we are by no means the only pebbles on the beach.

But I doubt if this important reform, the limitation of intake, will be achieved unless we can somehow avoid being brought face to face with appeals which it is our duty to refuse. The offices of social agencies must be so arranged that when, at a certain hour or after a certain number of cases taken in hand, it is time for the worker to stop, she will not come face to face with the needs and sorrows of any more applicants. If there is a waiting-room outside the office, the social worker should be able to escape by a back door, so as not to pass any line of applicants whose pleadings she will be unable to withstand. Otherwise the very sympathy which makes her useful as a social worker will now betray her. Moreover, if the social worker is in the habit of going on with work after the proper closing hour has arrived, she or her supervisor must arrange some sort of automatic call, which, without any effort of her will, will forcibly pull her away from her work, as a delicious child used, by previous arrangement, to summon me from my office at five o'clock. I have little hope for this all-essential reform unless automatic breaks and tractors are arranged so that the social worker's tired will is not her only defense against a disastrously large intake. Without some such device she will never restrict her work to what she can do well without hurry and with sufficient time for thinking, reading, and discussion.

Wider fellowships with other races.—Again I begin with a medical analogy. Having had occasion during the last war to practice medicine for a number of months among French refugees in Paris, I became aware of the immense diffi-

culties which pile up when we try to cross a racial boundary, even so slight a one as that between an American and a Frenchman. For medical purposes we need but a moderately clear understanding of a foreigner's personality, yet though one is fairly fluent with his language, one often finds himself separated by fundamental uncertainties about the physical and mental experiences to which the word symbols refer. I really believe that a patient can rarely get the very best medical treatment from a doctor not a member of his own race. If this is true in medicine, how much truer it must be in the field of social work, where the understandings necessary if we are to accomplish anything are much more intimate and subtle than in medicine. Yet social workers are usually quite ready to undertake far-reaching and intimate case work for Poles, Italians, Greeks, or Russians without even a knowledge of their language, far less any familiarity with their standards, their customs—all that they take for granted and so do not tell us. Schools for social work could never train their students in all the racial cultures, racial history, and racial characteristics which some of them may need later to know, but, as I see it, a wider fellowship with people of other nationalities will make us very cautious and modest as to our ability to undertake social investigation or therapeutics in members of a race whose language we do not know. I have seen many tragic and comic disasters from the failure to recognize the differences which confront us in any such attempt.

A wise Russian physician now supporting herself in Boston, and widely conversant both with the social needs of her compatriots in Boston and with the failures of American social workers now attempting to help them, believes that American social workers should never try to help a Russian without the aid of some other Russian, better educated and perhaps more prosperous, who can interpret, not so much linguistically as culturally, morally, even religiously, between the two races. I have known and admired one social worker who, on finding herself in a district peopled largely by Sicilians, set herself to learn not only their particular dialect of Italian, but their literature, their feelings, and their customs, so that in the end she had acquired almost a new language of the soul in her relations to these people. Yet she was always anxious for the sort of aid which my Russian friend advocates.

As long as American social workers find so large a proportion of their work lying among persons of another nationality and another language than their own, their success, as I see it, will depend on their cultivating in the future a wider fellowship to an extent they never have done in the past, until they are familiar both with the language and with the racial psychology of those among whom they work. This has long been one of the gospels preached and practiced by our great leader, Miss Jane Addams.

A wider fellowship with books and scholarship in our own field.—It has long amazed me to see how little fellowship, how little intimacy, social workers have with the books upon their own subject, which are read as a rule, not by social workers, but by psychologists, college professors, and by all sorts of people who

need them far less. Social workers are now very generally working to establish themselves upon a professional basis and to gain recognition as a profession. But this should certainly not be claimed until they find the energy and make the time to be familiar with the best that has been said and thought by others in their own field.

By this I do not mean books on psychology. I think as a rule that these books have little that is of value to the social worker. Social workers are themselves the psychologists and have ordinarily a vastly greater acquaintance with the human soul than those who write the books on psychology—books which nevertheless I see social workers swallowing whole, with disastrous results in mental and spiritual indigestion. We shall never rightly value the benefits which psychology has to confer until we realize that psychology almost never discovers anything. It interprets facts previously known. These new interpretations may be of great value, but it is essential to realize that they are new interpretations and not new facts, and that every student of the human soul has a perfect right to interpret the same facts in his own way, the facts of human nature, observable by any of us.

A wider fellowship with books and with study is sure to make us better observers in the field of case work, more accustomed to the idea that it is every social worker's business to gather observations fit to be recorded in print, or utilized as a basis for legislation. Those who never read, seldom write, and it is for this reason that until of late we have had so few books about social work that have been worth reading. The habit of reading, that is, of following and criticizing other people's printed records and interpretations of the human lives with which they have been dealing, makes it possible for us to keep records that point somewhere, as distinct from records that merely remind us of something apt to be forgotten or enable us to make our statistics at the end of the year.

There is no one right way of keeping records. Several equally valuable records might be written about the same case, each from a different point of view and all true and sound. Unless you have a search in the back of your mind, a question that you are bound to answer "Yes" or "No," an idea that you want to prove right or wrong, you will never write daily records of permanent value. But anyone who is reading and thinking about his work is sure to have such questions in his mind, and therefore is often fitted, without any other of the qualifications called scientific, to do scientific case work. In another mood we all of us sympathize with the remark that we should always regard a client as a person and not as a case. But it is truer to say that we should always regard him both as a person and as a case. He cannot be totally unlike all other persons, and if he bears any likeness to any other human being he falls in that respect into a class; in other words, he is in that respect a case. This does not in any way contradict the equally vital truth that in some respects he is himself and no one else, unique, unclassifiable; not a case, but a person. Personal devotion stops delighted in someone's individual and unique characteristics. But

whoever thinks about his work will see each person also in the light of others, and others in the light of the one now before him, in other words, will rightfully think of each person as in certain respects a case.

Here as elsewhere fellowship does not mean that we abandon our own, surrender ourselves body and soul to those whose fellowship we seek. One can share in the results of scholarship and contribute to them without becoming so biased that one is nothing but a scholar, just as one may maintain and cultivate his own national characteristics while exerting himself strenuously to understand those of another nation, and can recognize the great remedial forces outside social work without ignoring his own unique chance for service.

The wider fellowship that comes from sharing one's best.—A very wise woman said last October at the Massachusetts Conference of Social Workers: "It is your duty not only to know the children in your case, but to see to it that they know you," that is, to share with them the best that you know, the standards, visions, values by which you live. But I have known few social workers who actually muster the time or the faith necessary to make this attempt, without which I am sure there is something seriously lacking in social work. Despite all our intentions of being democratic in our case work, we are not so unless we can succeed in giving our best, in sharing the sources of our own happiness, in communicating our own enthusiasm, as well as in receiving these currents from others. This is, I suppose, the most adventurous side of social work, and the one most certain to be neglected by those who allow themselves to be chronically hurried, but it implies and creates the widest fellowship which human experience can touch.

The implications contained in the idea that a social worker should share her best with her clients are wide-reaching. First, there is the implication that social work, when it is a serious professional occupation, requires intimacy with one's client, and not merely the knowledge necessary to hand him certain needed information or to make simple adjustments in his situation. Secondly, this intimacy implies that much unhurried time has been spent with the client, and hence that he is one of a small group to which the social worker's efforts are limited. Thirdly, it means that if there is a difference of race or of language between client and worker, much labor has previously been spent to make it possible to cross this gap. Fourthly, it means that the social worker must have some intimacy with her "own best," so that she distinguishes it from second bests, third bests, and from other people's bests which float about her mind in the shape of mottoes, poetical or religious phrases left with her by tradition, reading, or hearsay. This process of distinguishing the sources of whatever strength, courage, cheerfulness, reliability, originality, and wisdom we have demands time for study and reflection. Finally, there is the technique of lying in wait for an opportunity to share one's best and seizing the chance when it comes. That this often appears so difficult is due partly, I think, to our unfamiliarity with our own best. Few of us have more than a following acquaint-

ance with it, and many of us do not even know its name! How then can we hope to introduce it to anyone else? The dilemma is like that of parents whom I have heard say that it is impossible to present to a child anything so abstract as the idea of God. But the next sentence that comes from such a bewildered parent usually shows that he is himself very vague about the truth which he would like to make clear to his child. It is hardly strange that we cannot convey an idea which we do not ourselves grasp.

But grant that we are on intimate terms with the source of our own courage, there still remains for many the barrier of reserve or of that strange modesty which hesitates to share with others the best that he knows himself, though he is quite ready to hand out "seconds" and "thirds," scraps of pagan philosophy, items of cheap modern sociology and psychological dogma which no one ever lived by.

Is it not astonishing that a person who would scorn to pass counterfeit money or shoddy goods, and who in ordinary affairs scrupulously avoids repeating gossip or hearsay, will yet hand out soiled and shop-worn philosophy, third-rate imitations of religion, or, still more often, will let clients starve or go seriously undernourished in spirit, without any attempt to give the best she knows? Yet how, without this, can we suppose that we have any fellowship, wide or narrow with those who seek our aid?

I do not mean that theological discussions are in place when we are trying to help a discouraged mother, a reckless breadwinner, or a dissipated adolescent. I mean something much more familiar. Among the best things that I know in life is laughter, hearty, irrepressible laughter that clears the air and tinges the future. Some of the best social workers that I know are never content until they are on such terms with the client that sparks of wholehearted mirth can fly up. "Till we've had a good laugh together, I never feel that we are acquainted." Poverty and sorrow need be no bar to the entrance of this healing angel, laughter. Again we are sharing our best when we share our enthusiasm for another's character, for a child's patience, a brother's long-suffering reticence, a mother's heroic courage. Again, some of the best moments that come to any of us are our moments of wonder. And they are very shareable if we so sensitize and prime ourselves that we can be counted upon to find something wonderful in the course of any intimate relationship. But beneath wholesouled laughter, wonder, or enthusiasm there are always, I suppose, articles of belief. These are not so easy to share in the earlier stages of acquaintance, but I find that they almost inevitably pop out later if we are in readiness, that is, if we are on intimate terms with ourselves.

Why has social case work swung so far away from this sort of adventure, the adventure of transporting high-pressure energy from person to person, as we so readily transmit water-power via electricity into light and heat for distant cities? Because of our fear that we shall be accused as proselyters, propagandists of sectarian faith. But how poor an excuse that is! A man with a burning faith

in the League of Nations does not conceal it from his associates for fear of seeming bigoted or in dread of undermining the childlike faith of Senator Borah's isolationists. No genuine faith has any need or any right to conceal its positives, the sources of its inner happiness. It is our negations, not our visions, that wound others or disturb their faith. In sickness I have shared religious aspirations with Catholics, Jews, and even with atheists, and I profoundly believe that in these golden moments I have hurt no one. Would that I could be as sure that my science, my sociology, and above all, my silence, has done no harm. I know that I cannot avoid medical blunders in the future, though I trust they will be less numerous than in the past. I know that in every plan of economic rehabilitation, in every social legislative reform, mischief may be latent because of our ignorance of distant, often unforeseeable, consequences. But when a group of people can jubilantly laugh at, wonder at, or admire some fact in the scheme of things, and when by God's blessing I am allowed to be one of that group, I believe I may say with assurance, "Well, at that moment I did no harm." With my help, or in spite of my blunders, something eternally valuable flowered in that laughter, that wonder, that enthusiastic love of another's great heart.

Never are we so secure from loneliness as in those moments. Never do we feel wider fellowship with powers human and divine. Rarely do we have clearer intimations of immortality.

PERSONALITY IN SOCIAL WORK

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The one qualification for successful social work, universally recognized as indispensable, is a good personality. For support of this sweeping statement the inquirer is referred to any executive seeking a candidate for a vacancy on his staff. Good personality. What do we mean by it? When we test the qualifications of a candidate we ask: Is he tactful? Can he work with other people? Is he dependable? Has he poise? Has he personal magnetism? Is he temperamental? And—the ultimate, invariable, all-inclusive test—has he a sense of humor? If he rates 100 per cent in all of these qualifications, he may be nonexistent, but he would seem to be, according to the current philosophy of selecting personnel, so far a perfect social worker. The search for good personality in candidates for social work reflects something more than a preference on the part of appointing officers for new associates who will be agreeable to work with. It is a recognition of the fact that the tasks of social work demand in their performance something more than technical proficiency. They present themselves to the social worker very largely in the guise of human personality; and they can be understood and performed only by those who have a gift for human relationships.

In active human affairs few programs carry conviction through their own

intrinsic merit. They are accepted by constituencies chiefly because they are presented through the medium of personalities who carry conviction. In general, men are inspired less by facts and philosophy than by facts and philosophy presented to them by an inspiring individual. We are influenced in our standards and modes of conduct less by principle and precept than by principle and precept interpreted by personalities who beget confidence. Public support is enlisted for new movements less by the inherent merit of such movements than by conviction inspired by the magnetism of their proponents. An overburdened spirit will relieve its stress by confiding, not in one who is willing to listen, but in one who will listen with understanding. At heart, most of the tasks of social work involve stimulating change in entrenched attitudes, modification in beliefs, redirection of effort, alteration in the values ordinarily attached to the process of living. The most potent agency for this aspect of the task of social work is the interplay of personality upon personality. Settled conviction, rooted prejudice, entrenched habit, established routine—these yield to a variety of influences, but to none so readily as to the influence of man with man.

Where personality counts.—At what strategic points in the administration of social work does success hinge chiefly upon the qualities of human personality and their expression? In the last analysis, all social work is concerned with the adjustment of individuals to their environments. This is most conspicuously true of the various forms of social case work. Strictly speaking, however, other forms of social work are also concerned with this problem. We seek social legislation for the purpose of modifying the environment of the individual in ways that will make his adjustment easier. We develop group effort in order to add to the environment elements which may enrich the life of all. We conduct research in order to have a basis for understanding the conditions of social life, and ultimately in order to modify them intelligently.

The adjustment of the individual to his environment as a general statement of the function of the social case worker suggests an intimately personal relationship. It involves two important elements. The first is a knowledge of human personality and its characteristic difficulties in social life. The second is that peculiar power of so conducting one's self with respect to another that assistance offered him in his own effort at adjustment will not only seem to him both authoritative and acceptable, but will in no way usurp his own judgment and responsibility. The most successful social workers are those who have, in addition to a thorough knowledge of human personality and of the processes of adjustment, such equipment of personal qualities as will inspire in their clients a disposition to trust their leadership. This is the one phase of social case work which is uniformly present in every case work experience. It is the first strategic point at which the success of the social worker depends largely upon personality.

The adjustment of the individual to his environment involves a knowledge of environment and its possibilities for the individual. It involves also an ability to work effectively with environmental factors. What is environment?

The theorists are not agreed. For one engrossed in the problem of living, however, it has some practical aspects. It is a home. It is a school. It is a job. It is recreation. It is literature. It is a street, shops, laws, a hospital, the ideas of others, books, lectures, newspapers, conversation. It is the complete category of persons, things, experiences outside one's self. However defective this conception of environment may be from the scientific point of view, it has practical implications for those of us who are trying to adjust ourselves.

It has equally practical implications for the social worker. The adjustment of an individual to his environment with the help of a social worker means practically such modifications in his life as changes in his relationship to school or to job, a new neighborhood to live in, new forms of recreation, contact with medical agencies for specific services, training for new occupational or cultural outlets. To the social worker, the environment of the client presents itself through the medium of personality. In his efforts to be of service to his client through the modification of environment, his client's home is a group of parents, brothers, and sisters. His school is a teacher. His job is an employer. His recreation comes through a librarian, a club leader, a scout-master. He achieves health or hygienic living through his use of a physician or a nurse.

In so far as the successful adjustment of a client demands a different relationship with these persons, the case worker's success depends not only upon his skill in suggesting the right modifications, but also upon his power to win parent, teacher, employer to a new interest in his client.

The importance of this personality aspect of environment cannot be too strongly emphasized. Success in dealing with it puts upon the social worker demands which cannot be met merely through ingenuity in devising for clients paper programs of saner living. It calls upon all of the resources of personality which the case worker can muster.

Leaving social case work for the field of community leadership, the importance of personality is equally apparent. Community leadership as a function of social work is concerned sometimes with public support for legislation, sometimes with the promotion of a greater degree of cooperative effort on the part of social agencies, sometimes with the galvanizing of an apathetic public attitude into live interest in social problems, sometimes with the organization of an entire community in the financial support of its social work. There was a period in the recent history of American social work when it was believed that to secure effective public action with reference to any evil nothing more was needed than to publish the facts. More recently, however, the conviction has grown that facts, even when accompanied by their social interpretation, do not necessarily lead to effective activity. So far have we swung from this rather passive form of community leadership that in some of our activities we have adopted such phraseology of the market place as "selling social work to the public," "putting the program across," etc. Repugnant as this phraseology is to many social workers as applied to social work, and I confess I wince when I hear it, it never-

theless implies recognition that effective community leadership must reach and influence human beings. This again is a task in the performance of which the most important process is the interplay of personality upon personality. In general, the degree of response which social groups make to proposals for community action is determined less by the inherent merit of those proposals than by the impression produced by the personalities of those who essay community leadership.

I should like to present a somewhat different problem as a fourth aspect of the task of the social worker in which personality plays a leading part. This is a by-product of organization. There are almost no instances of the individual practice of social work apart from organizations. Practically all social workers are employees of agencies. There are, of course, many places in which the complete staff of a social agency consists of one person, but most of us are working under supervisors or are ourselves supervisors. The efficiency of an organization is determined by many factors, none of which is more important than morale. Morale is a quality of group activity which is the expression of the relationship of the members of the group to each other and to their group organization. What determines the quality of the morale in a particular organization? In part, the conviction of the whole group of employees that the work of the organization is worth while. In part, the consciousness of the employees that their participation in the work of the organization is valued. How are conviction and consciousness such as these developed? Their development depends mainly upon the quality of the relationship which exists among all of the members of the group organization.

The most important factors in determining the quality of this relationship are those who occupy positions of authority. Organization in itself is a depersonalizing procedure. As a process it implies the establishment of routine for handling many matters which would otherwise be settled by the persons concerned through spontaneous discussion and decision. Organization may develop a smoothly running machine. A smoothly running machine in the sphere of administration does not necessarily imply an impersonal experience, but this possibility is always present. Whatever tests of efficiency may be legitimate for other fields of human activity, we must retain as a test for social work the degree of spiritual satisfaction which it yields to those who are concerned with it, whether as clients, as professional workers, as volunteers, as contributors, or as citizens. We have already suggested that the most important tasks of social work are tasks which call for the investment of personality. We shall not realize our fullest return from this investment unless the agencies of social work are so organized as to draw from the rank and file of social workers their fullest contribution to the morale of the movement. The basis of this contribution is maintenance within social agencies of a fine quality of personal relationship among their personnel. For the development of such a relationship, the duties of the rank and file of workers must appear not merely as assigned tasks, but as

opportunities for creative contribution to a cause in which they have faith. Too often the employees, from the executive to the office boy, have no means of knowing whether their work is acceptable to their organization, except by the impersonal process of inference from the fact that they have not been fired. No staff will contribute its best under such circumstances. The responsibility for the development of morale is general throughout the profession; but, we may add, it rests most heavily upon executives and supervisors. We may take this responsibility as a fourth phase of social work in which personality is an outstanding factor.

Personality in the record of social work.—What has been the success of social work with respect to the personality aspects of its task? If these aspects are as important as I have suggested, social work could hardly have written so impressive a record of success without substantial achievement on the side of personality. Like all movements born of a recognition of human need and carried out in an attempt to minister to it, social work has had its prophets. Its history written in books, in the *Proceedings* of this Conference, in more prosy annual reports, and revealed in vivid, if unrecorded, experience with the older leaders of our profession whose memory is treasured by many of us still living is largely a history of the achievements of personalities, some of them outstanding, some of them relatively unknown. The outstanding character of some personalities is in itself evidence of the part which personality plays in active affairs. Within recent years in social work we may seem to have had fewer such than formerly. This has been interpreted in some places as evidence that personality is playing a part of decreasing importance in social work. To some observers, also, the same tendency is indicated in our rapid development of technical methods and in the wider ramifications of organization in our field. Technique and organization have been necessary developments. Social work could not have met the challenge of a complicated modern social life without them, and if it is to make its greatest contribution to human welfare, these technical developments must be carried much farther.

This does not necessarily suggest the mechanizing of social work. Increase in our power of accomplishment increases our responsibility for high standards. I do not believe that we shall ever accept a substitute for the power of personality in our professional equipment. On the contrary, the remarkable development of organization and technical methods has given us new respect for human personality and has reinforced our traditional belief that it is indispensable to any social work worthy of the name.

Nevertheless, I doubt if we have been sufficiently aware of the extent to which our most highly perfected professional effort has been wasted effort because it has not sufficiently reckoned with the personal equation. There is, in my judgment, no more tragic form of waste than the waste of professional skill which occurs when the person in whose behalf it is exerted fails to make the maximum use of it. A physician brings to bear upon the need of his patient a

professional judgment which is the product of a long period of education and long experience in studying and treating human ills. Each patient he treats is receiving the benefit of this investment of himself in his professional development. Over and over again this investment is barren of return because the patient does not follow the suggestions of the physician. Social workers experience constantly a similar lack of return on their own professional investment. To each task which the social worker undertakes he brings to bear the product of his total training and experience. Over and over again the result is less than it deserves to be because client or community does not follow his lead.

In the old days—gone forever let us hope—such failure could be covered by ascribing to the client an unwillingness to cooperate, or to the community a state of backwardness with which no human skill could successfully deal. Let us concede that no permanent improvement is possible in any individual or in any community unless individual or community does the lion's share of the work in his own behalf. It still remains true that failure to achieve the success which the professional skill of the social worker deserves frequently results from his own inability to reinforce a sound program of procedure with that art of human relationships which alone wins from human beings wholehearted response to stimulus from the outside. The waste for which such failure is responsible is the more tragic when contrasted with the brilliant total record of social work.

To this form of waste in the use of professional skill we may add another, which results from the same failure to develop the art of human relationships. This is the waste which occurs when, in the face of imperative need for concerted action, social workers find it difficult or impossible to agree among themselves. Differences of opinion, differences in general point of view, are not only inevitable, but desirable, particularly in those fields whose scientific development is only just beginning. In order to reduce this waste which is the product of disagreement, it is not necessary that disagreements be eliminated, but only that they be discussed and reckoned with on a high level without bitterness, without personal feeling, without that intensification of prejudice which in intellectual matters is too likely to be the product of a self-defensive attitude.

No profession makes heavier demands upon the personality of its practitioners than social work. No profession should be—no profession is—able to reveal to the world a greater measure of success in the personal aspects of human relationships. Nevertheless, I suggest that in all soberness we recognize rifts among groups in this Conference in so far as they have developed distrust, personal antagonisms, and a lack of professional cohesion for what they really are: evidences of our failure in the art of human relationships, in the practice of which we should be preeminent among the professions.

The development of personality for social work.—To what extent is it possible for social workers to train themselves deliberately for the personality requirements of their professional tasks? Continuing success in social work implies more than growing technical proficiency. It implies growth also in the scope

and usefulness of those personal traits which the tasks of social work peculiarly need. So far as I know, however, such development is usually a by-product of experience. Few educational projects are ever formulated for the direct purpose of developing the personalities of students, except on the purely intellectual side. Furthermore, doubt is often expressed whether the deliberate development of personality through any organized method of education is possible. We hear it suggested that, like poets, good personalities are born and not made. It is suggested further that the growth of self-consciousness in human relations which may seem inevitable in any direct effort to educate personality implies a contradiction in terms. It would tend to make artificial a form of expression whose usefulness depends upon its spontaneity and lack of self-consciousness.

We may agree that these difficulties are formidable, but we can hardly be content with a negative answer to this general question. What are the facts? We have seen that social work deals with situations which at heart involve problems of personality. We have seen that success in dealing with these situations calls for an unusual personal equipment. We have seen, further, that a considerable part of our failure to realize all of the potential results of our programs is due in large measure to failure in the personal aspects of our professional work. Furthermore, we are recruiting annually younger men and women whom we send into positions in the field of social work where we expect them to grapple with situations involving these very elements. Through schools, through apprentice-training, through association with older and wiser leaders in the field we are equipping them with a scientific understanding of our professional problems and with a mastery of proved technical methods. But with regard to this leading factor in successful work we are doing for them almost nothing. We can hardly set up a complete curriculum for the development of personality. As a first step, however, we can recognize that we have defined here a problem of professional efficiency which is as fundamental as any other, and set ourselves the task of trying to solve it.

What is this professional problem? In practical terms it can be stated as the problem of adapting human personalities to the specific requirements of the professional tasks of social work. This is no new type of educational project. What is the training of the diagnostician? It is largely the adaptation of his power of thought to a specific task. What is at its best the training of the teacher? It is in part the adaptation of his powers, intellectual and otherwise, to a specific task. So might we speak of the training of the diplomat. I do not pretend to understand the ways of diplomats, but I am under the impression that, having dedicated one's self to the diplomatic service, one becomes more proficient in that service by learning something of national traditions, something of international relations, something of international law, something of the specific subject matter of those questions; political, economic, and social, concerning which nations negotiate with each other. But beyond this, the man who grows in value to the diplomatic service has learned how to conduct himself as a

personality in those peculiar ways that are essential to successful diplomatic intercourse.

If we mention in one breath the diplomat, the salesman, and the waiter, we have mentioned three types of vocations each of which calls for an adaptation of personality to specific vocational ends. These ends are not the same, and their significant variations suggest certain corresponding variations in the types of personality required to meet them. When we say variations in types of personality we do not suggest complete differences. Human beings are biologically more nearly alike than different, whether they are diplomats, salesmen, or waiters. Their personality make-ups are more alike than different. To be sure, their differences have already played a large part in determining whether they would become diplomats, salesmen, or waiters. I am not suggesting that a given individual could be equally successful in all of these occupations. I am sure there must be good diplomats who would not make good waiters. It seems true, however, that whatever the original personality equipment of a man who enters one of these occupations, he will, if successful, be found to have modified his personality—or, strictly speaking, his habitual expression of it—in distinctive ways that have contributed to his success in the vocation chosen. Had he chosen another vocation making demands upon his personality and achieved success in it, his personality development would have been no less marked, but in certain important ways it would have been different.

If there is at least a thread of reasonableness in this argument, it is significant for social workers. I suggest, as a first step toward the solution of our problem, recognition that the tasks of social work call for something more than a native equipment which includes a good personality. They call for the adaptation of such a personality to the specific ends of social work. We must determine, therefore, what are the peculiar and distinctive demands which social work makes upon the personalities of its practitioners.

Adjustment.—As the first qualification to meet these demands we may suggest what our psychiatric friends call a well-adjusted personality. I leave it to them to carry on their service of educating us laymen to an appreciation of what this involves. They have put us forever in their debt by revealing the origin, nature, and scope of prejudices, fears, inhibitions, complexes—those marks of the fettered personality too often unconscious of its fetters or mistaking them for symbols of grace. Stubbornness, prudery, self-assumed omniscience, cruelty, cynicism, bigotry, autocracy, egotism—these are not new phenomena to human beings. Psychiatry has told us nothing new regarding their potentialities for evil, unhappiness, and conflict among men. None of them has ever been attractive; all of them have been condemned in the other man. The individual in whose own conduct they appear has called them by softer names and, at times, has exalted them to the plane of virtues.

Psychiatry can perform no miracles, and it does not claim to be a vehicle of revealed truth. It has made clear, however, the true nature of some of these

less attractive expressions of personality and has suggested some new ways of reckoning with them in one's own conduct, ways which mean great individual satisfaction and less strain in human relationships.

Leadership.—The adjustment of one's personality is not a complete solution of the problem of adapting one's self to the tasks of social work. Human relationships are dynamic. Their quality is determined, not only by the state of the personalities concerned, but also by the characteristic ways in which these personalities express themselves in their actual relationships. It is in what we may call "the functioning of personality in human intercourse" that the greatest demands upon the social worker are made. One may be genial, magnetic, winning, well-poised, objective, sympathetic, persuasive, and courteous and yet not gifted in the art of leadership.

By the art of leadership we mean that quality in human relationships which permits the exercise of personal influence upon others without weakening their initiative. In ordinary life those persons exercise an influence upon us whom we have reason to trust. This trust is not easily given. It is a product usually of slowly maturing acquaintance. The confidant, the guide, philosopher, and friend is usually the man or woman who, through such acquaintance, has been revealed to us as a person in whose hands the more or less intimate affairs of our lives are safe. Until this basis of confidence is established, influence, leadership—in the best sense—is not possible. The quality of leadership demanded in the relations of social worker to client or in the relations of social worker to strategic persons in the community whose support he seeks is not different from the quality of leadership which marks helpful personal relationships in private life. Leadership in social work is possible only on the same basis of confidence that makes it possible in non-professional relationships.

The task of leadership in social work, however, is more difficult, chiefly because between client and case worker, between strategic citizen and community organizer, usually no ready-made confidential relationship exists. There has been no slowly maturing acquaintance ripening into neighborliness or friendship upon which it may rest. The social worker must lay this foundation as he proceeds. He has not only a purpose to achieve with his client, but he must establish such a relationship to him as will enable him to achieve this purpose. The establishment of this relationship will tax all of the worker's personality resources. To play the rôle of dictator is not difficult, and the strategic position of the social worker is often such as to tempt him into it. It is less easy to display the leadership which abandons domination in favor of the stimulation of initiative and self-propulsion.

Here is a professional problem of the highest importance. Is it possible for social workers, through a conscious process of self-education, so to adapt their personalities as to give them a higher order of skill in the peculiar problems of leadership which are characteristic of social work? The answer obviously is "Yes." The answer is "Yes" because they have succeeded in doing so. We may

make the fullest concession to specialized knowledge and other forms of technical proficiency as factors in the success of social workers. But this success has been achieved quite as much through personality.

I venture to suggest further that the personality of the successful social worker through his years of experience shows a progressive development. It is not only mellow, richer, and more persuasive, as any personality may become through maturing experience; it has also been adapted in quite specific ways which have been determined by the requirements of his professional tasks. Let me once more illustrate what I mean. We may assume two persons in their early twenties, each with personalities which would meet the most exacting requirements of professional positions where personality counts. Let us further assume that these two persons are as alike in their personal qualities as it is possible for two individuals to be. One enters the diplomatic service; one enters social work. Let us leave them for fifteen years and renew their acquaintance after a successful experience in their respective fields. As human beings, we should expect to find them more mature, mellow, ripened as personalities are through experience in life. We shall, of course, find differences in their development. Any two personalities would probably be less alike at middle age than in youth. I am inclined to think, however, that among the differences discernible after fifteen years we should find some significant ones that were products not merely of maturity, but of constant, and perhaps unconscious, adaptation to the respective requirements of diplomacy and social work.

I do not wish to overstress the differences between diplomacy and social work or to overstress the significance of the peculiar personality demands of any occupation. It seems clear, however, that some occupations require a greater degree of self-control, a different form of self-expression, a higher measure of patience, a more intimate, a more sympathetic, understanding of human need than others. Surely those who fill such positions, at least, would agree that the efficient dispenser of information at the information booth of a railroad station has a greater need of patience than, let us say, the driver of a team of mules. Indeed, I am told by those who know that for the latter occupation patience is a positive disqualification.

Suppose we grant all this; where does it lead us? I think it leads to the conclusion that part of the professional training of the social worker, part of his unceasing effort to increase his proficiency throughout his professional career, should be devoted to the study of the effective use of personality. Let me repeat that such study would not necessarily be a new factor in the development of social workers. It means only a more conscious and deliberate attention to a problem which they have been highly successful in solving. Thus far, however, our interest in the personality development of social workers has been undefined, unorganized, and casual. We have been satisfied with personality as is or with personality as developed through the natural maturing process of experience in life. We have not sufficiently realized that the task of leadership which social

work imposes upon its practitioners requires not only a good personality, in the ordinary sense, but a good personality adapted to the specific requirements of that task.

At intervals throughout this paper I have distinguished between the personality qualifications of the social worker on the one hand and his special knowledge and technical proficiency on the other. At the risk of inconsistency I now suggest that in the practice of social work these aspects of proficiency can hardly be separated. In so far as the social worker succeeds by deliberate effort in improving his personality equipment he is, in my judgment, adding to his technical skill. In so far as he makes himself master of the technique of social work I believe he is schooling his personality to express itself in ways that make for sounder, more helpful professional relationships. Technique means nothing but a better organization of one's powers for a particular task. Those powers may be intellectual; they may be manual; they may be temperamental. The demands of social work call for all three.

The skilled social worker, the social worker who is master of his own technique, is one whose collective powers have been schooled for his specific tasks. We have seen that these tasks involve personal relationships of the most delicate and strategic kind. We have come to believe that they cannot be performed except by the trained social worker. Just what the training of the social worker should be can as yet be only tentatively stated; but I am convinced that in the future it must include study of the functioning of personality in human intercourse. Such study involves the risk of making artificial what should be spontaneous and natural. One of our problems seems to be that of devising educational experiences for social workers which will eliminate this risk while enabling them to achieve steadily and consistently a richer development of their personalities for the task of leadership.

Personality and civilization.—We have considered in this paper some of the ways in which personality is significant in the practice of social work. In conclusion, I suggest that if our professional development shows a steadily growing use of human personality, we may in the long run make an even more strategic contribution to our civilization. The accumulation of scientific knowledge and its application to the affairs of men by experts working through the medium of organization become constantly more intricate and widespread. These developments have greatly increased the scope of human life. It is, however, beyond question that they have at the same time tended to depersonalize it.

In certain ways, which formerly contributed powerfully to the sense of solidarity in our social groups, industry and trade have changed. Big business and mass production have contributed definite gains to our social life, but they are responsible also for some irreparable losses. Except in isolated instances, personal contact between merchant and patron, between employer and employee, is no longer possible. It is still possible for owner or manager of a business to take pride in his plant and his product, but it is a pride which he can

no longer, as once he could, share through face-to-face discussion with patron and employee. In education the standardized curriculum and the increased size of educational institutions have changed the character of the old education in which close contact between teacher and pupil was a leading factor. In the practice of medicine the development of medical institutions and medical specialists has limited the possibilities of a personal relationship between physician and patient. Even in the home the exigencies of modern urban life have restricted the area of vital personal relationships, and neighborliness, the first step in the extension of the personal interests of the home out into the community, has been almost eliminated.

These developments have taken place so gradually, they have been so covered with the revelation of new satisfactions which science and organization have made possible, that we have hardly appreciated their significance. To one who believes that the development of civilization has rested largely upon the cohesive power of human personality the steady contracting of the area within which this power is given scope is ominous. I do not see how it can ever regain its old significance in the world of business. It becomes, therefore, of critical importance that we retain it at its best in those fields in which it is indispensable to success. Social work is one of these. Without human personality as a guiding force, social work will be a sterile effort.

I do not believe that the force of human personality in the affairs of men is spending itself. There is, however, a real danger that our faith in the possibilities of efficient organization may lessen its opportunities for service. Those forms of human effort in which experts deal with human beings, education, medicine, social work may be so influenced by the depersonalizing trend of modern civilization that they may fail in the achievement of their own purposes unless they bring into their conception of what constitutes fitness for service a recognition of the indispensable contribution of the developed personality. Science and organization may make life safer, more rational, more convenient, broader in its scope. Personality alone can use science and organization to make life richer. Social workers throughout their history have demonstrated this truth. We can, by taking thought, add to its influence in our changing civilization.

WANTED: A PHILOSOPHY FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

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We have social work, plenty of it; social sciences, each with its own technique; social programs, formulated while you wait. What more do we need?

I think we need something that will bind them all together and give a sense of a common purpose. We need a more perfect understanding of our relations to the society of which we are a part, and which we are seeking to improve. Mil-

ton declared that the great argument of *Paradise Lost* was "to vindicate Eternal Providence and justify the ways of God to Man." The great argument to which we must rise is to vindicate our faith in modern progress and to justify the ways of civilized man, unto himself. We need the kind of thought that shall justify and unify and vivify our various social activities. This is what I would call social philosophy.

It is the result of reflection on the work we are actually doing. At no time is it more desperately needed than when our knowledge is acquired more rapidly than our power to use it.

Abou Ben Adhem (may his tribe increase) writes himself down as one who loves his fellow-man. His is an uncomplicated purpose. He loves his fellow-men and does something that is good for them. Between the will and the deed the connection is clear. There is no ambiguity.

But when the tribe of Abou Ben Adhem increases rapidly it begins to feel the force of the economic law of diminishing returns. A thousand philanthropists, each one following the dictate of his own kind heart, do not do a thousand times as much good as one philanthropist who has the field to himself. There is much duplication of effort and not a little cutthroat competition among well-doers. All kinds of complications arise, and Abou Ben Adhem wastes much time in trying to convince his fellow-philanthropists that they are wasting their time in unproductive activities.

He begins to realize the meaning of Shakespeare's warning that goodness, growing to a plurisy, dies in its own too much. When he is overwhelmed by the too-muchness of divers good causes he is really grappling with what the early Greek philosophers found to be the fundamental problem of the "one and the many." How can he find unity of purpose amid such amazing variety?

The social worker who has not learned to take his work philosophically may do many good things, but with much friction, so that those who watch him moving remorselessly along his all too narrow path of duty will murmur the refrain of the old revival hymn: "Doing is a deadly thing." A little thinking about the broader aspects of his work might take off the curse.

Said Confucius to his disciples: "When a man is not in the habit of saying, 'What shall I think of this? What shall I think of that?' I can do nothing for him."

Before a person can work effectively for the reorganization of society he must do a little tinkering with his own mental machinery. He must realize that the mind, even of the most intelligent person, is not fool-proof. It must be continually adjusted to ever changing realities. He must learn to focus his attention, but not always on one spot. He must know how to specialize and how to generalize, but he must know enough not to try to do both at the same time. He will not make the mistake of generalizing from a single personal experience, and thus treating his limitations as if they were cosmic laws. Nor, on the other hand, will he think that a wide generalization is the solution of a particular problem.

He needs the philosophy of Epictetus: "Take up everything by the right handle."

Or, if he prefers to put his philosophy into Scripture phrase, let him repeat the words of the Preacher: "To everything there is a season and time for every purpose under the sun. A time to be born and a time to die; a time to plant and a time to pluck up that which is planted. A time to throw away stones and a time to gather stones together." To which the experienced social worker will add: "A time to help people solve their problems, and a time to let them alone." There is no one remedy to be presented at all times. The physician cannot throw the blame for his ill success on the patient: "I gave him the right medicine, but he had the wrong disease."

Said Touchstone to Corin, "Hast any philosophy in thee, shepherd?" So one might ask, "Hast any philosophy in thee, social worker?" Have you any power, after you have done your own work, to estimate the value of other people's work? Can you, now and then, take a disinterested view of various forces that are at work while you may be asleep? Have you ever meditated on the ancient text, "Thy saving health among all nations?" To appreciate the power of saving health you must yourself have a healthy mind.

The world-soul knows his own affair,
Fore-looking, when he would prepare
For the next age's men of mould
Well embodied, well ensouled.
He cools the present's fiery glow
Sets the life pulse strong but slow.

The best generalship requires that the reserves shall be carefully looked after. The time will come when they will be needed.

We sympathize with the small boy whose trials are pictured under the caption, "When a Feller Needs a Friend." There are times when the social worker feels that way. He comes up against stubborn facts which he wasn't prepared for. Altruism is not always appreciated by the other person. Jeremy Bentham's formula, "the greatest good to the greatest number," would be more agreeable if the greatest number didn't resent having the greatest good done to them in any unfamiliar manner. When they turn upon their benefactor to rend him he needs what Friar Laurence recommended to Juliet: "Adversity's sweet milk, philosophy."

One can hardly pick up a magazine in these days without finding the confessions of some disillusioned idealist. Unlike the penitent who whispers in the ear of the confessor, he seeks the confessional that has the widest publicity. For he is confessing, not his sins, but his disappointment over his job. It is really a confession of what he ought to have known at the beginning, that "Art is long [even the art of doing good] and Time is fleeting." The idealist was prepared to bring in a new social order, but before he had time to explain what his program was, his time was up and somebody else had the floor. He feels he has a

grievance; perhaps he has. But it's the same grievance that all the rest of us have. Why not be cheerful about it?

Every business has its periods of depression, but the business man doesn't go into bankruptcy and take the poor debtor's oath when trade is dull; he keeps right on at the old stand. If you are a progressive you oughtn't to be discouraged because you can't keep on progressing all the time. Why not make use of the interruptions to snatch a little spiritual refreshment. William Penn declared that the best year of his life was one in which he was forcibly prevented from being busy, and garnered what he called the "Fruits of Solitude." There is more than one way of getting forward. The social reformer comes to what seems the end of his road, and is tempted to turn back. Then he needs to be assured that it is not so bad as it seems. The road is under repair, which may be inconvenient for him, but in the interest of future wayfarers. In the meantime he may make a detour which is recommended as unsafe but possible. If he is really socially minded he will accept the explanation and go on without grumbling. I would like to point out two or three critical periods when a social worker needs a friend.

The first is when he gets a job. Now getting a job is not so difficult for a young person as liking a job: that is an acquired taste. An ideal is expansive, alluring, thrilling. On the other hand, a job is narrow, definite, confining. It is not an opportunity for the display of all your spiritual talents. It is something that has to be done. So to the eager idealist it is apt to be a come-down, as if one had to sacrifice inspiration to efficiency. One sets out to serve humanity and finds himself a rather humble member of an organization.

Before one has learned the necessity of specialization he is like a small boy who has a dime in his pocket, taken to a ten-cent store. There is nothing in the store that is beyond his means. He can have anything in the store which he chooses. He walks about like a prince in a palace of enchantments. The fair princesses at the counters wait upon his will. Each of the glittering articles makes its mute appeal. He is the fountain of honor. It is for him to say which ten-cent treasure is worth his ten cents.

Now, so long as he delays his decision he feels that the store is his potentially. He has an option which he has not yet used. But the pleasant indecision cannot last. He makes his choice and hands his dime to the maiden, who instantly loses interest in him. His whole attitude toward the store changes. What is a ten-cent store to one who no longer has ten cents?

For a moment he feels that he has a grievance. But the cheerful philosophy of youth reasserts itself. He reflects that he was told that he could have anything in that store, but he was not promised everything. He has got what he paid for; now if he wants something else he must earn another ten cents.

That seems a simple lesson in practical philosophy, but many earnest people do not seem to have learned it. They feel that they have not accomplished anything because they have not accomplished everything. Now, one cannot

reproach them for this lack of discrimination, but one can say that they lose a great deal of satisfaction that they are really entitled to.

Coming back to the ten-cent store, the wise boy who would get the utmost personal satisfaction out of his visit should provide himself with two ten-cent pieces: one to spend and one to remain with him unspent and free. And the happy worker is one who has enough interest in his own job to be efficient, and then enough interest in the big world outside his own job to be interesting. It is that overflow that is his real gift.

Another critical point where there is need of a broad and wholesome philosophy is when the social worker gets his eyes open to the faults of the social order to which he belongs. Starting out to be a servant of society, he has experiences which make him a critic. I take it for granted that every social worker who has his wits about him makes certain disturbing discoveries sooner or later. Things that he had admired are not so admirable as he had thought. When he started out he had a very clear idea of right and wrong. Right is what the best people in my community do. Wrong is that which is different. There is a sort of sea-level of righteousness from which everything can be measured. The philanthropist reaches down to the submerged classes and lifts them up to the proper level. This is the simple theory of the uplifter.

But the time comes when the uplifter looks upon his work with dismay. He has been laboring in behalf of the defective and the delinquent classes, but in tracing the causes of the defectiveness and delinquencies to the men higher up, he finds himself quite unexpectedly in the region of social respectability. Is this all I can do, he says: to drag people up to this dead level of local normalcy? He looks with inquiring eyes on the "best people," and asks, "Better than whom?"

Now when he begins to ask such questions he needs a friend. For the "best people" are like the rest of us: they have a good deal of human nature. We, all of us, are right-minded enough to wish to help other people to be as good as we are. The trouble begins when we are told that they ought to be better. We don't see the necessity for it.

Nothing is more characteristic of the thorough methods of the modern reformer than the survey of a community in order to ascertain the exact facts. But one should not expect immediate thanks for such service. The revelations may be very painful to those who had been unaware that anything was the matter with them. A fact-finder is judged by the facts which he finds. If he finds facts that are unpleasant, the community is likely to lay them up against him.

When a scientific survey has been completed it does not mean that everyone is ready to act upon its recommendations. The community is divided into three classes; first a small and select group of those who have read the report; second, a somewhat larger group consisting of those who indignantly refuse to read it because they believe it is bad for business and that it has probably been inspired from Moscow; third, the vast majority of busy and right-minded people who have never heard of it and are not likely to hear of it unless someone in

whom they have confidence brings it to their attention. Now, the chances are that the people who have read the report and the people who conscientiously refuse to read it will begin verbal hostilities. Each bombards the other's position, but as each is without accurate range-finders, no casualties are reported.

The real objective for the reformer is that great mass of right-minded but busy people whose attention is not immediately turned to the evils which the few have discovered. It does no good to scold them; it is the sign of weakness to think scornfully of them. What we call "the public" is not a person. It is simply a name for all of us. Now it is not strange that all of us do not suddenly get excited over what some of us have just found out. A great deal of patient work must be done before the facts that have been discovered are understood by the majority of the citizens of our country. The work of interpretation has to be done by persons who have, beside the gift of moral insight, the gift of untiring patience. We praise the bold reformer who goes on "through good report and through evil report." My heart goes out to the people who go on with no report at all. Such people eventually overcome not only public hostility, but what is more difficult, public indifference.

Above all things the social philosopher must learn that when a special program in which he has been interested may seem to have failed, the great cause in which he has enlisted has not failed so long as it continues to enlist new recruits. Each new generation must try its own experiments in righteousness.

I got a good deal of encouragement from a bulletin of the Agricultural Department in regard to the treatment of the flatheaded apple-tree borer. It seems that the borer, in the fall, drills a hole through the bark of the tree and lays its eggs. One way to meet the pest is to find each tiny hole and push a wire up till it destroys the enemy. This takes a good deal of time and is not commercially profitable.

The other plan is to look after the tree. If it is kept in first-rate condition, in the spring the sap will rise with a rush and the young borers will be caught in the flood like Pharoah and his horsemen in the Red Sea. The advice of the agricultural experts is "Drown 'em with sap." This is excellent advice for the treatment of most social evils. May I end my discourse with my real text?—"The trees of the Lord are full of sap."

PRESENT SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

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The limiting words of our subject are not to be too narrowly interpreted. "Present" includes such recent past events as the anthracite suspension in Pennsylvania and the near-revolution in England. The future, with the expiration of the three-year period of the Jacksonville Agreement in sight, casts a dark shad-

ow athwart present aspects. "Social," in this Conference, where it has been so often and so variously defined, is never limited to family welfare—that hardly needs saying—but just now it is comfortable to reflect that its horizon need not be that of a neighborhood or a nation. Our mandate, I take it, is to discuss fundamentals, even though they are economic; to consider significant aspects, even though they may be called political; to search the horizons, even though they stretch beyond the three-mile limit and lie within the League of Nations at their farther reach.

The first social aspect of the coal industry is not controversial. Of all the known coal deposits of the world, more than half are in the United States. Only 10 per cent are in Europe. Yet the United States, from its generous half, is producing hardly 40 per cent of the world's annual consumption; while Europe, from her precious tenth, is producing more than half the world's consumption. Europe supplies her own needs and exports to other continents. The United States, with relatively inexhaustible reserves, far more accessible and more easily mined, barely supplies its own fuel needs. England digs deep into the bowels of the earth, into thin seams and far out under the sea, to find coal to export to nations which have none, like Italy and Argentina. That may or may not be good industrial policy. Her loss of foreign trade, both in coal and in manufactures, through the dislocation of commerce and industry after the war, through the decrease in the purchasing power of European nations, the lowering of their standard of living, precipitated the prolonged crisis in her coal industry.

We all speak glibly now of the need for a thoroughgoing reorganization of England's coal industry. Commission after commission recommended it, but owners, operators, and statesmen shrank from tackling it. Thanks to the miners of England and to the trade-unions of England which joined them in the great nine-day demonstration, we may now have reorganization. The archbishops of the Church of England, the Roman hierarchy, the Protestant churches brought a new and vigorous note into the discussion at the critical time. Even royalty made its voice heard. And now Stanley Baldwin has promised it. Although Baldwin made a costly blunder when he broke off negotiations and precipitated the general strike at a moment when the negotiations were proceeding to a favorable conclusion, and although he may still fail to secure the cooperation of either miners or operators, everyone must admit his superb handling of the crisis, and especially his extraordinary success in defeating the attempts of the hard-boiled employers to destroy the unions, cut wages, lengthen hours, and otherwise retaliate on the workers of the nation for their concerted stand in behalf of the miners.

Coal has been the cornerstone of modern industry, and for that reason it is the center of world concern when the very foundations of industry are rocked by the earthquake of war or a bad peace. Lloyd George had not heard of Upper Silesia before the war; but now Upper Silesia, the Saar, the Ruhr are more fa-

miliar to our ears than the names of the battlefields of the war itself. Therein lies the most important social aspect of the coal industry.

Coal has to do with future wars and their prevention: with the promotion of social well-being among men. The nations will have to deal with the problem of access to raw materials and fuels. The nations will challenge before long, I think, the right of any one nation to deny access to oil or coal or iron ore or phosphates or rubber or other materials essential to agricultural and industrial life. The open door, identified with American foreign policy, has been applied heretofore to the backward nations, to regions which produce oil and rubber, to overpopulated countries. But is there no formula for the open door which can be applied also to the strong nations; to those which have coal and iron, as well as to those which have oil and rubber; to the British Empire and the United States, as well as to China and Mesopotamia?

Internationally speaking, the coal industry calls aloud for freedom of trade and for peaceful cooperation among the nations. From the miners of England, declaring desperately, with their backs to the wall, that their lowest wage must not go below forty-five shillings a week; from the harassed owners and operators who protest that they cannot carry on at a financial loss; and from the British taxpayers who cannot find the money both for a coal subsidy and for their payments on the American debt; from the vast stores of untouched, and at present untouchable, coal reserves in Siberia and China; from the ravaged mines of France and Belgium; from the reparation coal shipments out of Germany; from the furnaces of the industrial centers in Japan and Italy which must be constantly fed by imports—from every pit mouth of the world's coal mines, from every wheel of industry and every fireside, comes reinforcement of the idea that the nations of the world need peace and understanding and cooperation—need that social spirit which for half a century it has been the great aim of this Conference to inculcate in its own local and particular spheres, a cooperative policy, realistically based on facts accepted in common.

The second social aspect of the coal industry, to which I would earnestly, not to say beseechingly, invite your attention is its striking resemblance to all other industry. Strikes and controversies and the scarcity of fuel which results from them have created a sort of coal complex in our national psychology, which much of our current discussion has tended to intensify and fix rather than to analyze or dissipate or sublimate—or whatever it is we should do with our fear complexes.

We hear much prophecy of what will be, as compared with any clear realization of what is and what can be. We are assailed with phrases, slogans, terrifying images, vehement assertions that since sooner or later we shall be compelled to do this or that we might as well yield to the inevitable and do it now. We hear this from operators as to the necessity for breaking the monopolistic power of the unions; but since it is the advocates of nationalization who have more, per-

haps, to gain than any other group from the acceptance of a complex, a myth, a fallacy of the inevitable, it is natural that they should do more than any others instinctively to perpetuate and to enthrone it. For a complex, I suppose, is no complex at all unless it rules, usurping reason's throne, making it impossible, while under its domination, to see a coal mine steadily and see it whole.

Now in the coal industry there are unsolved problems. Monopoly in anthracite and cutthroat competition in the bituminous coal industry are the most conspicuous, but do not exhaust their tale. There are also downright stupidities, wastes, survivals, biologic sports, and economic freaks—such as you will not encounter elsewhere perhaps, except in oil, or in steel, or in textiles, in agriculture, in housekeeping, in government, or in social work. The main difference is that in the coal industry they are now fairly well known. The facts have been searchingly studied and objectively set forth. In England two commissions—the one of seven years ago, headed by Mr. Justice Sankey, and including Sidney Webb and R. H. Tawney in its membership, and another, of this year, headed by Sir Herbert Samuel—have between them told as much as any Englishman except a miner or an operator needs to know, and more than anyone outside England is likely to digest, about the coal industry of that country. In the United States the fact-finding commission created by act of Congress in 1922 made a report which I remember was characterized by one writer, with some apparent surprise, as “singularly honest.” Perhaps I should be content to let it go at that. But I am not—quite. I will add that I think it tells more about the American coal industry than both the English reports tell about the English industry.

It has even been said of our report that you can prove anything from it, thus promoting it to the class of literature of which the census, the Bible, and the *Proceedings of the National Conference* are more illustrious examples. But as to the coal report, that is not quite true. You cannot prove from it that the spread between the cost of producing a ton of coal and the price the consumer pays for it is justified; you cannot prove the sort of bunk that was given out by the United Mine Workers of America, that radical revolutionists, communist agitators, foreign-born miscreants were responsible for the cold-blooded murders of strikebreakers who had surrendered under a promise of safe conduct in Williamson County, Illinois, in the summer of 1922.

But you can learn from the report what citizens need to know about the mining, preparation, transportation, and marketing of coal; what we need to know to make the major decisions, to frame a national policy, to cure the grosser evils of the coal industry; what we need to know in order to do justice between operator and miner, between producer and consumer; what we need to know about the prevention of accidents, the conservation of coal, the stabilizing of the soft-coal industry, and the control of monopolistic prices in anthracite.

But the fact-finding in 1922-23 was not all done by the coal commission and its staff. The industry itself, partly in order to answer the commission's

questions and partly to prepare its case, so to speak, for presentation to the public, its defense against any possible hostile recommendations, spent considerably more money than the government spent. The bituminous coal operators alone spent \$501,000—one thousand more than a half million dollars—for counsel, accountants, field agents, and printing. What the anthracite operators, the carriers, the public utilities, the wholesalers and retailers, the United Mine Workers spent I do not know; but however large the amount, it was a good investment. If every typewritten copy of the commission's report had been destroyed before it was printed, or if, as John Lewis recommended, it had been allowed to gather dust on neglected shelves, we would still know more about the coal industry from these self-audits, these searching studies of the coal-mining and marketing business by the people engaged in it, than we know about almost any other large industry.

Some of the facts which you may learn from the coal commission's report will appear very serious, gravely out of harmony with our accepted standards of social morality and economic justice, e.g.,

In the non-union districts of several states the miners do not have the elementary civil liberties: free movement, free assembly, free speech, hospitality to guests. Living conditions, in isolated mining towns, are dreary beyond adequate description. Wasteful methods of mining prevail, in conflict with every sound principle of conservation, applied to limited and exhaustible natural resources. Preventable accidents occur—now the blowing up of a mine, with instant loss of many lives, and now a fall of roof or the running down of a miner by an electric motor, one life at a time, two at a time, but with an even more horrible aggregate.

Coal mining in the United States in 1922-23 was an unsocialized and beligerent industry. Yet in these respects it is American, and not exceptional, unless in degree. Those deaths in bloody Williamson, the Ludlow massacre some years ago in Colorado, the war in West Virginia, are to be regarded not so much as incidents of the coal industry as in relation to our Klan wars, our excessive homicide rate, and our automobile killings. I would not say a word to subtract from righteous anger that our deaths and injuries in the coal mines are so many or our wastes of coal so exasperating. On the contrary, we should be the more concerned about these phenomena because they are not peculiar to the coal industry.

There is no magic in free competition, in private property and contract, in the law of supply and demand, to insure an automatic harmony of economic interests. But then, there is no magic in nationalization either, or in any other such one-word solution. I have not the slightest prejudice against the idea of the national ownership of coal deposits. I hope that we shall not alienate any of the twenty million acres of coal land still in the public domain. I wish that we had retained the mining rights on all the coal lands that ever did belong to the nation. Article 27 of the Mexican constitution, asserting the inalienable national ownership of all coal, oil, phosphates, or other substances which are below the surface and not a part of the soil, not needed for agriculture, embodies, in my judgment, a sound policy. We have not acted on that policy. We have

allowed mineral deposits to pass into private hands. In the original thirteen states this occurred even before the American Revolution, even contemporaneously with the earliest private holdings. To buy them on any basis which the courts and the constitution would permit would leave us exactly where we are now, except as to future increments of value. It would be a bonanza to many coal owners. It would tie up a vast amount of national capital or credit. I cannot see that it would solve a single one of our unsolved coal problems.

The committee appointed by the United Mine Workers at their annual convention six years ago produced a plan with many admirable features, such as the provision for local, democratic management, largely technical. But the committee guessed that four and a half billion dollars would buy out both the deposits and the investment in buildings, shafts, and equipment. The coal commission invited a committee of eminent and qualified engineers to make an estimate of the value of the coal properties of the nation. Their guess was twelve and a half billion. The commission refused to adopt the report and to issue it as an official paper. Why? Not because it was too high, but because in effect it was merely the capitalization of the present and prospective earnings of the coal companies. If what you are interested in is whether those earnings are reasonable, you are obviously only reasoning in a circle if you calculate the rate of profit on an investment figure which is itself nothing else than a multiple of the earnings. But that is precisely what you would have to do if you took over the mines. You would have to compensate the present owners on the basis of their present and prospective earnings; and not Congress, but the courts; not a political campaign, but a long Anglo-American tradition; not a myth or a complex, but a conservative, rock-ribbed instinct would prescribe the terms of the bargain. Not John Brophy or even John L. Lewis and the rest of the national executive board who have so skilfully kept the miners' nationalization committee in its modest place would then, I fear, have the say about what the coal properties are worth. It is because these national officials are realists, because they know what kind of nationalization you would get, that they have been able to restrain their enthusiasm for it, and have rather ignored the repeated resolutions of the representative miners' convention. No, it would be such representative citizens as John W. Davis, of West Virginia and Wall Street, Democratic candidate for president in 1924, or Charles E. Hughes, let us say, to choose from the Republican side one who is well and favorably known in this assembly, and whose views on the expropriation of private property in Russia and Mexico happen to be also well known—it would be men who are regarded by business as sound in their views about property and vested rights who would be called upon, I surmise, to assess the value of the coal lands if we ever came to nationalization.

In England both commissions recommended that the nation buy out the royalty rights of the owners of deposits. The Sankey commission, by a majority vote, but with sharp differences of opinion, recommended also the nationalization of the mine equipment and the actual operation of the mines by the nation.

The Ramsay MacDonald Labor government for lack of time did not attempt to carry out this proposal; but their known sympathy for it was a factor in the parliamentary election, its opponents claiming a large share of credit for the overwhelming Tory majority. The Baldwin government appointed the new commission, granting a subsidy to the operators to enable them to pay the existing wage pending the new inquiry. The new commission reported, as its predecessor had done, that radical changes were necessary and that wages would have to come down. It was because wages were reduced without the changes, with no certainty that there would be any changes, that the miners quit work and the general strike was called in their defense.

In England the coal industry needs thorough reorganization, modernization. Whether with royalties eliminated it can become again a profitable private enterprise, or whether it can continue only as a subsidized or a sweated industry, will be determined in the future. England may have to accept the idea of some reduction in output, liquidate some of the investment, find other employment for some of the miners, perhaps even encourage emigration, as Englishmen have been emigrating for centuries, to the great advantage of the English-speaking world. Such readjustments are not unusual. Government purchase of the coal deposits, to which the government is now committed, may facilitate that reorganization. It may transfer to already overburdened taxpayers some losses which would otherwise fall on the industry or on consumers. It is the reorganization, however, and not government ownership or operation, that will save the industry if anything will: the scrapping of old machinery and methods, better coordination of operations, increase of speed and of output and of pay—the Americanization, if I may put it in one word, of the English coal mines.

In the United States it is not this kind of reorganization that is required. The coal industry is not an unprofitable and decaying enterprise. It is, on the contrary, exceedingly flourishing and profitable. It is rich and reckless. It needs regulation, not salvaging; restraint, not support; encouragement in housecleaning, not the wrecking of a tottering structure. Reckless and rampant individualism, antisocial corporate trustification, the insolence of adolescent strength are characteristic of the coal industry in the United States; but not such feebleness as would suggest unemployment doles, subsidies to operators to enable them to pay a living wage, or nationalization. Railroads menaced by trucks and bus lines, New England agriculture unable to compete with western farms, and western farmers in turn caught between falling prices and rising costs may appeal to our sympathy; but our coal industry, while it has its chills and fevers, has no such acute and alarming symptoms as to call for a major surgical operation.

We come, then, to the third aspect of the coal industry, no less striking than its family resemblance to other industry, viz., that it is basic to our economic life and to that of all industrial nations. Farms, factories, railroads, public utilities, congregate dwellings, and private households all require heat and power,

and their chief source is coal. In these days some 20 per cent of our total supply of energy comes from oil, imported and domestic; 4 per cent, from natural gas; 4 per cent, from water power; 6 per cent, from fire wood; 3 per cent, from work animals; one-tenth of 1 per cent, from windmills. That makes 37 per cent and the other 63 per cent comes from coal. Contrary to a current general impression, the relative importance of coal as a source of energy has been increasing with the exhaustion of the forests, and probably will increase further. In oil it has a temporary competitor, but within ten years, it is thought, our own more productive oil fields will be exhausted, and within twenty years there may be a world shortage. There is nothing on the horizon which seriously challenges the pre-eminence of coal as a source of energy. Therefore, upon the regularity, the efficiency, the stability, the rational functioning of the coal industry, the stability of our whole industrial structure depends, and, so far as can be foreseen, will depend. The whole nation has a concern—we may almost say, an equal, undivided concern—in the coal industry. Giant power, superpower, means merely its better utilization, linking it with water-power and changing in some instances the place of its conversion into other forms of energy more easily carried. Coal is therefore affected by a public interest. What is that interest?

What we desire is merely that the coal industry shall function rationally, economically, and productively; that coal may be obtained at low cost, in abundant amount. What we desire is to prevent waste, to make management efficient; to encourage invention and the use of labor-saving machinery; to get more continuous operation throughout the year by such means as purchase on annual contract and off-season storage; to reduce costs of production by closing down high-cost mines and increasing output from those which have low costs, superior quality, and short haul to market; to have mines laid out comprehensively, and developed in a logical and balanced way under competent engineering direction; to reduce accidents; to divert surplus miners into occupations where there is labor shortage; to pay wages that will maintain a high standard of life, including savings, life-long independence, and education for the children; to improve the working conditions, diminish the dangers and physical hardships; to prevent friction by equitable relationships; to integrate, organize, humanize the industry. Or shall I say, *dehumanize* it? For the fact is that ordinary, average, everyday human nature is responsible for a great deal of the friction, the lack of equitable arrangements. It is human to be irritable if you have a headache or indigestion or rheumatism, and miners and foremen have those ailments. It is human to hold on to a hoary, time-honored privilege, and such favors are to be found in coal mines. To humanize by taking into account these human frailties; to socialize by discouraging individual human tendencies, is what we mean.

Who can deny that anthracite, partly a manufacturing industry in its above-ground breakers, furnishing a most profitable tonnage to the anthracite railroads, stabilized both in prices and in the regularity of its operations, neverthe-

less needs regulation? It is, on the whole, enormously profitable, but with wide ranges of profit and loss; concentrated in location and in ownership; exploiting public demand for a preferred fuel; subject to protracted interruptions from wage disputes, and profiting even from such suspensions by the consequent scarcity and acute demand for fuel.

In the case of anthracite, my principal objection to nationalization is that while it would remove some of the incentives to progress and invention, reduce to some extent the resources which have enabled experiments to be made, it would, on the other hand, perpetuate in the hands of the present owners and their legal heirs the gifts of nature to which they have acquired title. National purchase would simply relieve them of the risks to which after all they are still subject. Not all the properties are really, in the long run, good investments. The Reading Company acquired large reserves—in effect, a huge real estate speculation—justified, no doubt, from the point of view of future tonnage, for a railroad corporation of perpetual life, but disastrous in its effect on the current dividends of a coal mining corporation. If, however, it were a question of selling them to the nation, I opine that no red-ink balances would prevent their acquiring considerable present value.

Not by purchase, but by taxation, can the monopoly problem in anthracite be solved; not by a state tax, but by a federal tax; not by a flat rate like the present Pennsylvania state tax, but by a differential tax, such as we have on incomes, such as we have in principle on railroad earnings in the recapture clause of the Interstate Commerce Act; a tax which would fall lightly or not at all on companies operating at a loss; which would rise with the natural advantages, the thicker seams, the level seams, the seams lying nearer the surface, the seams which produce a larger proportion of the larger domestic sizes and those from which less water has to be raised along with the coal. These differential advantages, as is well known, are extraordinary. They have nothing to do with superior management or better equipment or more skilful engineering. They are geological phenomena. They yield large unearned returns. They are a legitimate object of taxation. Public revenues obtained from such taxation would not be paid by the coal consumer. This tax could not be added to the price of coal and passed on, to be augmented at each transfer. It would stay where it was put—on those who enjoy the natural advantages. By such means the public would protect the public interest, while retaining every advantage of private ownership and initiative and leaving the risks where we are accustomed to leave them—on the investor, the financial backer, the operator.

True, there are those who oppose the use of the power of taxation as a means of securing social justice, as a means of bringing about some degree of equalization in the distribution of wealth. Mr. Mellon does. I am not overoptimistic about persuading Congress to adopt the recommendation of the United States Coal Commission for a differential tax on anthracite—or, for that matter, any of the other recommendations of the commission. My friend, Dr. John A. Ryan,

reviewing my book on coal, in which I try to set forth in words of not too many syllables my personal opinion as to precisely what can be done by mine owners, operators, miners, carriers, dealers, Interstate Commerce Commission, President, Congress, and the rest of us severally to remedy the situation, chides me for undue optimism in suggesting these ways out. As a clergyman and a professor of moral theology, Dr. Ryan feels pretty sure that none of these people will really do what we think they should do. But I plead not guilty to his charge of optimism. No doubt the preacher, temporarily carried away by his evangelical zeal, may sometimes speak as if he expected his congregation to act upon his counsels of perfection, and so invite an indulgent smile at his naïveté. But I confess I did not foresee that a clergyman would infer that I really expected even the President to do what I said he ought to do, to say nothing of operators, miners, and consumers. I was merely indulging my suppressed desire to preach, my thwarted but irrepressible inclination to show how easily the coal problems could be solved if each actor in the great drama would only play his part as the critical spectator sees that it should be played. I shall hardly get through this address without indulging that same inclination, though the censor has been doing his best to prevent. Fact finding, fact facing, analysis, drawing logical conclusions from your analysis as to what changes are desirable—that is one thing. That a disinterested student of social problems can do. But prophecy is quite another thing. Prophecies may fail. I am not without hope that fact finding, analysis, public discussion of remedies may so influence public opinion as to increase the chances of right action by encouraging or even forcing it. We may fail. It may require the threat of a revolution in this country, as in England, to bring about obvious reforms, but I sincerely hope not.

Leaving aside my no doubt overconfident attempts to answer the questions as to what individuals can do, and going back to the recommendations of the coal commission on which they were based, I would like to make clear that those recommendations, although radical in the literal sense of that word (reaching to the roots of the difficulties), were in line with American precedents and with what we may call American constitutional traditions. For that reason it would not have seemed—three years ago it did not then seem, in fact—unreasonable to expect from Congress some consideration of them.

Besides the differential tax on anthracite, the commission specifically recommended federal regulation of the whole coal industry, the creation of a coal division in the Interstate Commerce Commission, with power to carry out such regulation through a system of licenses on shipments from state to state and through the collection and current publication of the facts about the mining and marketing of coal—all the facts: royalties and depletion, costs and margins of operators, wages and annual earnings of miners, costs and margins of carriers, wholesalers, retailers, investments and profits of all; engineering facts, accounting facts, industrial facts.

Why did Congress, until within a month, pay no attention to these recom-

mendations? Why did Congress take a couple of years even to publish the commission's report? Why did we have to go through all the trying experience of the anthracite strike last winter without a particle of assistance from the federal government, without even the machinery for mediation and conciliation which the commission also recommended? Why do we face the termination of the Jacksonville Agreement in the vastly more important soft-coal industry knowing that we shall be in no better position to deal with it than we were with the five months' suspension in 1922 which led to the creation of the coal commission?

I can find only one answer. It is not unlike the explanation of the failure in England to act on the recommendations of the Sankey and the Samuel commissions until the general strike. The responsibility for the failure to secure any consideration of the subject in Congress and any remedial legislation appears to me to rest squarely on the shoulders of Calvin Coolidge, since August 2, 1923, president of the United States.

The Constitution puts upon the president the responsibility for recommending measures to Congress. But I do not rely solely on this general constitutional duty. The act of Congress creating the coal commission directed the commission to report both to Congress and to the president. A report to Congress is necessarily rather formal and impersonal. A report to the president is more direct, personal. It transfers direct responsibility. It gives an opportunity for personal conference, for cross-examination. I have personally known five presidents. I recall that this is the twentieth anniversary of the Philadelphia Conference of Charities and Correction, of which I was president. I was prevented by duties in San Francisco from presiding over its sessions, but I remember that I performed one function in connection with it in persuading Grover Cleveland to take part in its opening session. I have often speculated as to what use President Cleveland, or Roosevelt, or Taft, or Wilson, or Harding would have made of such a fifteen minutes' interview as took place at the White house between the President and the members of the United States Coal Commission on the conclusion of their labors in September, 1923.

Certainly Theodore Roosevelt, at the end of fifteen minutes, would have had very definite convictions as to what should be done about coal, even if he had never had any before. From the rich technical experience of John Hays Hammond and his candid, open-minded study of the coal problem; from George Otis Smith's geological knowledge; from Clark Howell's familiarity with political conditions in the South; from Thomas R. Marshall's homely philosophy; from Charles P. Neill's long and unique experience as umpire in the anthracite industry, ever since Roosevelt himself had sent him there as assistant to Carroll D. Wright in 1902, he would have gathered in the harvest of our inquiries. And then something would have happened at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Senator Borah would have had his work cut out for him. Senator Cummins, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, sympathetic with the ideas in the report about federal regulation, would have got busy, and as a reward for

his exertions might perhaps find himself in a little stronger position in his contest in Iowa with his late colleague, Senator Brookhart. Senator Pepper would have had an opportunity to put into form the convictions which I have heard it rumored he holds, in line with those of Senator Cummins, that coal is affected by a public use and that federal regulation is warranted, thus perhaps capturing a little of that sentiment among the miners which went to Governor Pinchot and which would have been so useful to him in the Pennsylvania primaries. Or perhaps, if the senators were preoccupied with World Court, war debts, and the like, the son-in-law of the doughty Colonel, at once speaker and reputed leader in the House of Representatives, would have had the chance to start the process by which a clearly formulated policy would be embodied in a legislative act. I must not go on with these anachronisms, but I feel warranted in expressing the conviction that no other of the presidents whom I have mentioned, including President Harding, who appointed the commission, would have been content merely to commend to Congress the consideration of the commission's report, without any indication of what particular recommendations, if any, met with his approval, or which one appeared to him objectionable. An Ohio newspaper says that it begins to look as if the way for the President to have Congress do something is to let it be known that he is against it. My complaint is that in regard to coal he failed even to do that. However, it is fair to mention that the President did lift one specific recommendation and, with slight changes, make it his own. He did recommend that in an emergency the president should be authorized to do what Roosevelt threatened to do in 1902 without authorization: that is, to nationalize the mines for the time being, appoint a fuel administrator to operate them. I have no right to say that members of the commission made this suggestion with misgiving. I will say that I did not agree to it until I had assured myself that it contained no suggestion of the use of coercion on the miners to work for the government except on such terms as they might accept. After the government had seized the mines, if the fuel administrator had no more power than the commission recommended, he would have either to fix wages satisfactory to the miners or else find others to take their place. He would have been authorized to fix prices of coal, but not to compel people to buy at his prices. So he could fix wages, but could not compel men to work. In other words, it did not include conscription. In a national emergency desperate measures may be needed, and I am not repudiating or belittling this particular recommendation merely because it is the only one, as far as I have observed, that the President adopts. But I am surely within respectful bounds when I insist that it is not the most important of the commission's recommendations, and that it is one which, if adopted, should, in my judgment, be hedged about most carefully to prevent anything like an exercise of arbitrary coercive power.

I have been told that people have difficulty in remembering just what the commission did recommend. Some think this is because we did not hold public hearings. I favored public hearings, but I do not share the view that their omis-

sion accounts for the lack of appropriate action. The Sankey commission held public hearings galore, comparable to those of our own Walsh industrial commission. But the British Parliament and the British government and the British coal industry failed to act on their recommendations, as they failed to act also on the recommendations of the Samuel commission until the strike of the miners and the sympathetic general strike forced upon public opinion a realization of the need for action. As Patrick Henry once remarked when they thought he was on the verge of treason, we may profit by their example.

I have heard it suggested that people fail to remember what the coal commission recommended because the commission did not have publicity experts at its disposal; did not sufficiently take the press, reporters and editorial writers, into confidence; did not sufficiently interpret their great volumes of facts. George Otis Smith, of the commission, has admitted, in appropriate metaphor, that we may have spent too much time and money in digging out the facts and not enough in preparing them; too much in blasting, loading, and hoisting, not enough in breaking, sizing, and washing them. I favored engaging a qualified editorial expert to perform day by day just this function, and since the commission finished its work I have done what I could in a book, in magazine articles, in lectures, to drive home the commission's findings. Yet again I doubt whether the lack of definite results can fairly be attributed to such things, and there is some excuse for the commission's failure in publicity. We were instructed by the act creating the commission to report to the president and to Congress; and our legal members and advisers questioned whether, in view of that, we had any right to spend any money whatever in reporting to the public. Our deliberate and official position was that it was our responsibility to find the facts and to report them clearly, with recommendations, but that it was the duty of the president and Congress to decide, as far as any governmental action was concerned, what to do about the facts.

One other suggestion has been made recently, and I may refer to it the more appropriately because this also is in line with a proposal which I made on various occasions to fellow-members of the commission while its work was in progress. This is that an unofficial, representative, national committee or association is needed, analogous to those which have achieved notable results in the enactment of child labor laws, compensation laws, etc. The purpose of such a committee would be to keep the subject alive between strikes or other crises. The American Association for Labor Legislation has performed this service with admirable persistence and energy in pressing for the publication of the commission's report and in urging action to diminish accidents. The *New York World* and the *Boston Herald* have been outstanding examples—no doubt there may be others—of similar persistence and energy in intelligent editorial discussion of the need for a national coal policy. A committee for educational propaganda might be of the greatest value if it were so organized as to represent no special interest, and were to work steadily for the principle of continuous fact finding and fact facing, for

orderly progress in solving specific problems, for the protection of all public interests, including those of consumers, workers, and investors, and the elimination of all special privilege and antisocial conditions as rapidly as they can be identified and unmasked, for the improvement of quality, the stabilizing and lowering of prices, the stabilizing of markets, the protection of life and of the standard of life of the workers and their families.

The United Mine Workers might very naturally feel that such a voluntary committee is superfluous. I would rejoice if the miners' union could and would undertake this task and make any new organization superfluous. It is a very great organization. It has had, and has, able leadership, loyal membership, and notable achievement to its credit. The commission says in its report that the potent agency for the last thirty years in the increase of wages, the decrease of hours, and the improvement of working conditions has been the United Mine Workers of America.

In various non-union fields the coal companies have organized their employees for consultation and for cooperation in certain matters, but such organizations do not, of course, give the miners equality of bargaining power, solidarity of action with comrades in other coal mines, or such security, independence, and self-respect as are associated with membership in a strong union.

In my opinion neither the coal industry nor the public gains from the division of the soft-coal industry into union and non-union fields. The non-union operators have an illegitimate and antisocial advantage. The union mines are operating under the Jacksonville Agreement of 1924, which has now less than a year to run. This agreement fixes a relatively high day-rate for men paid by the day: \$7.50 a day as the minimum for underground work. That is much higher than is paid day men, or "company men," as they are generally called, in non-union mines. Under the operation of the Jacksonville Agreement, the union mines, with their higher labor costs, have lost ground to their non-union competitors, where they have not, by some evasion or subterfuge, slipped out from an honorable performance of their contract and become non-union themselves.

Large non-union producers, especially in West Virginia, have the great initial advantage of superior grades of coal. Now they have the additional advantage of lower labor costs and, especially, the quick practical advantage of being able to reduce the wage scale—suddenly, more or less arbitrarily, as often as they like, subject of course to the limitation of the labor supply. They have the handicap, on the other hand, of having to send their product on a long and expensive journey to the industrial markets, but this has been offset to some extent by differential freight rates in their favor.

As a result of rapid and large-scale shifting of production from union to non-union fields, there are today idle or part-time operations and idle miners in the great central competitive fields of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania, while coal in large quantities flows past them from below the Ohio River

and from across the Allegheny Mountains to their former markets in Chicago, eastward to Buffalo, and westward to the Twin Cities and the Dakotas.

Freight rates are among the social aspects of the coal industry. The coal commission recommended that the Interstate Commerce Commission should undertake, on its own initiative, a thoroughgoing revision, starting with a clearly formulated principle, such as we cannot be said to have at present; but it is the other social aspect, the union versus non-union controversy, which is splitting the soft-coal industry wide open, engendering daily new bitterness, and all over the perfectly childish question as to whether the miners shall bargain collectively with their employers in regard to hours and wages and working conditions or whether each miner shall be individually at the mercy of whatever rates and regulations the mine may post. I hold the right of collective bargaining to be elementary, including the right of the miners to be represented by a union, with national or international membership. The entire anthracite industry is unionized, and there is no doubt that it is better so. The entire British coal industry is unionized, and no doubt it is better so. Suspensions occur, but when an agreement is reached, it equalizes labor costs and both operators and miners know what they can count on. The railroads of the United States are unionized in brotherhoods, and there is no doubt that this is to the advantage of the engineers, firemen, conductors, and other railroad men, to the advantage of the railroad management, and to the advantage of the public.

As to the bituminous coal industry, the curious idea has somehow gained currency that when there is a wage controversy the country is saved by the existence of non-union mines which continue to operate. This fact, of course, weakens the miners in such a struggle. It is apt to prolong the struggle. It is apt to lead to violence, to bloodshed, to armed intervention. It lowers the plane of the controversy. Since there are operators who are outside the Agreement, bound by no such obligations as are written into wage contracts, free to snatch orders and contracts from buyers at the time when their competitors, the union operators, are embarrassed by having to consider the demands of their workers, the general level tends naturally to sink to whatever level of hours and wages these free-lance operators may be able to set. The process is analogous to what occurs in other fields. Professor Farnam has recently reminded us of the analogy of Gresham's law: that bad money will always drive out good money when both are legal tender. You keep the more valuable coin and pay your debts with the chipped or worn or less valuable coin. Just so in industry the exploiting employer, the manufacturer of shoddy or adulterated or sweated goods, if he is allowed to operate, will either drive out his more honorable competitors or drag their practices down to his own level. In a historic paper before one of the earliest sessions of the American Economic Association, Professor Henry Carter Adams demonstrated that regulatory laws do not destroy competition, but merely fix the level below which competition shall not take place.

Now the non-union coal competition in Alabama, Colorado, West Virginia,

and other states is on too low a level. That is what I mean by illegitimate. The United Mine Workers deserve the moral support of the nation—bear in mind I am not predicting that they will get it—in demanding that the plane of competition be raised by the extension of union contracts, the introduction of union conditions throughout the entire industry. The miners of the United States are entitled, in my opinion, to the same sort of moral support and encouragement from the federal and from the state governments in this paramount issue as the miners and the trade-unions of England are receiving from the Baldwin government.

A MINORITY REPORT ON THE BITUMINOUS COAL PROBLEM

Warren S. Blauvelt, Terre Haute, Indiana

It is, of course, impossible in a brief discussion to deal exhaustively with the present social aspects of the coal industry. In view of the thousands of pages of documentary evidence collected by the coal commission, the recommendations of the commission, and the books which have recently been published dealing with the question it may be a little presumptuous for a mere coal operator to take up your time in giving his views. What I have to say is the result of several years' study of the various problems of the bituminous coal industry, combined with the experience obtained as chief executive for about a year of a small mining company in a non-union field, and four years' experience in a similar capacity in the union field. In no sense am I expressing the opinions of coal operators generally. Both mind and temperament place me inevitably in the minority. I never could understand why the other eleven jurors were so utterly unable to weigh evidence and arrive at the obviously correct verdict. But in one case, on a trial jury more than thirty years ago, the other eleven jurors finally expressed their surprise that their opinions when first they entered the jury-room were so completely mistaken, and the verdict finally rendered was entirely in accord with the evidence and the law. For thirty-three years I have been hoping that this experience might be repeated in some case of real importance, but never since that date have I found the other eleven jurors amenable to reason.

The bituminous coal industry of this country is overdeveloped; we have mines developed, equipped after a fashion, and nearly fully manned, with a total productive capacity, if operated 300 days each year, 50 to 80 per cent in excess of the country's requirements. This overdevelopment causes enormous wastes of man-power, of capital investment, and of the natural resource, and, as in all other cases of needless waste, society as a whole must suffer and the bill has to be paid, though part of the payment may be deferred to future generations, even as a considerable part of the waste involved in the Great War will be paid for by our great-grandchildren.

But notwithstanding these wastes, the bituminous coal industry probably

compares fairly well with all other basic industries of the country. Stuart Chase, in that extremely stimulating, interesting, but grossly misleading book, "The Tragedy of Waste," gives the overdevelopment of important industries as follows: automobile manufacturing (after 1926), 10 per cent excess capacity; steel industry, 70 per cent; copper smelters, 100 per cent; copper wire, copper and brass rolling mills, 300 per cent; zinc industry, 100 per cent; sulphur, 100 per cent; lumber, 215 per cent; shoes, 80 per cent; printing, 50 per cent to 150 per cent; linseed oil, 200 per cent; sugar, 100 per cent; clothing, 31 to 86 per cent.

From this comparison it is natural for coal operators to ask, "Why pick on us?" As a coal operator I am rather glad that the coal industry is "picked on," for within the industry the comparison should not be made with other industries, but with an attainable standard in our own industry; and criticism stimulates improvement. The coal industry, however, like all of these other industries which are overdeveloped and which run irregularly, is the victim of a politico-economic environment which has been established without any regard whatever to natural economic laws.

The numerous physicians who are prescribing remedies, whether volunteers, government officials, politicians, labor leaders, journalists, or social reformers, are all offering prescriptions intended to ameliorate conditions, but which are doomed to ultimate failure because they disregard the ultimate causes of the disease and the natural law of human conduct that men always strive to satisfy their desires by the method which appears to them least repugnant. In handling the coal problem up to the present time, reformers, politicians, and the American public are running true to form. They show a marvelously credulous confidence in the efficacy of statutes backed up by the police power of government.

The one unmistakably proper function of government is to establish justice, which in economics might be interpreted as equality of opportunity. This is the one function of government which has been disregarded to such an extent that in the great mass of legislation affecting industry the general effect has been to establish inequality of opportunity, to penalize thrift, industry, and enterprise, to curtail the efficient performance of the service functions generally, and to multiply the hazards of productive enterprises. On the other hand, economic legislation generally has tended to increase the rewards of antisocial activities and to safeguard parasitic incomes—that is, incomes obtained from society without rendering to society equivalent service, either in labor of brain or brawn, or in what is equally important, the assumption of risk by capital in industry, in commerce, or in the other service functions upon which our present civilization depends.

We are constantly attempting to use the political means of solving our economic and social problems; we neglect the economic means. In social relations we constantly act like the crazy inventor who could achieve success with his invention only by the alteration or abrogation of the law of gravity, $V^2 = 2GH$.

The use of the economic rather than the political method in solving a prob-

lem may be illustrated by an actual occurrence during the war. In the fall and early winter of 1917, owing to inadequate transportation facilities, the movement of coke from producing centers to industries engaged in war work was insufficient to meet the demand. There were between seven and eight thousand foundries and minor industries engaged in war work which required coke. There were also possibly some 350 blast furnaces whose operation depended upon their supply of coke. The foundries needed only about 10 per cent of the total product, while the blast furnaces required possibly 85 per cent. But the foundry supply was the more immediately important. The political method was to use the police power of government to compel the movement of the required coke to foundries, but the problem of getting coke of the particular quality required to each of the seven or eight thousand industries when and as needed was as far beyond the immediate police power to accomplish as the measurement of the wave-length of ultra-violet rays is beyond the power of the sweet girl graduate of the grammar school. The Fuel Administration employed the economic means; it permitted a slightly higher profit per ton on foundry coke moved to foundries than on blast furnace coke or coke moved to blast furnaces, with the natural result that foundries got coke of the quality required, when and as needed, without any compulsion and at far less cost than the expense of policing the movement of all coke, which would have been disastrous to the production schedule of the war industries.

The ills of the bituminous coal industry could and would be remedied in a comparatively few years if the economic method rather than the political method were employed, but any such consummation is utterly unattainable in a society so avid as ours to purchase quack remedies and so unwilling to act in harmony with natural laws. But notwithstanding the comparative hopelessness of the situation, it may be a matter of academic interest to consider the possibilities.

Desire is the sole force leading men to action. The law of this force, as previously stated, is that men attempt to satisfy desire by the method which appears least repugnant. If we wish to increase efficiency and economy in the performance of the service functions of the coal industry, namely, the production, the transportation, and the distribution of coal, and wish to abate those activities connected with the coal industry which promote waste, we should alter the economic environment of the industry in such ways as would reduce the hazards connected with the performance of the service functions, and would tend to increase the rewards for their efficient performance, but would tend to increase the risks and reduce the rewards which may now be obtained by the efficient performance of antisocial activities which promote waste and increase cost, thus producing socially evil consequences of unmeasured magnitude.

In approaching the problem from this angle it is highly important that we should cease to think in terms of persons, whether natural or artificial, and should think only in terms of functions, keeping clearly in mind the difference between the service functions in the industry and its antisocial or parasitic func-

tions. Let me illustrate the difference between these opposing types of functions by a story.

With several associates, some twenty years ago, I became interested in developing a mine which produced coal of exceptional quality for certain uses. Our little company performed the service functions of thrift, of enterprise, of the assumption of risk, and of direct work, by saving money, risking it to develop and equip a mine, and by operating it to produce coal of a quality needed for a special purpose. Our company performed these service functions for three years and lost money in its performance every year. We also exercised the parasitic function—the vested right of sole access to a certain area of a limited natural resource. The relatively small quantity known of that particular kind of coal resulted in so great an increase in the value of this vested right that we sold the property for an amount sufficient to pay all our accumulated losses, 7 per cent per annum on the invested capital, and to return to the investors something more than twice the capital originally invested.

The politicians' and reformers' method of attacking evils generally is to extend the police power and to tax capital invested in the performance of the service functions, or incomes derived from their performance, to meet the expense. The economic method would be gradually to untax investment in, and income derived from, the service functions, while gradually increasing the tax upon those vested rights from which parasitic incomes are principally derived. This is, I believe, the most important prerequisite for the solution not merely of the social problems connected with the coal industry, but also for the solution of all of the great social problems the consideration of which is the purpose of this Conference. I know of no possible educational activity which would be more helpful to social workers than the careful study of the philosophy of Henry George. But I beg of you not to assume that Henry George, or any of his intelligent disciples, believes that single tax is a panacea for social or economic disease; it would merely establish an environment favorable to the cure of such ills.

The coal industry is the victim of an evil economic environment growing out of the lack of any principles of equity in the establishment of freight rates. Coal freight rates and their relationships are of great importance because the total amount paid by the consumers of bituminous coal for freight charges undoubtedly exceeds the amount paid for the same coal at the pit mouth, and a slight change in freight-rate relations may destroy the mining industry in one district while stimulating its activity and prosperity in another field. There is a very simple principle of equity which might be applied to railroad rates which would prove of inestimable value in stabilizing the production and transportation of coal and reducing its cost to the consuming public, namely, the charges for any service rendered by a public service corporation should be proportioned to the cost of the particular kind of service required and rendered. This principle has been applied with marked success in the electric power industry and its application is one of the causes for the enormous development of that industry,

which, in turn, has made possible a cost of lighting with incandescent electric lights in the workingman's home considerably less than the cost of equal illumination with kerosene lamps. Equitable rates tend to reduce the peaks and fill in the valleys of the load curve. Applied to coal transportation, equity would result in a rational distance-rate scale, with terminal charges which would vary at different terminals, and in some form of commutation rates whereby the charges per ton moved from a given origin to a given destination would be less with a uniform movement throughout the year than if said movement were irregular, and hence more expensive to the carrier. This, in turn, would react on the mining operation to increase the number of working days and to reduce the number of idle days. Competition would quickly eliminate the inefficient mining ventures.

A change in the economic environment which would be helpful not only to the coal industry but to all service functions would be the substitution of a standard-value dollar for the present standard-weight dollar. The labor difficulties which resulted in the inflated wage scale of 1920 and those which accompanied the effort to deflate that scale in 1922 probably would not have occurred had it not been that the purchasing power of the dollar depreciated heavily after the 1917 wage scale had been adopted, and then appreciated greatly after the 1920 scale went into effect. Technically, in 1920 the United Mine Workers were wrong, but practically, they were right; their true wages had been reduced. In 1922, when true wages advanced with no change in the wage scale, the United Mine Workers were able, by the Jacksonville Agreement, to retain the wage scale based on the value of the 1920 dollar. Actually, however, this was a barren victory for the great mass of the workers in the union field, because for many of them it meant reduced hours of work or their complete elimination from the industry, and the rapid transfer of the business to the non-union fields.

My plea, therefore, is for a sane modification of the economic environment of the business and the abandonment of political efforts which disregard natural economic law. Economic law always works, but the phenomena produced vary greatly with the environment. The expansive power of steam in a proper environment safely moves the vessel to the desired harbor, but in an improper environment will blow up the boilers, with the total destruction of the vessel.

But, notwithstanding the unavoidable evils that arise from the economic environment of the industry, established by state and federal legislation, much can be accomplished by the individual operator toward stabilizing the operation of his own undertaking; if he will use and not ignore natural economic law, he may contribute to the welfare of his employees, of the carrier which transports his coal, and of the customers who are willing to cooperate with him in making regular mining operations possible, and he may, under favorable conditions, secure a cash reward for his efforts. Unfortunately, coal operators are pretty much like a cross-section of society; we do not like to think in terms of ultimate causation or in terms of function. It is so much simpler to think in terms of proximate

causation and of personalities. To one who is willing to think of ultimate causes and to forget personalities, idle mines, coal famines, Herrin riots, and the suspension of the constitutional rights of free speech and free assemblage are merely symptoms. They are the natural results of a politico-economic environment in which men's natural desires appear to be more easily satisfied by antisocial activities than by the efficient performance of service functions.

May I close with two quotations which seem to me applicable to the bituminous coal situation? First, the last stanza of one of A. E. Housman's poems:

To think that two and two are four,
And neither five nor three;
The heart of man hath long been sore,
And long 'tis like to be.

Coal operators, mine workers, politicians, journalists, and social reformers continue to act as though two and two were either three or five.

The other quotation is from Tagore:

Facts are many, but the truth is one. The animal intelligence knows fact, the human mind has power to apprehend truth. The apple falls from the tree, the rain descends upon the earth—you can go on burdening your memory with such facts and never come to an end, but once you get hold of the law of gravitation, you can dispense with the necessity of collecting facts ad infinitum. You have got one truth which governs numberless facts. The discovery of truth is pure joy to man—it is a liberation of his mind. For a mere fact is like a blind lane, it leads only to itself—it has no beyond. But a truth opens up a whole horizon, it leads us to the infinite.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

*H. S. Raushenbush, Secretary, Committee on Coal
and Power, New York*

The discussions tonight have been amazing to me. The analysis of the coal industry which has been made so far is, in my opinion, neither adequate nor accurate. This leads to two direct exceptions to what has been said. The first speaker (Dr. Devine) pictured the coal industry as suffering from mildly adolescent troubles such as a probation officer might easily correct. If mild regulation is all that is needed there is no particular point in our meeting here tonight, and Calvin Coolidge might sleep in the White House another four years without our coming to grief over the industry. The situation is much more serious than he has painted it. Before the next year is over there will be unpleasantly human things to tell us that it cannot be dismissed so lightly; unpleasant things reeking of sweat and blood to tell us that the situation is one of those almost impossible ones out of which men fight their way savagely.

The second speaker (Mr. Blauvelt) has spent his time giving you another misconception of the situation. He would make it appear that the industry

was plagued by legislative interference all the time; that if left alone something which he calls "natural laws" would right the industry. There is no legislation regulating the coal industry, nor have we had any such legislation since the war or before it. The income tax laws and antitrust laws do not differentiate the coal industry from other industries. The mess the industry is in today is pretty much the result of the "natural laws" which Mr. Blauvelt wants to have preserved or reenacted—which is it? Another thing which astonished me was the casual way in which he tossed off, as a remedy for the coal industry, a plan of confiscation. Certainly his idea of revolutionizing the freight-rate structure in order to favor an entirely new set of cities over Cleveland and Chicago and the present terminals is a confiscation of present property values in those present terminals as definite as any which the first speaker inveighed against.

The coal industry disturbs the pleasant sense of complacency into which we find ourselves drifting with regard to labor in this country. We are told so often that industry is becoming efficient and, with the increase in its efficiency, wages are increasing. Gradually we let ourselves believe this and believe that all is well, although within the last year two distinguished economists (Mr. Douglas and Mr. Soule) have pointed out, first, that while national productivity over thirty years increased 52 per cent, labor's share of it increased only 26 per cent, or one-half; and second, that an increasingly larger part of our national income is going, not to the producing industries at all, but to the distributing end, to the wholesalers, middlemen of various kinds, and the retailers. The coal industry, like the textile industry, accentuates these findings. It is the unpleasant morning-after which is always there to greet us after the nights of our pleasant drunken dreams of peace and prosperity among men of good will. Its presence cannot be conjured away any more than a similar situation could be conjured away in Great Britain, where 900,000 men are now locked out.

The analogy with Great Britain's situation, while not complete, has its points of interest. First, both countries are expanded far beyond the coal market's demand. Here the overexpansion is due largely to improvement in technique: coal-cutters, coal-loaders, more efficient ways of working the face. The result is that we have an immediate potential capacity of five hundred million tons more than we use, an overexpansion of 100 per cent. Second, both countries have many extra workers. The number in America is now estimated at 150,000 or 200,000 and if the technical improvements now established in some of the mines become universal, that number may be raised to 400,000 within ten years. Third, both countries have their bankruptcies. During the last four months of 1925, without the subsidy, 73 per cent of the British mines were running at a loss. Over here the shift in production has lowered values in some parts of the country to the point where capitalized earnings would give a total value close to zero. This, of course, is a very real form of confiscation, informal but actual. Fourth, the earnings of the men in both countries are very low. Secretary of Labor Davis has shown, in an article in the

Monthly Labor Review, March, 1926, the average annual earnings for miners and loaders in 1924 in certain of the states. In Alabama these crafts worked 220 days for \$1,005; in Illinois, 148 days for \$1,265; in Indiana, 136 days for \$1,164; in Kansas, 151 days for \$894; in Kentucky, 174 days for \$980; in Ohio, 143 days for \$1,025; in Pennsylvania, 180 days for \$1,152; in West Virginia, 182 days for \$1,110.

There is another similarity between the two countries: Fifth, the rank and file of the miners are willing to tighten their belts and go out on strike and starve, as they did, for example, in 1922. We must not neglect to count on this. As long as there is the American tradition of not taking a licking lying down, as long as there is the American tradition of dying with your boots on, we may expect the miners not to take any further lowering of these already low annual earnings without a struggle. This entirely American tradition led entirely American-born-and-bred miners to do what they did at Herrin, and throughout our history the attempt to take their food away from them has always led people to violence. This may not be wise or right, but it is inherent in the situation. Sixth, a final similarity between the two countries lies in the fact that the industries of the two countries do not seem to be able to absorb the extra men. As Hamilton and Wright have pointed out, the men in the coal industry are in an especially bad way when it comes to hunting for new jobs because when the coal industry is depressed the rest of industry is also depressed.

The dissimilarities between the two countries are, roughly, three. First, foreign competition is not such a large factor in our coal industry; second, we have mechanized, and are mechanizing, to a greater extent than they have done in Great Britain; third, the union in America now extends over only 40 per cent of the production; in Great Britain it extends over the total production.

Here we have the amazing situation of a new industrial revolution (a very rapid improvement in the technique of coal mining) taking place in the industry which made the old industrial revolution a possibility; and, further, we have a breakdown of the promise that increased efficiency means better wages and greater profits.

In this situation the miners have, in human terms, the largest stake. Generally speaking, the more their wages are cut in one way or another, the lower the price of coal is to the great industries, railroads, and public utilities purchasing coal. The consuming public, which in the case of bituminous coal consists of these large industrial corporations, will not protest at a situation which lowers the price of one of the main raw materials. Nor, when coal prices go up, do the industries of the country have great difficulty in passing the cost on to the consumers. This is the main reason why there has been much less call for the reorganization of the bituminous industry than for the reorganization of the anthracite industry where the consumers are householders and cannot pass on any price increases. Nor do the owners and stockholders have quite the same kind of stake in the industry as the miners have. Presumably those who have money to

invest in such speculative enterprises as our bituminous mines are aware of their risk and have the sums which keep them from penury invested in bonds which return a steady interest instead of a chance profit. They are at least not hit in quite the same simple bread-and-butter way in which the miners are when the whistle stops blowing and there is no more work.

We have here a situation of permanent underemployment and low annual earnings which neither the advocates of "birth control of new mines" on one hand nor the advocates of greater efficiency on the other hand can stop. Even if no new mines had been opened in the last five years the country would still be overproduced, and any further increase in the efficiency of labor would have accentuated that overproduction and underemployment even more than it already has done.

I shall spend no time translating this into standards of living, community respect, education, and the like. This particular group probably knows better than any other one in the country what those words mean. Of course the lowered purchasing power of 700,000 workers, representing between three and four million people, has affected, and will continue to affect, adversely the workers in the other industries of the country.

To come to the essence of the miners' situation: they have left the industry to the financiers and managers. They have talked about reorganization of the industry, but never have brought serious pressure to bear anywhere upon the financiers, managers, or government toward that end. Where a mine was opened they came to work. They moved their families. They placed their trust in the wisdom of those whose wisdom is respected so greatly in this country at the present time. Mines closed. They were given to understand that they might open again. They stayed. They tried to patch out with other work. There are few other industries in many of the small mine towns. To some extent their craft training had incapacitated them for other jobs. On the whole they left the owners and managers of the mining industry free to control their destinies. Two things only they insisted upon: that there be a certain minimum standard of living below which they could not go, and that they have a union to protect that minimum standard, for they knew that without the union it would be taken from them.

Today unemployment has, in the main, taken away from them that minimum standard, and the union which attempted to maintain it for them has dropped from 72 per cent of the production to around 40 per cent in this year. What the northern union fields have lost has gone to West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. These fields now have the advantage of better coal, steadier operation, lower overhead, better machinery, a flexible wage scale, and lower labor costs.

Out of this description it is possible to draw the rough lines of the dilemma which will face us next April when the Jacksonville Agreement expires. There is very little chance of unionization of the whole industry now, but that is one of the alternatives. If the whole industry were unionized, the subsistence level

could be pegged at a certain point; the union might then change its thin-seam and freight differentials enough to eliminate some of the least efficient mines. It has never yet done these things, but it might take this way out of an almost impossible situation. It could also bar out new men from entering the industry. It could force the operators to unite, which they have never done yet, and agree among themselves to some policy of restriction of the overexpansion of the industry.

If the fields are de-unionized, on the other hand, in fact if not in name, we may expect a cut in wages to the lowest level which the southern workers would stand without unionizing. Just where this point is we do not know. That the standard of living in the mountains where many of the southern miners come from is much lower than that of our more urban and industrialized sections, we know. To cut the wages much lower would mean a close approach to starvation for many and a definitely lowered standard of living for the four million people directly affected, and also a lowering of wages in the adjacent industries under the labor competition of men leaving the industry. Thus by small decisions we would enter upon a national low-wage policy, which means low purchasing power, which would have an important effect upon the whole country. As a nation we cannot afford to go to the low-wage basis which many of the European countries have adopted.

The important thing to note is that a cut in the wage rates of the northern miners would not settle the situation. The northern operators will certainly demand this next spring—are, in fact, even now demanding it—but as a group it will not help them. The miners have no guaranty, and the operators are in no position to give them a guaranty, that lower day rates will give them the same annual earnings as they are receiving now. No sooner are the northern rates cut than the southern operators will cut rates, and the two fields will be on the same competitive basis, a little lower in the scale of living conditions for their miners, but otherwise quite the same. They cannot increase their market by lowering the price. If, at the end of another year or two, the northern miners were forced to take another wage cut, the southern workers might also take another to get enough work to keep their annual earnings somewhere close to their expenses. What will all this process accomplish? Cheaper coal? Yes, but that will not increase the market, and it is not the operators, but the purchasers, who will get the advantage of it. Greater employment for the miners? Hardly. After the lowest level of living which the non-union miners can stand has been reached there will be greater employment for the union miners, but lower annual earnings all around for all the miners. It will get some of the men out of the industry, of course. Where can they find employment? What effect will that have on the wages in the industries where they seek it? Will their departure really limit the overexpansion in the industry?

At present both the plan for unionizing the whole industry and the plan for accomplishing its reorganization by de-unionization do not have enough power

behind them to accomplish even the meager results they promise. In the end we will, as a nation, probably come to the union program because we cannot afford to go to a permanent low-wage basis. The length of time before we get there depends somewhat upon us. At present there is waste, confiscation of property values, and practical starvation. There will probably be violence. It is inherent in the situation and we should not let it divert our minds from the main problem when it comes. The question is whether these things shall result in a centralized control and responsibility in the industry or in the government or whether it is all another one of those wars which get us nowhere. So far all these things have gotten us nowhere. The "natural laws" of supply and demand of which much used to be made fifty years ago have not eliminated the inefficient mines nor the superfluous miners, nor provided decent wages. The policy of leaving everything to the industry in the last resort to settle, which is a temptation our politicians yield to with grace, fluency, and frequency, has not brought relief, nor is it likely to. The industry is torn into small parts. The operators are not united. The miners are not united. There is no coal policy.

In his book, *Coal*, Dr. Devine brings out the dilemma of the union in very interesting fashion. In speaking about the possibility of the workers getting "more satisfaction, more freedom, more security—more happiness, in short—out of the work itself," he remarks that

in the course of such a development the union would have to become an agency for the mining of coal instead of a belligerent organization for maintaining the wages and rights of the miners—or rather, in addition to discharging that function. Restriction of output would cease. Loyalty to the enterprise would replace sullen hostility. . . .

Again:

I am convinced that it is not impracticable. But I am equally convinced that it is not practicable in private enterprise under external financial control; in private enterprises conducted primarily for maximum dividends to stockholders. Private enterprise has still the opportunity to show whether it can, in effect, socialize industry. . . .

A little later he says:

The United Mine Workers should change their policy, not so much because it is monopolistic, in the sense that it looks forward to including all miners in it, but because it is too narrow. . . . As long as the industry is primarily exploitive, however, controlled by outside financial interests for the sake of maximum profits to the big stockholders or manipulators . . . there is very little reason to expect a change in the policy of labor. The industry must change altogether if the miners are to be expected to change. Indeed, it would not be amiss to say that while the exploiting, antisocial policies of the operators continue it would not be in the public interest for the miners to throw themselves in unreservedly to make the production as great and the cost as low as possible. If the result of such hearty cooperation on their part were to be only an increase in profits, speculation, irregularity, profiteering, and overdevelopment, the public might well be led to pray to be delivered from such excess of zeal on the part of labor. The main bulwark of humanity against the worst excesses of an acquisitive capitalism may prove to be the unwillingness of labor to play its game to such an unreasonable extent.

These are strong words, and yet one is inclined to say that there is a great deal to them. It is not impossible that the union miners may at times be con-

fused; not aware of, or unable to cope with, the complications of this great and widespread industry, but when they go forth to peg the living of four million people at a decent minimum below which it must not be allowed to drop, they are raising a standard to which all liberal and humanitarian America can rally.

OBSERVANCE OF MEMORIAL DAY

(INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS)

Rev. Abba Hillel Silver, D.D., The Temple, Cleveland

I would be trespassing both upon your time and your patience were I to presume to speak at length upon any theme related to the great cause which has summoned you, since there are two distinguished guests here to address you. One of our guests will interpret the spiritual aspect of the ministry of social service to which you have dedicated yourselves, and another will interpret the message of Memorial Day. No more appropriate themes, and, I daresay, no more appropriate spokesmen, could have been chosen for the occasion.

In a sense there is a close concordance between the spirit of Memorial Day and that which informs your great Conference. It is, I believe, faith in the reality of certain imperative ideals in social life which are deserving of man's deepest loyalties and highest sacrifices. There are dark hours in human history when some of these ideals are in imminent danger of defeat. Then those who venerate them are summoned by destiny to lay down their lives for them. Such honored dead we memorialize in reverence today. But, there are other times—in fact the unbroken and endless years, in which these ideals require unfoldment and fulfilment, when they are in danger, not of being defeated, but of being forgotten. Their devotees are then summoned daily and hourly, not to die for them, but to live for them. These devotees are the social workers, lay or professional, who in a thousand great and humble ways are helping to realize these ideals, to give them, as it were, "a local habitation and a name," and to express them into concrete human institutions and relationships.

Memorial Day brings to grateful memory those who died in the wars of our Republic. Mankind has waged many wars, and most of them have been unnecessary, ignoble, and beastly cruel. But even those wars which were honestly waged for the sake of essential human ideals were never won except as the faithful men and women, the inspired "hewers of wood and drawers of water," in their patient, detailed labors after the wars, carried into partial fulfilment the purposes for which these wars were fought.

The Civil War did not emancipate the slave. Only in a very narrow and limited sense did the Civil War emancipate the slave. It will take decades more, and generations, before the Negro will receive his due of political and economic justice in this land. The Civil War only cleared the jungle and prepared the way for the slow, patient, often heart breaking campaigns which all the lovers of

freedom have carried on, and must still carry on, in behalf of his real emancipation.

Similarly, the Great War established none of the purposes for which it was avowedly fought. Europe has been made safe, not for democracy, but for autocracy; and the ideal of a lasting peace among the peoples of the earth is still traveling the dolorous road of frustration. How will these purposes ever be achieved? The faithful servants of men, here and abroad, working through the coming years, patiently and in sacrificial loyalty, each in his respective sphere of influence—they will make real the ideals for which ten millions of men, wittingly or unwittingly, gave their lives.

It is, therefore, most salutary to surrender ourselves to the inspiring influences of Memorial Day; for by recalling the high hopes of those who poured out the rich red wine of their youth upon the high altars we may become the more keenly aware of the great work still left undone. We shall be reminded that the dead are summoning us to take up the torch which their hands carried in glory and honor through the great tribulations of war; that they are demanding of us to safeguard the spiritual legacies which they have bequeathed unto us, and to make real that for which they gave all that life held dear.

There is one war, my friends, to which they, the dead, would summon us today—a war which has been waged since the beginning of civilization, and which will be waged until the Kingdom is firmly established; a war whose implements are not the sword or steel, but love and the spirit, whose soldiers are the meek and the humble of the earth, the prophet, the teacher, the seeker of truth; a war in which none is wounded, but all are healed; in which none is slain, but all are resurrected into the fuller and higher life; the only holy war of humanity—the war on poverty, physical and spiritual; the war on all that thwarts human life, all that renders life mean and narrow and ugly, all that keeps man from enjoying his divine patrimony of freedom and beauty and happiness, the war on ignorance, superstition, vice, oppression, and exploitation.

And may it be a relentless war! And may we, soldiers, never falter nor grow weary.

THE SPIRITUAL ELEMENT IN SOCIAL WORK

Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., Washington, D.C.

The field of social work is presumably pretty well covered by the twelve divisions of the National Conference. Eight of them are concerned with various objects of social work, while the other four deal with methods, means, and organization. The objects are, primarily, relief and prevention of social distress, and secondarily, improvement of social standards. Analyzing the wide variety of topics which have a place on the program of the present conference, we find that the majority of them relate to physical distress, physical needs, and physical improvement. The other topics have to do with the moral and mental welfare

of persons in distress or persons who lack adequate opportunity or suitable environment.

Only two papers deal with spiritual distress or spiritual improvement. In both of them the spiritual element is treated not as an end, but as a means to social and individual welfare. However, no just fault can be found with this. Spiritual needs and spiritual improvement are the proper and formal concern of religious organizations. Were social workers to make the spiritual faculty their primary object, they would cease to be social workers and add one more to our already lengthy list of religious divisions.

Nevertheless, they cannot and should not ignore the spiritual side of life, the spiritual element in those to whom they minister. Social distress is fundamentally the distress of human beings, and a human being is something more than a combination of physical and mental powers. A part of his nature, by far the most important part, is spirit. To deal with a human being without taking into account his spiritual nature is to treat him inadequately. Sooner or later such one-sided treatment must do harm as well as good, and not infrequently the harm will exceed the good. Neglect of the spiritual element necessarily means neglect of the moral life and, frequently, of the material and intellectual life. In the second place, the social worker who ignores the spiritual element deprives himself of the most effective motive that is within his reach for conscientious and sustained social ministration. Although the majority of social workers are mainly occupied with specific problems of relief or prevention, their vision and aims are not restricted to the persons or groups with whom they deal immediately. All earnest and thoughtful social workers consider their tasks and functions in relation to social improvement. They look forward to better social conditions and arrangements, better social institutions, a better society, a better civilization.

What is social improvement, or social progress? What do we mean by better social institutions, or a better society? These questions cannot be answered by any social worker without taking an attitude toward the question of the spiritual element in humanity. Social progress is commonly conceived in terms of evolution. Among the various theories of social evolution that have at one time or another obtained considerable acceptance there are two which may with advantage receive brief notice here. In some respects they are opposites; in other respects they exhibit a good deal of mutual resemblance. They were, respectively, held by Herbert Spencer and F. G. W. Hegel.

According to Spencer:

The well-being of existing humanity, and the unfolding of it into ultimate perfection, are both secured by that same beneficent, though severe, discipline, to which the animal creation at large is subject: a discipline which is pitiless in the working out of good: a felicity-pursuing law which never swerves for the avoidance of partial and temporary suffering. The poverty of the incapable, the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which leave so many in shallows and misery, are the decrees of a large, farseeing benevolence.

In the system excogitated by Hegel, the state is the highest expression, manifestation, evolution of the universal reason, or world-spirit. Since perfection of life consists in the continuous development of the universal reason, and since the universal reason obtains its highest development in the state, all persons and institutions should serve and magnify the state. The individual exists for the state, and bears the same relation to it as the branch does to the tree. Hence the state is the final and supreme end of human action; it is an end in itself.

Spencer's theory of social progress would leave no place for either social work or state assistance. The weaker members of society would be permitted to perish under unlimited competition. The competitive struggle would accomplish among human beings that which is brought about in the animal world by natural selection. The result would be a continuously improving human society, a gradually rising average of human perfection. While Hegel would probably not have excluded entirely social workers had they existed in his day, there is no doubt that he would have approved the most ruthless treatment of individuals whenever that course seemed to further the development or increase the power of the state. And he would have regarded this enhancement of state welfare as identical with social evolution and social progress.

Social workers have never fully accepted either of these theories. Substantially all their activities for the relief of social distress are directly opposed to the Spencerian program of eliminating the unfit. Nor have American social workers ever hesitated to invoke legislation and other appropriate state action on behalf of the weaker classes. In America, at any rate, social workers have not accepted the Hegelian theory of state omnipotence nor looked upon the state as identical with society.

Nevertheless, there is a real danger that they will adopt some of the worst features in both these theories unless they hold fast to the truth of man's spiritual nature. If we think of society as an entity, a good apart from its component individuals, we can easily and logically draw the conclusion that individuals who are not reformable, who are not capable of becoming useful to society, should be eliminated; or at least that they should be so treated as to diminish their power for harming society without helping them for their own sake. And we can become sufficiently Hegelian in our social thinking as to demand that this task of elimination or of subordination should be performed by the state. While social workers are not likely to regard aggrandizement of the state as the proper end of their efforts, they can easily come to hold that drastic action upon the individual by the state is a legitimate means of promoting social progress.

Perhaps it is worth while to define just what we mean by the spiritual element. The word "spiritual" is frequently misused and used vaguely. Sometimes it is a synonym for "emotional," or "idealistic," or "unselfish." It is much more than any of these. The spiritual element is not the same as the religious element; for the latter refers to a religious creed, religious observances, church affiliations.

While religion is extremely important in social work, it can be properly applied only under the direction of religious organizations. It is therefore outside the sphere of all social workers except those who are employed by churches.

The definition of "spiritual" in the *Century Dictionary* is sufficiently clear and serviceable. It means "pertaining to the soul." The spiritual element, therefore, is the soul. The spiritual element in social work means the recognition of the soul as the supreme good in a human being. It is the soul which gives to man his intrinsic worth as a person, instead of a mere means to the welfare of society. Because of his soul, his personality, his intrinsic worth, the human individual is endowed with certain rights which may not be violated even in the interest of social progress. After all, social progress means the progress of human beings. Apart from human beings, social progress and society itself are empty abstractions. To use any class of human beings as mere instruments to social improvement is, in reality, to subordinate one group of persons to another, albeit a larger group of persons. For such a policy there can be no moral justification.

If this conception of the human individual as having intrinsic worth seems intangible or metaphysical, the answer is that every ultimate standard of values is intangible and metaphysical. To the person who believes that weak and socially useless individuals ought to be sacrificed to social welfare, society appears as good in itself, as metaphysically good. To the question, Why should we further the interests of society? the answer must be in terms of metaphysics. The assumption must be made that society is its own justification, that there is no further end to which society might be made an instrument.

So much for the general principle concerning the supreme worth of the individual as derived from his spiritual element. Let us consider two or three particular applications of the principle. Many social workers are today interested in eugenics. They believe that the presence of great numbers of mentally and physically subnormal persons is a grave menace to racial integrity and racial improvement. Therefore they desire that the number of such persons should be reduced both absolutely and relatively. Some of the means advocated to reach this end are drastic, and until recently would have seemed shocking and inhuman to substantially all our people. Among these are severe restrictions upon the marriage of the relatively unfit and universal laws for sterilization. If laws of the latter character could be enforced, it is contended that "less than four generations would eliminate nine-tenths of the crime, insanity, and sickness of the present generation in our land. Asylums, prisons, and hospitals would decrease, and the problems of the unemployed, the indigent old, and the hopelessly degenerate would cease to trouble civilization."

No social worker who gives due recognition to the spiritual element can approve these brutal proposals. Even if we assume that it is possible to identify all persons whose offspring would be a social liability rather than a social asset, the proposed means of forbidding them the opportunity of marriage and parenthood are immoral. A considerable immediate gain would come to society if all

the insane, all the hopelessly crippled, all the irredeemable criminals, and all the incurably infirm were put to death. For two reasons this remedy finds few, if any, advocates. The first reason is that it would violate the right to live which these afflicted groups possess in common with their more fortunate fellows. In the second place, there is grave reason to fear that the disregard of human sacredness involved in this wholesale killing for a social end would bring about a continuous decline in human sympathy and in the sense of human values generally. Human society would revert to the practices of the jungle.

Both these objections can be urged against the radical measures of race betterment proposed by many of the eugenists. The difference in the two situations is only a difference in degree. A due regard to the sacredness of human personality, to the spiritual element in the human being, requires that no person should be permanently deprived of the right to marry unless he is insane, or so feeble-minded that his condition practically amounts to insanity. Ignore the spiritual element in any other kind of relatively inferior persons, any other group of so-called unfit, and you are introducing into society a deadly principle which can be extended indefinitely. The magic circle of fitness can be contracted more and more until it includes only *recherché* Nordics, or Class A in the army intelligence tests, or some other small but fortunate minority. Disregard the spiritual element in man and his essential sacredness, and you can set no logical or certain limit to the process of subjecting the supposedly less desirable individuals to the assumed welfare of society. If the abstraction which we call society is worth more than certain individuals, then it may be worth more than any number of individuals, however large, whom the social experts or the politicians may regard as a social liability.

Another application of the spiritual principle occurs in relation to artificial family limitation. Moved by the sad conditions of many large families, social workers sometimes advocate the practice of birth control. In these cases, at least, birth control appears to be a simple remedy. It is entirely too simple. Its delusive simplicity and its ultimate failure arise from its disregard of spiritual factor. Those who recommend it to or for poverty stricken families are thinking only of material and mental advantages. Their slogan is "a smaller quantity of children, but a better quality." The "better quality" which they have in mind comprehends only material conditions and larger opportunities of education. It cannot include moral qualities. In all the essentials of character, children in artificially restricted families are liable to be of inferior quality. They grow up in an environment which fosters selfishness, laziness, weakness of will, and flabbiness of intellect. They have not the capacity to overcome obstacles and to endure the unpleasant things of life. They lack the power to do without. Lacking this power, no person is able to achieve anything beyond mediocrity. Obviously these results would not occur immediately in families that are now very poor. Once these parents adopt the theory and practice of birth control, however, they assure its continuation in their offspring. The latter will subject

themselves and their children to all the disadvantages and evils which follow the practice in families and groups where it is well established.

If anyone objects that what I am now talking about is the moral rather than the spiritual element, the answer is that no true mortality nor any adequate conception of moral good is possible without a recognition of the human soul, the spiritual principle, in human beings. Without such recognition, morality becomes a mere calculus of pleasure and pain. The moral good becomes identified with the useful. Unless we think of man as possessing an indestructible spirit, made in the image and likeness of God, we cannot hold that he or his conduct has intrinsic worth. Murder, theft, and every other evil act cease to be wrong in themselves. Charity, justice, and all the other virtues cease to be good in themselves. They are good only in so far as they are useful. Useful for what? Evidently for one's own pleasure or happiness only. There can be no other good or conception of good which it is worth one's while to seek if one gives up the doctrine that some values have intrinsic worth. And this doctrine is necessarily given up when one abandons or ignores the truth of the spiritual element in man.

Concerning this question of quality and social fitness, I quote the following from an address by Professor Warren S. Thompson. He is discussing the position of those who think that they and their offspring will constitute a superior class through the practice of artificial family limitation.

Nature's answer is clear. She says that they are unfit. She shows clearly that she prefers the lower classes who live simply, who reproduce more or less instinctively, who do not think about the future of the race or of civilization, but who are carrying the burden of the future in the rearing of children. We may call these people brutish, we may say that they are intellectually inferior, we may hold that they have not risen above the level of instinctive reactions, we may believe that they carry the burden of the future only because they do not know how to avoid it, and because they do not yet feel it to be a burden, but they survive, and the future belongs to them.

The fate of the classes that have already committed themselves to this delusive theory will be shared by the whole American people if the practice of birth control becomes general. In order to keep population from declining there must be an average of about three and three-fifths children for each married couple. By this time we have sufficient experience to warrant the prediction that the average number of children in families addicted to birth control will remain considerably less than three and three-fifths. Hence this simple and sovereign remedy for poverty tends inevitably to bring about a declining population. When that condition arrives, the American people will be at the same disadvantage as that which now besets the so-called "superior" classes in relation to the so-called "inferior" but more prolific classes. The "inferior" peoples will conquer and survive. Social workers who advocate birth control are surely taking a short-sighted view of social progress. They are subordinating society as a whole, particularly the society of the future, to the material welfare of the in-

dividual. They are encouraging individual selfishness at the expense of social well being.

The spiritual element has an important relation to theories of crime and punishment. Unless we cling to the truth that man is endowed with that immaterial principle which we call the soul, we cannot attribute to him free will or responsibility. If his will be not free, if he lack the power to choose between doing and not doing a given thing at a given moment, he is not morally accountable for his actions or omissions. He is no more responsible than the cyclone or the tiger. He is not the efficient cause of his actions. He is only an instrumental cause, like the pen with which he writes or the gun with which he shoots.

If man have not free will, the criminal could not have avoided his crime. He was the helpless instrument of his motives, his character, and his environment. He cannot of himself make a resolution to do better in the future, for he has not the power to originate any act, internal or external. He can no more feel remorse for his crime than for talking in his sleep. The encouragement to criminal actions which acceptance of this theory can easily produce in the criminally inclined needs no elaboration. When the criminal is brought to trial, his treatment and sentence will necessarily take no account of his moral desert, his degree of moral guilt. The only determining factors will be the probability of reforming him, as a vicious dog might be reformed, and adequate protection to society against a repetition of the offense by this criminal or by others like him. Being devoid of a soul, he possesses no intrinsic worth, no sacredness of personality. If he seems incapable of reformation, or if the process of reforming him does not seem likely to produce a sufficient influence upon others, then he may reasonably be kept in prison indefinitely or put to death. All these conclusions are involved in the rejection or the ignoring of the spiritual element.

Thus far we have dealt with the place of the spiritual element in the theory and objects of social work. Let us now glance briefly at its functions as a motive for the social worker. Probably no social worker acts for any considerable time in response to a single motive. In social work, as elsewhere, more than one motive enters into the sum total of psychical forces which precede and influence human actions. Among the various operating motives, however, there is usually one which is predominant.

In social work the predominant motive is sometimes the desire to get a living by continuing to hold one's job; sometimes it may be the joy of work, the peace and satisfaction which come from daily activity in congenial tasks; sometimes it may be pity for, and sympathy with, the individuals and groups that are the beneficiaries of the social worker's ministrations. None of these motives is morally bad or even unworthy; none of them is ineffective. Of the three, the last mentioned is likely to be the most fruitful, and it surely rises highest in the scale of moral values. Higher than all of them and more effective is the motive which derives from formal consideration of the spiritual element. When we reflect that the human person is not merely a combination of bone, muscle, nerves,

and brain, but that he possesses an immaterial and indestructible principle which we call the soul, we have a more powerful reason for serving him than any which can be generated by self-satisfaction or emotional reactions. Nor is this all. There remains a still better way in which the spiritual element can function as a motive of social work. It becomes available when we consider the human person in distress as possessing a soul which is made in the image and likeness of God; when we reflect that his intrinsic worth is based upon the infinite worth of God; and when we realize that he deserves to be helped not merely because he is a person, not merely for his own sake, but because he is a child of God—in the Christian philosophy, an adopted son of God. This motive is confirmed and strengthened by the positive divine command to love one's neighbor as one's self. For the follower of Christ it receives its supreme value from the declaration of the Master that the command to love the neighbor as the self is like unto the command to love God. In Catholic theology these truths are summed up in the doctrine that love of God and love of the neighbor are based upon the same divine motive. Both kinds of love are included under the supernatural virtue of charity. According to this conception, social work can be elevated to the same level as love of God. A final element of strength in this motive of serving the needy neighbor from love of God is derived from the rewards promised by Christ in the life to come: "Amen I say to you, as long as ye did it to one of these my least brethren ye did it to me. . . . Come ye, blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

It ought not to be necessary to observe that this promise applies only to charitable actions and social work for the relief of genuine need. Christ did not say anything about rewarding assistance extended to those who pretend to be sick, who pretend to be hungry, who pretend to be thirsty, who pretend to be in want of clothing. The assumption that the hope of eternal reward encourages or justifies useless or harmful almsgiving has no basis in the doctrine itself.

Surely the motive that we have just been considering is at once the highest within the reach of the social worker and easily capable of becoming the most effective. It excludes none of the inferior motives. One can carry on social work because its objects are children of God without discarding motives drawn from the need of getting a living, or pleasure in the work, or pity and sympathy for the distressed, or love of the neighbor for his own sake. Social work for love of God completes and crowns all the other motives. It was probably what Mrs. Sidney Webb had in mind when she declared: "For my own part, I find it best to live as if the soul of man were in communion with a superhuman force which makes for righteousness." This motive enables the social worker to feel that he or she is cooperating with that "superhuman force which makes for righteousness." Surely this conception gives to social work an infinitely higher value than any other motive or theory.

I have tried to refrain from making this address a sermon. My only aim

has been to set forth a philosophy of social work which seems to me to be the only one compatible with genuine and lasting social progress. I have striven to describe it in such terms that it can be accepted not only by Catholics, not only by Protestants, not only by orthodox Jews, but by every person who believes in the supreme dominion of God and the indestructible worth of the human spirit.

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

Right Rev. Francis J. McConnell, Pittsburgh

For the purposes of the evening discussion I wish to keep in mind the significance of Memorial Day as it has to do with the soldiers of the Civil War, those who fought for their country in the years from 1861 to 1865. I was brought up in Ohio, somewhat under the influence of the ideals that sent the soldiers forth in those days of the Civil War. I heard repeatedly, in Memorial Day addresses in the days of my youth, references to the ideals of conduct which just preceded the days when I began to think about these matters. I heard it said that the soldiers fought for a cause, or for three aspects of one cause: that they fought for union; they fought for the democratic ideals of him who spoke of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people"; they fought for liberty, or for certain human values which we connect with that word "liberty."

I suppose I need not remind you, after your study of American history, that the Civil War was made necessary because what had been a radical movement hardened down into a conservative situation. At the time when our Revolution took its form, when our nation came to birth, we had in this land as remarkable a group of radicals as the world has ever seen; men who were not merely radical, but who were endowed with a certain kind of wisdom that came from an intimate knowledge of work with practical concerns. It is interesting to hear people refer to Thomas Jefferson as the bulwark of conservatism. As a matter of fact, he was one of the great radicals of all time, and for a generation or two the influence of his radicalism persisted. Then there came other movements, from him down to the time represented by Jefferson Davis—I cast no word of reproach against the character of these men—until what had in the beginning been a great liberal movement resulted in a condition which fastened privilege in the hands of a certain class. Then we find arising an attempt to cast off that oligarchy of privilege, and presently that movement likewise hardened down into conservatism. I have no reproach for the great Republican leaders nor for the great Democratic leaders of those days. This was a movement which took possession of the country itself, and in a few years after 1865 and on to the opening of our present century that movement which at first was considered liberal became hardened down into a movement for privilege. Then there was a movement to break away from that conservatism. I wish at this point to pay my

tribute to a group of Cleveland people for their attempts to get away from the tight conservatism of those days. After that there came the Great War. No doubt good will result from that war in the days that are to come, but as yet it has not shown any notable fruits of righteousness. And we find ourselves now back a considerable distance, with situations similar to what they were somewhat at the close of the Civil War. At that time we saw a simple-hearted man—General Grant—surrounded by men who knew what they wanted and exactly how to get it. Today, perhaps from the moral strain through which we have passed, we come to a condition where ideal causes do not appeal to us as they once did. All we ask now is to be let alone, and our business is to get as much as we can. That is the situation which confronts us now. It may be as well for us to recall ourselves to the ideals, upon this Memorial Day, for which those who lived from 1861 to 1865 were willing to give their lives.

First, let us think of the need of union—standing for union as social workers do, and as those who are attempting to lead public opinion. The soldiers of the Civil War fought for territorial union. There is need at the present time of standing against all forces which make for social disunion; against privilege of any kind, except the privilege to serve. There is nothing more disuniting in a community than the existence of undeserved privilege. We have to stand for the type of American life which recognizes the fact that we cannot get union by making everything uniform, by driving the steam roller over our people and so trying to make them all alike. The 100 per cent Americans are the worst forces in this land when it comes to making for union. The only place we can have union is in a land where free speech is allowed. As long as people maintain a democracy everyone must be allowed self-expression. Speech was invented, not merely for the sake of communicating our ideas to others, but for the purpose of relieving ourselves. It is a serious matter if we have among us persons maintaining sincerely certain convictions, and, because those convictions are different from ours and strange to us, we forbid such persons to speak. When we do this we set at work processes which make for the disruption of democracy. Our only safety in a democracy is to allow these differences to get into the open. They are safer in the open. We must remember that self-realization is a part of our privilege, and of our supposed American opportunity. I am not under obligation to accept any man's views, but as long as I am a member of a democracy, I am under obligation to allow him his chance to talk. Tolerance—how far have we got with it? About far enough to allow a division of time among those who believe the same way; but real tolerance consists in giving an opponent a chance to say what he has to say. This is safer in every way. I have discovered much of my own foolishness by being allowed to talk it out. So those among us who say we should all believe and talk in one way are missing the point. The firmest unions we know anything about are those of persons fundamentally respecting each other but differing in point of view. When a man says he has lived fifty years with his wife and never had a word of disagreement with

her, what are we to conclude? Well, the most reasonable conclusion is that he is lying. If he is not, then it means probably that one party or the other has been of such overwhelming personality that the party of the second part has had no chance. And if that is not the case, and there has been perfect agreement for fifty years, what a dreary life they must have led! The charm of human companionship is in diversity of function. When one of the great leaders of Christian thinking spoke of the church as the body of Christ, he mentioned diversity of operation, all the members actuated by the same spirit. So we need to hold fast, in the land that proclaims American ideals, to the fact that this is a country for minds of diverse points of view. Let the diversity be manifold as our beliefs, the process of experience itself will bring us to the place where we shall together select out the better beliefs. The man who stands up at the present time and declares for free speech, and for tolerance of opinions with which he does not agree, is standing shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of 1865. Both are fighting for the right kind of union.

Now let us take Abraham Lincoln's words: "Of the people, by the people, for the people." And here we need to remind ourselves that democracy today is different from the type that Abraham Lincoln knew. That was a democracy of the frontier. It ceased, according to Professor Turner, about the year 1890, when there were no more free lands to be had. Then the older portions of our country began to be congested, until now we are confronted, not with the old individualistic type of democracy, but with a social type of democracy; and government of the people, by the people, and for the people, in the more congested communities, moves according to principles we have never known before. It brings new types of people to the front. Abraham Lincoln said this was the glory of the American life: that every American woman whose children happened to be boys might look forward to being the mother of a president of the United States. The old idea of individualism, of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost—that type of democracy has passed away, though its tradition survives. Under it the devil got not only the hindmost, but too many of the foremost. Again, in industry, we used to think that the man who began at the bottom could work through to the top, and in the end control an entire industry. That is largely a mistake today; the same as that of the men who say they understand the ranks of labor because they came out of the ranks. When we come close to the captains of industry, while they may be great experts, they do not fully understand labor problems, because the man who is coming up the ladder is not the kind of man who gets no chance even at the bottom rung of the ladder. If we have to maintain an industrial order like the present, just to allow a few superleaders to climb to the top, it is not worth while. It is our business to try to come to some basis of living together with others, a basis of mutual understanding and of service and of cooperation for the good of the nation and of humanity without the old-time stress in individualistic competition.

When we are talking about this matter of replacing a competition with a cooperative principle, let us leave the advocate of physical force out. For police and army affairs he has a place, but for the purposes I have in mind, let us leave him out. We are talking not of putting down strikes by force, but of coming to some kind of understanding, so as to make human existence in the great centers possible and tolerable and livable for all. I do not happen to be a conscientious objector, but if anything could make me one it would be some of the reasonings of the militarists, especially when they teach that we can achieve any positive social result by force. I was brought up in this country when physical punishment in the schools was looked upon as an intellectual stimulus. Out here in a little suburb of Cleveland a school teacher once shook me till everything I looked at had a fuzzy edge, and then said the shaking was to sharpen my wits. Well, there has never been a time when my wits didn't need sharpening, but for the rest of that day at least I wondered how it sharpened my wits to put fuzzy edges on things. After every strike settled by force there is a fuzzy edge on things; and after every war there is a fuzzy edge on things; so after every appeal to force. I once learned something about the best way of fighting by watching a street scene in China. I saw two men eying each other in a rather menacing way standing with faces a few inches apart and shouting at each other. I watched them for five minutes and nothing happened, and then I asked an officer standing by what it meant. He told me that it was a Chinese fight. I said, "Why is there no striking at one another?" He replied, "The secret of a Chinese fight is that the man who strikes first indicates thereby that his ideas have given out." If you want to know why China has existed four thousand years continuously as a nation, that is partly the reason. If we are going to have a like continuous existence as a democracy in this country we have to learn to adjust ourselves one to another on a basis of discussed ideas, not necessarily to make compromise where our moral principles are involved, but to make rational adjustments. In the old frontier days men were pretty much alike. If men didn't like their neighbors, they could move on. There was land enough to the west. Now they cannot do that. If men do not like their neighbors they should try to make them better neighbors by enlisting them in a common effort at community welfare.

The next thing to consider is that the soldiers who went forth to fight in the Civil War fought for liberty, for great human ideals. One of the remarkable things about the crisis then was the driving power of an ideal itself, without regard to economic considerations. I am not particularly impressed with the people who say that physically speaking the Negro was better off under slavery than he is now. I do not believe it; but if it were true, it would not impress me, because I believe with Abraham Lincoln that, without regard to an economic condition, no man on this earth is good enough to own another man. And the ideal of human life, the value of it, is not enhanced by putting human beings up for sale. The man who buys a human being and puts himself under bonds to

treat that human being kindly, even if he should go on through life and do no unkind thing, is a sinner against human ideals and human values. The suggestion of moral enormity in the sale of the human being—that was a part of the abolitionist's force in the days before the Civil War. Now we have passed away from that particular problem. But the obligation to value the human ideals is still with us. We have to judge any kind of an institution by the kind of man it turns out and by what happens to the man connected with it.

Going back to my own boyhood days, it seemed to me that youngsters were sent to school for the sake of the school, that there was a curriculum to which to conform and rules which regulated school life, but that what happened to the youth that went to the school did not seem to enter the minds of adults. The essential question about a school is, What happens to the youth who goes to school? At the present time one of the hopeful signs is that we are making the schools suit the needs of the pupils, and the pupils themselves have something to say about what suits them. The same thing must be true in other phases of life—in industry, particularly. Human beings have certain inalienable rights, and they must not be trampled upon. We have made some progress in the past few years. I remember the time when the defenders of privilege said that property was especially sacred. Sometimes a society is to be judged by the distance the old guard has moved up. Take the conservatives of twenty-five years ago. I know a college president who is not generally looked upon as radical; he is a conservative man, trained in the old school; a very worthy man, a leader of a type of American opinion. Three or four years ago he said that in America the laboring groups have to learn that manual labor is not the only contribution made to the value of a product, and that the possessing classes may as well learn first as last that property is socially created: its value is given by society. That is a long distance from the old idea of the sanctity of property. I thank God for the fact that institutions have to be judged by their human output. Mr. Bertrand Russell would be considered as far away from the orthodox theological standpoint as anyone could well imagine, and yet he is a foremost exponent of the idea that society must be organized around the thought that human beings are ends in themselves. Take the churches of all shades of belief, upheld by centuries of tradition: Roman Catholic, Protestant, and organizations of the Jewish faith. They use different accents to pronounce the same human truths; they stand for different methods that lead to the same human ideals; and when it comes to the organization of society, they can all come together in stating their problems in human terms. I hail you as those who are contributing immensely to this country by keeping in mind these human values.

We need a type of patriotism that recognizes the virtues of those who are opposed to us. We must get away from the idea that America is to be the leader of the world in everything. She can lead in some things. The old "manifest destiny" idea ought to be modified so that each nation has the manifest destiny to do the best it can—and that without cant, without the assumption of self-

righteousness, and with a desire to learn to the uttermost from other nations. After the Civil War the soldiers came home with a respect for the persons against whom they had fought which they had not had before. One of the best signs of wholesome patriotism at the present time would be recognition of the human worth of the powers defeated in the last war and an attempt to help them in every way possible.

One further illustration: I was standing on the deck of a steamer as I came across the Atlantic from service in France during the war. Submarines were about, and I was anxiously looking for them when I glanced down to a deck below and saw a man, a Belgian soldier, with a strange pallor on his face. Presently he fell over. I noticed people who tried to arouse him and who finally sent for the ship's doctor. The doctor was—well, he was *not* an American. He came, listened to the man's heart, tried to find his pulse, shook his head, and walked off. Then a doctor in the American army, standing by me, saw what had happened and went down. After awhile he came back and said that the man was a Belgian soldier who had fought all through the war without taking any days of leave because his family was in America and he had saved up all his time so as to go to see them. And now he was nearly dead from sheer exhaustion. The purser had said it would take \$40 to move the Belgian to a room where he could have the quiet and service which alone could save him, otherwise he would not live forty-eight hours. "And your share is five dollars," the doctor added. In a few minutes the doctor had all the money; he picked the man up, carried him to a good room, took care of him, and when the ship docked the man walked off at New York as much alive as anybody and rejoicing in the prospect of soon being with his family. The ship's doctor, when the American army doctor stepped in, had begun to protest. "These Americans, they butt in. That was my patient. This American doctor! he has violated all the proprieties of the profession." I will not repeat to you just what the American doctor said to that. He is an elder of the Presbyterian church, so of course he did not take the name of the Lord in vain, but he told the ship's doctor the ultimate destination at which he might report. To a degree that is typical of the spirit of America: rough, perhaps, and not likely to pay much attention to red tape and the proprieties, but this was the fine thing about it all, there was no element of condescension, no patronizing. As soon as the sick man began to come back the doctor treated him as a friend and brother and, best of all, helped him to help himself. That is the true American spirit.

I end with the simple statement that we look to you social workers because you stand on the actual battle line, fighting against the forces of ignorance and superstition; fighting for a more closely unified society in which everyone understands every other; fighting for a better kingdom of mankind, for a world in which, no matter what the differences in creed, everyone has a chance to express himself; fighting for a world in which a man is a man always, "for a' that and a' that."

LAW AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Hon. M. B. Rosenberry, Supreme Court of Wisconsin, Madison

Some years before his death Lord Moulton delivered an impromptu address¹ to the Authors' Club in London, under the title "Law and Manners." He divided human action into three great domains: first, the domain of positive law, in which our actions are prescribed by laws binding upon us, which must be obeyed and may be enforced; second, the domain of free choice, which includes all those actions as to which we claim and enjoy complete personal freedom. The third is the domain of obedience to the unenforceable, of which he said:

In that domain there is no law which inexorably determines our course of action, and yet we feel that we are not free to choose as we would. The degree of this sense of a lack of complete freedom in this domain varies in every case. It grades from a consciousness of a Duty nearly as strong as Positive Law, to a feeling that the matter is all but a question of personal choice. Some might wish to parcel out this domain into separate countries, calling one, for instance, the domain of Duty, another the domain of Public Spirit, another the domain of Good Form; but [says he] I prefer to look at it as all one domain, for it has one and the same characteristic throughout—it is the domain of Obedience to the Unenforceable.

A discussion in detail of the boundaries separating these three great domains of human action is not necessary, nor is an extended discussion of the characteristics and dominating features of these three domains. They will suggest themselves to you, and a brief reference to them will suffice.

With the domain of Positive Law we are all familiar. It includes all of the statutes, orders and rules of conduct laid down by legislatures, administrative bodies, and courts for the breach or infraction of which one may be called to account in a court. The legal rights of citizens find their basis in the positive law of the country, and it is for the protection of these rights and the redress of wrongs growing out of their violation that courts are instituted in civilized society.

The domain of free choice is not of such great extent as one might at first blush suppose. While it is not of great extent, yet it is of great importance, because, as Lord Moulton said: "It is in this domain where spontaneity, originality, and energy are born." The boundaries of this domain were greatly enlarged by the mass movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of which the French Revolution was a dramatic as well as tragic feature. In the philosophy of that time the freedom of the individual was greatly emphasized. It was thought that if individual freedom could be attained the ills of society would be cured and the pursuit of happiness would be unimpeded. Then, as now, popular misconceptions were embodied in slogans. For instance, the compact theory of society, which is, to my mind, a totally untenable assumption, served never-

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1924.

theless to cultivate in individuals a sense of that personal freedom which they presently asserted to be their natural and inalienable right. Accompanying this sense of personal freedom was a feeling of accountability for the welfare of themselves and of the state in which they lived. Out of expanding individual freedom grew the *laissez faire* doctrine, which found expression in this country in the phrase, "That government governs best which governs least." The bill of rights and other constitutional guaranties were intended to conserve this domain. Its preservation and extension were the chief concern of the men who framed our constitutions.

It is no accident that the period of invention synchronized with the period of greatest individual freedom. The individual could give free rein to his imagination, especially in this country, where free land guaranteed new opportunities and a certain measure of economic freedom. The boundaries of the domain of free choice expanded to an extent not before known in human history. Here, since the middle of the nineteenth century, this domain has been constantly contracting, and with the closing of the frontier, conditions began to approximate those of the Old World. While the domain of free choice defies exact delimitation, its preservation is of the utmost importance.

Between the domain of positive law and that of free choice lies the other great domain, of obedience to the unenforceable. Here the individual is not free to do as he will. On the other hand, there are no policemen to bring him to account, nor can he be brought to account for his actions before any other court than that of public opinion. The boundaries of this domain indicate with exactitude the extent to which a nation may trust its citizens and to what extent its citizens are worthy of that trust. In this domain resides the real genius of a people. Here is developed its capacity for self-government and self-direction. Here lie also the restraints imposed by custom, tradition, and habit. In former times out of the domain of obedience to the unenforceable, by a long process of development, certain things were lifted and placed in the domain of positive law. Before that was done, however, the thing had been thoroughly tested and experience had demonstrated the wisdom of imposing legal restraint. If a people has no sense of responsibility for the public welfare then restraint must be imposed from without. Where peoples are weak and timorous, lack courage and a sense of responsibility, there we find autocratic government in all its various forms. In a society in which autocracy prevails, the domain of obedience to the unenforceable is comparatively small; everything is subordinated to the will of the ruler.

The sanctions which obtain in the domain of obedience to the unenforceable are quite as effective as those which obtain in the domain of positive law. In ordinary thought and speech we think of them as conformity to good form, good manners, and the restraints imposed by habit, custom, and tradition. In this country and with our race these sanctions and restraints are often more imperative than are the mandates of a statute. We like to think

that if a man of our race is compelled to choose, he will violate a positive law rather than perform an ungentlemanly act. We need call to mind but one instance to serve as an illustration of the powerful effect of these sanctions. On that dark April night when the "Titanic" collided with an iceberg in the North Atlantic Ocean there was an example of the imperativeness of the sanctions which obtain in this field. Men willingly, not in response to the commands of positive law, but because they were first of all and above all men and gentlemen, stood back, saying "Ladies first," and without hesitation they went to their death. In that hour of peril statutes were forgotten but the spirit of obedience to the unenforceable which resides in the hearts and consciences of gentlemen and gentlewomen everywhere rose to the occasion.

Let us briefly examine the development of law in this country, having in mind these three great domains of human action. We shall observe that during the last century, with the advent of the industrial revolution and through manifold inventions by which steam, electricity, and gas have been applied to processes of manufacture and transportation, we have moved away from the habits, customs, and traditions which obtained under the old agricultural order. We have not yet had time to acquire a new tradition. In bodies politic traditions cannot be made by resolution, as they are sometimes in the college world. Traditions are matters of slow growth, hence their great tenacity.

The movement from one order to the other has been one of tremendous rapidity. Here in the Middle West it has come within a hundred years. An index to its speed is furnished by the fact that we have produced and used more iron and steel since 1906 than in all the previous history of the country, and in the world at large more iron and steel has been produced since 1900 than in all the previous history of the world. We can see the beginnings of a new tradition, but there has not been time enough for the tradition to take shape. It is new, nebulous, and ineffective. In our efforts to adapt ourselves to this change we have had resort to positive law.

Especially since the period of the Civil War we have been lifting out of the domain of free choice and obedience to the unenforceable many things which had been there undisturbed for centuries, and by the enactment of statutes have placed them in the field of positive law. We have diminished the boundaries of the domain of obedience to the unenforceable and have correspondingly enlarged the domain of positive law, and have on occasions invaded the domain of free choice.

Much of this legislation has been necessary. The movement being too rapid for change in the traditional attitude of the people, resort to legislation was the only method by which a speedy adjustment could be made. In the year 1925 there were introduced into our legislatures, state and national, 49,141 bills, of which 16,298 became laws. From 1906 to 1925, both inclusive, there were introduced into our legislatures, state and national, 954,625 bills, of which 233,563 became laws. In addition to the work of the legislatures there were, in

almost every state, numerous commissions having power to enact rules and regulations having the force and effect of law. During the same period the courts were handing down from thirty to thirty-five thousand opinions annually, and yet there are people who think that a lawyer should know all the law. In the face of this mass of legislation and decision the individual finds himself as restricted in his action under the new régime of liberty as he was under the old régime of autocracy. In fact the conviction is growing that we have substituted one autocracy for another.

We have reached a point where we no longer put faith in the probity, honesty, and civic responsibility of our people. The tendency at the present time is to put nearly everything into the domain of positive law. Laws of the most sweeping character are enacted oftentimes to remedy a very slight irregularity or relieve a condition which would cure itself with the lapse of time. Even religion and learning, heretofore supposed to lie wholly in the domain of free choice, and from which are derived many of the sanctions which obtained in the field of obedience to the unenforceable, have not escaped the attention of the well-meaning but reckless lawmaker.

Neither here nor elsewhere will a defense of the doctrine of *laissez faire* be attempted, but it had some virtues and bore some good fruit. Under the influence of that doctrine it may be that individualism was unwarrantably emphasized, that the general welfare was sometimes sacrificed, and that it was better adapted to a stable though primitive society than to one as complex and shifting as the present industrial and commercial age. On the other hand it made for character in the individual. Each man became the architect of his own fortune, and it made for courage, strength, and virility in our people. Too great a reliance upon positive law results in a process of constriction and political deterioration. The remedy for too much positive law seems to be more law. The bands of the social order are continually tightened. Under such circumstances as this history teaches us that the social order finally flies apart in revolution always destructive of social values.

The transfer of control of human action in certain particulars from the domain of obedience to the unenforceable to the domain of positive law has a by-product to which too little attention has been given. When an action lies within the domain of obedience to the unenforceable the individual may choose whether he will obey or not. The motives which prompt obedience are an index of the individual's sense of responsibility. He obeys not because he is compelled to obey, but because he chooses to obey. If, after exercising his best judgment, he thinks obedience should not be given, the whole responsibility for the decision is his. The whole process by which obedience is given is subjective. The prompting of obedience comes from within, not without, the individual.

When an action is removed from the domain of obedience to the unenforceable and placed in the domain of positive law, obedience to the law is enforced by the sovereign. The sanctions which obtain in that field are those annexed

to the statutes, and conformity to positive law closely approximates the power of the sovereign as represented by the police and the executive officers of the government to enforce obedience—no enforcement, no obedience, except such as may obtain by a hang-over of those sanctions which impelled obedience when the act still remained in the domain of obedience to the unenforceable. In the domain of positive law, the process by which obedience is obtained is an objective process. By taking the action out of the domain of obedience to the unenforceable and placing it in the domain of positive law an objective process has been substituted for a subjective process.

This substitution of one process for the other has more vital and far-reaching consequences than is ordinarily recognized. We deal at this point with some of the fundamental characteristics of human nature. Watson tells us that if a child is told to slide downhill twelve times the child quite naturally regards sliding downhill as a task. It is no longer play, but work; although the process is identical in each case, the attitude of mind is exactly opposite. Under one attitude the act is pleasurable; under the other it is disagreeable. In one instance the thing is done in response to a prompting of its own nature, and in the other it is commanded by a superior power and obedience involves a certain effacement of personality. When a matter is taken from the field of obedience to the unenforceable and put in the field of positive law, the natural tendency of people is to say, "If I am commanded to obey let those who command me compel me to obey. I shall obey so far as I am compelled to or feel compelled to, and not farther." The individual loses in some degree, not entirely of course, his sense of duty in the premises. The fact that he is compelled to yield a part of his personal freedom dulls his feeling of responsibility for the public welfare. He feels that responsibility has been lifted from his shoulders and placed upon the shoulders of the enforcing officers by the enactment of a statute. This alone of course will not account for the increasing amount of lawlessness of all kinds, small and great, among all classes of people, good and bad, but that it is a contributing factor there is no doubt. Plato said:¹

Do you know that governments vary as the characters of men vary, and that there must be as many of the one as there are of the other? Or perhaps you suppose that States are made of "oak and rock," and not out of the human natures which are in them, and which turn the scale and draw other things after them?

The States are as the men are; they do but grow out of human characters.

It is certain that much legislation was necessary to bridge over the time while we were establishing a new tradition for the new order. On the other hand it must be conceded that the flood of legislation which we have witnessed, especially in the last forty years, has not been an unmixed blessing. If, as Plato says, "States do but grow out of human characters," we cannot forever neglect the effect upon human character of taking from the domain of obedience to the unenforceable those things which make for character and planting them by the enactment of a statute in the domain of positive law.

¹ Plato's *Republic*, Book VIII, chap. 543, lines 58-66.

With these observations as to the sanctions of law, what it is, and what it does, we come to a consideration of the relation of law to social progress, for we must bear in mind the relation of law to the whole field of human conduct in order to get a proper perspective of the subject with which we are dealing. While no one would attempt to define social progress, it is necessary to establish some limit to the field of our discussion in order to reach ground for common understanding. Even if we agree with Dr. J. B. Bury¹ that over long periods of time it is doubtful whether or not the race progresses, we may nevertheless indicate what we mean by social progress as applied to the period in which we live. We progress socially when society as a whole increases the material means by which it maintains itself, enlarges the opportunities of the individual citizen to require education and training in the humanities, sciences, and arts; promotes the public health; affords opportunity for recreation; stimulates the development of spiritual power, and gives to every citizen opportunity for the development of character and personality.

In a civilization where the mental and physical energy of the citizen is exhausted in an effort to obtain a bare subsistence there can be little social progress in the sense in which we use that term. Life becomes under such conditions a struggle for existence in which the fittest survive. Social progress depends on a per capita increase in the amount of consumable goods justly distributed—thereby releasing a certain amount of energy and time for us in other directions. Social progress is in direct proportion to the amount of released time and energy devoted to education, health, recreation, public affairs, and the like.

When we speak of the relation of law to social progress we mean the relation of substantive law to that subject. Procedural law has to do with the method by which rights are protected and wrongs are redressed. While the imperfections of procedural law may produce social consequences, procedural law is an index rather than a causative factor in social progress. For the present we shall lay it to one side and consider only substantive law. During the last three centuries stress has been placed on the sanction for individual growth. English and American law, from the time of Cromwell down to the middle of the nineteenth century, was the result of a struggle to enlarge the rights of the individual and to reduce to a minimum the privileges and immunities of the privileged classes. The basis upon which this struggle was waged is set forth in certain axiomatic propositions stated in general terms in the Declaration of Independence. They were also embodied in the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, and repeated in some of the constitutions of the various states. In its essence it was a struggle for political equality. It resulted in the development of a body of law relating to the rights of persons, including the right of persons to property. The law relating to public rights and duties underwent comparatively little change and may be found principally in the criminal law of the time. The basic theory was that if each individual were permitted the larg-

¹ Bury, *The Idea of Progress*.

est possible measure of freedom, the public welfare would be advanced thereby, and that the state should act merely as a policeman and arbiter in the settlement and adjustment of conflicts between individuals. In fact, during that period the criminal law was moderated by a reduction of penalties and reducing many felonies to misdemeanors. From 160 capital offenses in the time of Blackstone^{*} there remain today but three or four in any jurisdiction where the common law prevails. Not until the industrial revolution was well on its way was the existence of a new set of problems recognized. No sooner had political privilege been reduced to a minimum than there gradually arose to take its place economic privilege. It became apparent to the most casual observer and student of affairs that the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of written constitutions was not to be a final solution, as many enthusiastic radicals of that day had hoped it would be. It was apparent that powerful individuals, without any infraction of the criminal laws, could perform acts detrimental to the general welfare and harmful to individual citizens for which there existed no remedy. In this presence one need not go into detail in this matter. Beginning with the enactment of the interstate commerce law in 1887, followed by the antitrust acts of the early nineties, the regulation of natural monopolies in the first decade of the twentieth century, the quickening of the public conscience by the disclosure of great abuses in the government of cities and the appearance of large corporations throughout this period were productive of results which are familiar to all. A new field was occupied, and laws intended to advance the general welfare and to produce a greater degree of economic equality were enacted in almost every jurisdiction. In the enactment, interpretation, and administration of these laws were disclosed the conflict between the static quality of law and the dynamic character of social forces, both of which are factors in social progress. It took long years of effort to induce the legislatures to recognize that it was their duty to provide a solution for the problems produced by an increasingly complex industrial and social organization. After the legislatures had been brought to a sense of their responsibility in the premises it was necessary to convince the courts that the legislation was not in contravention of some of the fundamental concepts upon which our government rests, and at this point it may be said there is a common belief that law, instead of being an aid to social progress, has oftentimes thwarted it and rendered abortive efforts to promote the general welfare. After the enactment had run the gauntlet of the legislatures and the courts, administrative and executive officers applied it in accordance with their personal notions as to its expediency and availability. Lawyers trained in the legal philosophy of a previous period were, with notable exceptions, found in opposition to legislation which was in their opinion fundamentally opposed to the legal concepts upon which our law rests. Upon the one side therefore we have the legislatures, judges, lawyers, executive officers, and administrators yielding with greater or less reluctance to the demands of the

^{*} Blackstone Com. 18.

economists, sociologists, political scientists, and social workers leading a great army of citizens who sensed, without being able to point out, the inequalities of the old system.

It is oftentimes assumed that all that made for social progress was represented by the sociologists, economists, and their allies, and that the bench and bar represented everything opposed to social progress. In my judgment this is an unjustifiable assumption and discloses a lack of appreciation of the nature of the controversy, which we shall now proceed to examine.

No impartial observer can fail to note the fact that the industrial revolution occurred in a period when emphasis was placed almost entirely upon rights of person and property. It was assumed that if all persons were given the greatest amount of freedom consistent with a like amount of freedom on the part of others, a social millenium would be reached. Superficially, at least, it seems true that invention has been most productive in those countries where the individual enjoys the greatest amount of personal freedom. The increase in personal freedom which resulted from the application of steam, electricity, and gas to the processes of production, and all the great advances in chemistry, physics, biology, and other sciences was in some degree, at least, the product of the age of individualism. It was the application of these inventions and discoveries to the business of living that has been the dominant factor in our social progress. Under such circumstances individualism became a thoroughly established concept, not only in the minds of lawyers, judges, and government officials, but in the minds of people generally, so that down to the time of the Civil War we find almost no exercise of the police by governments, state or federal, which limited to any considerable degree the freedom and activities of individuals. It took decades of argument and persuasion to bring to the attention of the people generally the necessity for a change in attitude in order that the life of the people might be adapted to changed and rapidly changing conditions. The primary demand of the social program was that limitations be placed upon personal and property rights in the interest of the general welfare. On the other hand it seemed inconceivable to the supporters of the old order that the general welfare could be promoted by limiting the dominant factor in the development of the new order out of the old. They therefore resisted to the last ditch any impairment of the right of the individual to exercise his powers in advancing his personal interests and in acquiring property. The supporters of the old order had their minds fixed upon one thing—the destruction of political privilege—and assumed that when that was done the problem was solved. They refused to recognize the fact that economic privilege might bring with it consequences as detrimental to the general welfare as they deemed political privilege to be.

In the main, what those in favor of social advance demanded was that there be lifted out of the realm of obedience to the unenforceable a large section of human action, and that it be transferred to the field of positive law. They did not propose thereafter to limit their efforts to the enactment of criminal statutes

forbidding under penalty what was harmful, but it was proposed that individual actions should be limited and guided by the commands of the state. This was a far-reaching proposal. Its advocates saw in it possibilities of a great social advance. Its opponents felt that it was fraught with great potentialities for evil. The result has been a vastly increased amount of so-called "social" legislation. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and of courts of last resort in the various states have sustained limitations upon the freedom of the individual that fifty or a hundred years ago would have been thought revolutionary. As a consequence there has been an increasing exercise by legislatures of the police power, in order to advance the general welfare by further limiting and guiding the individual, until today there is a general outcry against the enactment of more legislation along these lines. This protest proceeds without very much reference to the merits of the question, and generally from feeling rather than reason. No thoughtful student of the law can deny that the rapid shift from the agricultural to the industrial and commercial order has made necessary a vast amount of legislation, most of which was justified by the necessity of protecting the individual and advancing the general welfare: laws relating to sanitation, hours of labor, safe place of employment, child labor, foods, markets, public utilities, and innumerable kindred subjects.

Although limitations were placed upon what were thought to be the inalienable rights of the individual, nevertheless these limitations operated to advance the interest of the individual as well as promote the general welfare. The failure of many on both sides to realize that law might at one and the same time do both things produced much of the bitterness engendered in the controversy between the radicals, as those are called who support the line of social advance, and the conservatives, who are committed to the maintenance of the *status quo*. A part of the opposition to the so-called "social" or "welfare" laws is due to the fact that there are, in every field of human action, fundamentalists. It is not to be doubted that there will soon be, among social workers, fundamentalists who will resist innovations. It may be that that time has already arrived. We all build our thought-structure around certain fundamental concepts. If we are successful in our respective lines of endeavor we regard these fundamental ideas as thoroughly proved and established, and any attempt to modify or change them is an attempt to modify or change our whole outlook on life, and, oftentimes, life itself. It is very difficult for persons past middle age to modify these fundamental concepts, because it requires a re-examination of all the premises upon which they have based their lives. Those who are willing, in pursuit of social advance, to sail an uncharted sea have little patience with those who wish to remain in sight of established landmarks. Fundamentalism is not peculiar to any one group, time, or place.

It is quite apparent that there is a social loss rather than a social gain when the promoters of social advance are too successful, when too much is taken out of the field of obedience to the unenforceable at one time and placed in the field

of positive law; for it has often occurred that in the enthusiasm of the moment laws have been enacted intended to advance the general welfare which have had the opposite effect. Social workers in their desire to achieve results speedily have resorted to short cuts and have ignored the necessity of organizing and informing of public opinion; for instance, in a western state the enactment of a very thoroughly considered law relating to probation has resulted in a stalemate. Officials created under the terms of the act have brought to the administration of the law preconceived notions which have limited its effect, dwarfed its accomplishment, while at the same time they have stood in the way of unofficial support of an admittedly worth-while program. It is quite probable that the general public will regard this as a failure of probation.

A law which establishes a higher standard for some of the members of a group quite likely lowers it for others. Dance-hall legislation in the state of Wisconsin is in point. The law requires that certain supervisors shall be appointed who are required to be present at public dances. Persons are appointed who have a minimum standard, volunteer chaperonage is done away with, and upon the whole the effect has been to lower, rather than raise, standards. If a real advance is to be achieved society must start from where it is. Demands that large areas be taken out of the domain of obedience to the unenforceable should be examined with care and caution because, as has been pointed out, when the sanction of the positive law is substituted for sanctions of obedience to the unenforceable a net loss often results.

One of the most interesting and instructive articles that has appeared in many years was the answers made in reply to the question propounded recently as to "Where Are the Pre-War Radicals?"¹ And indeed, where are they? It is impossible to tell by perusing their replies.² Some of the things for which they stood have become permanent parts of institutions. Other things for which they stood have long ago passed into the discard and are no longer advocated by anybody. As a matter of fact, a radical, by the mere lapse of time, is quite likely to become a conservative. He builds his thought-structure around certain assumptions and finds it quite as difficult to re-examine and revise his premises as does his conservative brother. James, in one of his asides, says that any man over forty years of age who radically changes his religion, his politics, or his economics becomes an object of suspicion and the public wonders what he wants.

Law has a definite, ascertainable, and measurable relation to social progress. The statute is a proper and necessary instrumentality which must be employed if social advance is to be secure and made certain, but assaults upon the existing order are not justified merely because they are enacted into laws. To be justifiable they must have an objective which is demonstrably better than the thing which is assaulted. Statutes which do not meet the situation quickly become obsolete. They are legislative misfits and are not incorporated into the social structure, and are oftentimes in violation of constitutional limi-

¹ *The Survey*, January 1, 1926.

² *The Survey*, February 1, 1926.

tations. Nearly every time that courts hold such a statute unconstitutional it is assumed in some quarters to be because the court is socially blind, deaf, and dumb. The younger and more inexperienced the assailant, the more certain he is that the court is composed of a lot of doting old men who cannot see, feel, or hear.

A writer who no doubt believes himself to be a supporter of an advanced social program recently made the following statement: "Therefore it is that the decisions of the court must be subject to relentless scrutiny to save them from pedantry and sterility as the unconscious rationalization of the economic and social biases of the individual justices." This writer's idea of the judicial process seems to be that when a judge prepares to render a decision in a case, particularly one involving social issues, he goes into a trance, his various biases, prejudices, and preconceptions, legal, economic, and social, effervesce, and the result is a judicial decision. Whether the decision is to be found in the escaping gas or in the residuum he does not indicate.

Just what is it that a judge of a court of last resort is called upon to do when he must render a decision involving constitutional limitations? A complete answer, of course, would involve a treatise on constitutional law. It may be said to begin with that fundamentally the controversy as to the extent of judicial power is a conflict between the parliamentary and the constitutional ideas of government. Those who believe that the legislature should be supreme and the court subordinate to the legislature believe in a parliamentary government. Those who believe that limits should be set to the powers of the legislature, and that as a necessary and inevitable consequence some tribunal must be set up to determine when, in a particular instance, the legislature has transgressed the constitutional mandate, believe in a constitutional form of government. This is no time or place to debate the merits of these two ideas. The judge is an officer of a constitutional government and is in the very nature of things, as well as by his solemn oath, obliged to support it. It is no part of his duty as a judge to pass upon the relative merits of the two systems, or by decision to attempt to supplant the one with the other.

The men who framed the federal Constitution had had very unpleasant experiences with parliamentary power. While the Declaration of Independence is in terms directed against George III, the matters set forth in the body of the declaration relate almost entirely to what the Colonials regarded as parliamentary usurpation. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the framers of the Constitution were more unanimous with respect to placing limitations upon the power of the legislative branch than they were in almost any other particular. It was practically unanimously agreed that there should be limitations. The debates related to the extent of the limitations to be imposed, and the Constitution was approved upon the express understanding that further limitations commonly known as the bill of rights were to be incorporated by amendments to be adopted as speedily as possible. That understanding was carried out by

the adoption of the first ten amendments to the constitution. Remembering that in the philosophy of that day the protection of the rights of the individual was deemed to be socially most important, and that the right of individuals could be secured only by so limiting legislative power, that individual freedom could not be unwarrantably invaded at the behest of special interests, it is not difficult to understand the attitude of courts when called upon to determine when the limits of legislative power under the Constitution had been passed. As a matter of fact, so strong was the tradition of individualism that legislatures themselves, down to the time of the Civil War, did not attempt, except in very few instances, any exercise of what is commonly called the police power. Every exercise of the police power involves limitation upon the freedom of individuals, usually of a class of individuals. It may at the same time increase the total amount of freedom enjoyed by the whole people. Every law that does away with oppression limits the freedom of the oppressor and increases that of the oppressed.

When legislatures, in response to popular demand and in recognition of the fundamental changes that were taking place in our society, commenced in the exercise of an undoubted power to limit the freedom of the individual in the interest of the general welfare, the conflict began. It has continued and will continue indefinitely, because in a time of transition it is practically impossible to maintain an equilibrium between contending social forces.

In the beginning constitutions were intended to conserve a social theory because it was believed it made for social progress. The forward-looking program of that day is now being supplanted or modified by one better adapted to a complex and intricate society, the faintest glimpses of which never reached the minds of the men who framed our early constitutions. A very strong presumption in favor of the validity of legislative enactments prevails in every court in this country, yet it is thought by some that judges go out of their way to seek pretexts for declaring laws unconstitutional. Legislatures, however, are continually transcending clear constitutional limitations. In many states there is a constitutional provision that no legislative act shall become effective until after a specified time has elapsed from its enactment, "except in cases of emergency," and in cases of emergency that fact is to be declared in the act itself. The word "emergency" has a well understood meaning in the law, yet in one western state, in one legislative session, out of 200 acts, 155 were made to take effect at once by a recital that an emergency existed therefor, although no emergency in fact existed.

It is contended by many that the failure of the present Congress to reapportion the congressional districts in accordance with the last census is a clear violation of a constitutional mandate. It is quite obvious that political expediency in this instance is more persuasive than the constitutional mandate. A similar situation exists in the state of Illinois, where the legislature refused to redistrict the state because it would disturb the existing balance between Chicago and the remainder of the state. Hundreds of other instances might be cited of what

amounts to an intentional violation of constitutional limitations by legislatures. In the vast majority of cases where these infractions are brought to the attention of the courts their decision is accepted without question. Only when constitutional limitations are applied in cases involving matters of a controversial nature are criticism and resentment aroused. It is one of the perils of constitutional government that it is much more inflexible than a parliamentary system, and therefore less adaptable to changing conditions. No lawyer of today can doubt the soundness of Chief Justice Taney's decision in the Dred-Scott case, but it did not settle the slavery question. Responsibility for the settlement of questions involving political policy should not be placed upon the courts. Judges are charged with the duty of administering and applying the law as it is, and it is no part of the judicial function to change the law. That field of effort belongs to the legislature.

Nor do the courts pass upon the constitutionality of laws as an abstract question. A court never entertains a question as to the constitutionality of a statute except when its jurisdiction is invoked by an individual citizen claiming that a legislative act has deprived him of a right guaranteed to him by the Constitution, declared to be the supreme law of the land. The court is then, in the discharge of its duty, obliged to say whether or not the claim is true. In the discharge of that duty it exercises its highest function under our form of government.

Take a concrete case, *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525. A statute of the District of Columbia fixed a minimum wage for women. Willie A. Lyons, a woman over twenty-one years of age, in good health and in possession of all her faculties, claimed that she was, by the operation of the law, deprived of an opportunity to increase her earnings, and that the employment she sought did her no physical or moral harm, and that because of the statute she was deprived of a constitutional right. A hospital, an employer of women, claimed that it was deprived of its constitutional rights as an employer for similar reasons. Addressing itself to this phase of the controversy, the court said:

From the authority to ascertain and determine the law in a given case there necessarily results, in case of conflict, the duty to declare and enforce the rule of the supreme law and reject that of an inferior act of legislation which, transcending the constitution, is of no effect and binding on no one. This is not the exercise of a substantive power to review and nullify acts of Congress, for no such substantive power exists. It is simply a necessary concomitant of the power to hear and dispose of a case or controversy properly before the court, to the determination of which must be brought the test and measure of the law.

The *Adkins* case, perhaps as well as any other case in the books, illustrates the difficulties confronting a court when a citizen appears claiming that his constitutional rights have been impaired. The right of contract is admittedly a part of the liberty of the individual protected by the terms of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, a part of the bill of rights. If the law of the District of Columbia deprived Willie A. Lyons of that right it was clearly void and of no effect. If the law was in the interest of the public welfare and not an unreason-

able invasion of her rights it was valid; otherwise, invalid. The viewpoint of the court cannot better be set forth than in its own language. The court said:

There are limits to the power [legislative power], and when these have been passed, it becomes the plain duty of the courts, in the proper exercise of their authority, to so declare. To sustain the individual freedom of action contemplated by the Constitution is not to strike down the common good, but to exalt it; for surely the good of society as a whole cannot be better served than by the preservation against arbitrary restraint of the liberties of its constituent members.

The court held that the law was an unreasonable invasion of constitutional rights, and that Willie A. Lyons was deprived of a right guaranteed to her by the Constitution. The opposite view is stated by Mr. Justice Holmes, dissenting:

The criterion of constitutionality is not whether we believe the law to be for the public good. We certainly cannot be prepared to deny that a reasonable man reasonably might have that belief, in view of the legislation of Great Britain, Victoria, and a number of the states of this Union. The belief is fortified by a very remarkable collection of documents submitted on behalf of the appellants, material here, I conceive, only as showing that the belief reasonably may be held. . . . I am of the opinion that the statute is valid.

By this Mr. Justice Holmes meant to say that the statute was not such an unreasonable and unwarrantable invasion of a right guaranteed by the Constitution as to warrant the court in declaring it invalid. Manifestly, whether it was or not was a matter of opinion. At some point a place is reached where the determination rests upon human judgment. Whether "unconscious rationalization" is exhibited in the opinion of the court or the dissenting opinions will be left for your further consideration.

It must be quite apparent that social progress does not depend upon a complete destruction of the legal and social concepts upon which our institutions are based and that taking out of the domain of obedience to the unenforceable a considerable section of human action will not always result in social advance. It cannot be assumed that mere change is progress, or that because an idea is new it is sound. On the other hand, the fact that an idea was valid as applied to conditions of a former time is no proof that it is valid for our time. One consolation is that in a controversy between groups each of which desires to promote the general welfare, where the relative merits are so difficult to ascertain that persons equally solicitous for social progress are found upon each side of the controversy, the decision will not be all to the bad, whichever way it goes.

Social progress will ever remain a series of ups and downs. The resistant power of mere inertia in the social organism is so great that advance can be made only as the result of most persistent and long-continued efforts on the part of the socially minded members of society. These efforts, from their very intensity, must be spasmodic and irregular. Every great effort requires a succeeding period of rest and recuperation. The real function of positive law is to maintain the line of advance, to set the stakes, so to speak, so that an advance once secured may be held.

Social justice is a necessary and indispensable concomitant to social progress. In our society, social justice is attained when we have an equilibrium between individualism and the public welfare. Doctor Carver¹ suggests that the conflict of interest between private and public rights must be recognized, and when recognized may be harmonized in accordance with the following principles: first, there is an absolute necessity for the suppression of all harmful methods of pursuing individual interests; second, the individual is entitled to absolute freedom in the pursuit of his self-interest in all serviceable ways; third, each individual must be charged with the responsibility for his own well-being. He must not be made dependent upon society; if upon his own initiative he fails to find ways of serving the community he must suffer the consequences.

The first two propositions set the limits to a wise and proper exercise of legislative power. Legislative enactment cannot do everything. The processes of evolution are incredibly slow. Humanity cannot lift itself socially by its boot straps. Every department of human activity in these days of steam, gas, and electricity proceeds at high speed. We are impatient in public as well as in private matters. We are in a terrific hurry to reach a social millenium. In this field, as well as in every other domain of human effort, consideration might well be given to the ancient maxim: "Make haste slowly." The line of future social progress will be resultant of many conflicting and contending forces. The principle of adaptation must determine our future social progress as it does our cosmic and biological progress. This process of adaptation goes on principally in the field of obedience to the unenforceable. In this field is developed in a people a sense of responsibility for the general welfare which we must not destroy nor limit unduly. If we do we shall atrophy, or perhaps wholly destroy, that faculty of the social organism the evolution of which is called "social progress." We must not forget that states are as men are: they do but grow out of human characters. We talk much of our rights and privileges, and so we should, but if democracy is to survive and the democratic spirit is to have a larger growth, we must learn to think also of our duties and responsibilities. Upon a recognition of these by our democracies which are for the first time in the world's history exercising a sovereign power depends the future trend of civilization. The history of democracy in the last decade is not reassuring. At the close of the war it was pointed out that a map of the world colored to show that part of it ruled by a democracy left remaining but a small part of the civilized world. That area today is vastly shrunken, and there are not wanting indications that it will be still further diminished. We who are primarily concerned in the promotion of social progress should be on our guard. We must not destroy, either by enactment or organization, a feeling on the part of the citizen of responsibility for the public welfare. Neither must we take from the family its rightful functions and lodge them with organizations, no matter how efficient the organization promises to be. We must not break with the traditions of our race too rapidly.

¹ Carver, *Essays in Social Justice*, p. 158.

We are in a highly transitional stage. Adaptations must be made with a swiftness with which we are not racially familiar. Our efforts will often be mistaken and abortive, but they should continue because it is only by a proper adaptation of the lives of the individual and the family to the new and changing order that we can hope to have social progress, either with or without the aid of law.

Dr. David Starr Jordan recently used the following words in an address to the alumni of Stanford University:

No one man, nor a thousand, nor a million, can at once set the world on fire, nor is it clear that combustion or other violent means is just what the world needs. A few hundred intelligent men, working in order and patience, count for more than a million engaged in snatching freedom for themselves at the risk of that of others.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Hon. Edward Lindsey, Warren, Pennsylvania

As everybody knows, the subject of the administration of criminal justice is just now very much in the public view. It is an open season for defects in the criminal law and its administration. Alienists, business men, clergymen, doctors, and reformers; lawyers and laymen—even judges—all, with the exception of a few who have given especial thought and study to the subject, have theories (all different) as to just what is wrong and "sure cures" or specifics for the malady. To speak at all on the subject is to incur the risk of being written down as simply another note in the popular chorus. I have no infallible remedy to suggest for the conditions giving rise to so much dissatisfaction. My aim is the comparatively modest one of calling attention to some considerations of a fundamental and underlying nature which may be useful in defining a helpful attitude and point of view toward the problems involved.

In itself the awakened general interest is a good thing, but if it is to be at all effective in the improvement of conditions we must warn against overfacile solutions where the causes are really complex, and the mere treatment of symptoms under the illusion that causes themselves are being reached. A very common critical attitude is that which attacks improved methods in the treatment of criminals which have been advocated and adopted in varying degrees, such as probation, parole, and improved methods of discipline and treatment within prisons. These methods are sarcastically referred to as the coddling of criminals. It is argued that coincident with their adoption crime has not decreased, but rather increased, and they are therefore written down as failures, their abolishment suggested, and more certain and severe punishment and prison discipline demanded. Now there are one or two elements of truth in these criticisms, but as a whole they will not bear investigation and there is danger that they may be taken for more than they are worth. Perhaps the recent tendency has been to center attention too much upon the individual criminal and too little upon the

criminal law as a social institution existing for the public security. Although we know that its origins were diverse, we base that institution today upon the theory that the prohibition of acts deemed detrimental to society under threat of certain consequences and the infliction of those consequences as punishment on violators of the prohibition will, by the evocation of the psychological motive of avoiding the punishment, deter the commission of those acts sufficiently to protect society. We also know that, whether we regard it as reasonable or not, the infliction of the threatened punishment on the criminal appeals to a common or social sentiment shared by a very large number of people, including many criminals themselves, as being just. It is of course no argument against the deterrent theory to point out that it does not deter every member of society from committing crime. Most people who have given attention to the subject are convinced that punishment does have a deterrent effect; but to what extent we do not know, as it is not known how many persons would have committed such acts had the system of criminal law not been in effect, nor have we made any intelligent attempt to find out.

Nor can I agree with the statement of an eminent jurist, in this month's *Scribner's Magazine*, that "to test whether or not punishment is a deterrent, one must find out how it would work if it were certain to be inflicted if a given crime were committed." Says Judge Nott, in the article referred to, "Let each reader ask himself whether he would break that law tomorrow if he positively and certainly *knew* that he would spend a year in the Atlanta federal penitentiary if he broke it." But no such certainty of the infliction of punishment ever obtained in any system of criminal law anywhere and never will; the obstacles are insurmountable. We do not know what the effect of such certainty would be, except as a matter of theory, but we do know that not even an approximation to such certainty can be attained unless the great majority of people, for whatever motive or reason, are willing to, and actually do, refrain from the commission of the prohibited act.

But belief in the efficacy of punishment as a deterrent is no reason for confining the effort of society to that or for not taking other means for social security. Particularly it is no reason for not attempting the reformation of the convict. It is true that most of those who emphasize the deterrent theory scoff at the possibility of reformation, and those who advocate reformatory methods have no confidence in deterrence; but this is neither logical nor necessary. We, nowadays, except for two or three crimes, are unwilling to inflict other punishment than pecuniary penalty or imprisonment. I say we are unwilling that the criminal law attach other punishment to the commission of crime; but after the convict has been sentenced to the measure of imprisonment fixed by the statute for his offense there is still an amazing indifference as to what happens to him. Is it not an anomaly that we have become too sensitive or sensible, whichever it be, to flog a prisoner for having committed a crime, and still provide that punishment for breaking some prison regulation? To be sure, it is

not done in our best-regulated prisons; but it is not obsolete for all that, and even worse treatment of convicts persists in prison camps in some parts of the South, much as human sacrifice persisted in backward parts of Greece when fifth-century Athens had become so refined as to capitally execute by proffering to the condemned the poison cup of hemlock. The state has a responsibility to the criminal as well as to the rest of society, and that responsibility includes the obligation, when it imprisons a man as punishment, not only of refraining from brutal treatment, not only of providing proper food, not only of providing a decent and sanitary place of imprisonment which shall not undermine the health, but also of prescribing such treatment and training as shall be educational in the broadest sense, which shall be calculated to build up desirable habits, physical and mental, and further, of furnishing such emotional stimuli as shall enable the prisoner to live something approaching the life of a normal human being. This is not "coddling" the criminal; it is merely using common sense as to his treatment. Here is the point, in my judgment, for the application of individual methods: not individualization of punishment, but individualization of reformatory methods in the prison.

If the deterrent theory has not had a fair chance to show what it can do because not consistently applied, certainly the same can be said as to the newer methods of penal treatment, for nowhere have they been fully carried out as intended. I take as an example the indeterminate sentence and parole system to which I happen to have given special attention. This system was planned as an element of a reformatory plan of treatment of the convict which embraced as essential a proper prison plant; a system of treatment in the prison in the way of training, education, work, and recreation calculated to build up normal physical and mental habits; parole of those intelligently selected on the basis of their performance under this treatment; oversight and assistance of the paroled man outside the prison to enable him to establish proper contacts; final discharge granted on the basis of his record on parole, and the indeterminate sentence as an adjunct, furnishing reasonable opportunity for the application of this system of treatment. Parole had been developed by practical experience, while the reformatory treatment was largely theoretical and the indeterminate sentence, entirely so. The system was first put into operation at the new Elmira reformatory, where a fair approach to all the essentials was provided. In the initial spread of the system it was copied in its entirety, but soon the enthusiasm for the establishment of reformatories began to wane. The advantage of the system from the practical standpoint of prison administration in its favorable effect on prison discipline and the possibility of reduction of prison population led to its adoption for convicts in the penitentiaries and state prisons, but with little, if any, provision for reformatory treatment in the prison. Often too scant provision was made for oversight of the paroled man by personal contact through parole officers. Sometimes, instead of personal supervision by parole officers, the paroled man is turned loose with merely the obligation to

report by letter to the warden of the prison. Thus emasculated, it is small wonder if the plan has not accomplished all that was hoped from it. If in the mutilated and imperfect form in which it has been usually applied it has been productive of good at all there would seem to be great possibilities in its proper development. There is a popular idea that prisoners serve a shorter time under the indeterminate sentence and parole system than under the old definite-sentence system. This is probably not true where the system is properly administered. A comparison of the average time served by prisoners at the Joliet prison in Illinois for the three crimes of burglary, larceny, and robbery, for the five-year period from 1890 to 1894 under the definite sentence and from 1916 to 1920 under the indeterminate sentence, shows that under the definite sentence the average time served was one year, nine months, and six days, and under the indeterminate sentence it was two years, six months, and four days. In Minnesota a comparison has been made between the average time served in the last fifty cases under the definite sentence and the first fifty under the indeterminate sentence for the crimes of grand larceny and assault in the second degree. In the case of grand larceny the average time served under the definite sentence was one year, four months, and thirteen days, and under the indeterminate sentence, two years, eight months and twenty-two days; and in the case of assault under the definite sentence it was one year, seven months, and seven days, and under the indeterminate sentence, two years five months, and three days. This would indicate that where the parole system is carefully administered the prisoners remain in detention a longer time on the average under the indeterminate than under the definite sentence. There is no doubt, however, that the criticism that prisoners are as a rule paroled at the expiration of their minimum sentences if their conduct has been good has sometimes been justified. The *1916 Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York* stated that 91 per cent of the persons then on parole from the state prisons of New York had been released within one month of the expiration of their minimum sentences. The *Report of the Prison Inquiry Commission of New Jersey*, in 1917, said: "In actual practice parole is granted as a matter of course at the expiration of the minimum term, except in those cases in which the applicant has had his minimum term extended as a penalty for misconduct in prison." But such results are due, not to the parole system itself, but to defective machinery or defective functioning of the machinery provided to operate the system. The remedy lies, not in abolition or curtailment of the system, but in the improvement of parole methods.

Another class of criticisms commonly made relates to the procedure of courts in criminal cases. We are told that our court procedure is archaic and ineffective, overtechnical, and productive of delays which defeat the purpose of the criminal law. We are told that a procedure which was adequate for a rural community of a hundred years ago is of no use in urban industrial America of today. Personally, I have never been able to understand why it should be necessary to try a farmer by one method and a factory worker by another, or why

there should be any different method of court procedure in a city than in the country. In any event the procedure of our criminal courts today is not what it was a hundred years ago, and certainly it is now almost wholly the creation of statute. The greater part of the defects complained of are the result of statutory changes, ill-considered and ill-adapted to the function they are supposed to perform. As examples I may cite the drastic limitations of the common-law powers of the trial judge, imposed by statute in many American jurisdictions, which has been especially harmful in criminal trials, and the so-called simplification of pleading, which, by destroying that part of the function of pleading designed to narrow down the issues of fact to be determined by the jury, has thrown upon the jury system a burden it was never intended to bear. The latter so-called "reform," however, is not so detrimental in criminal as in civil cases. Doubtless there is possibility of improvement in criminal procedure; but consider for a moment the sudden strain thrown upon the machinery of the criminal courts by the adoption of the prohibition statutes.

The *Report of the Attorney-General of the United States* for 1922 shows that of a total of 60,722 new criminal cases brought during the preceding twelve months in the United States courts, 34,984 were for violations of the prohibition act; 22,749 convictions for prohibition violations were obtained during the year out of a total of 28,743 such cases terminated, leaving pending 10,472 cases. The Attorney-General's report of 1925 shows that the number of pending cases had increased to 25,334 on June 30, 1925; 51,688 new cases were filed during the preceding twelve months, and 48,734 cases terminated, out of which there were 39,072 convictions. That this vast number of an entirely new class of crimes was handled at all, and especially with so high a percentage of convictions, conclusively demonstrates, it seems to me, that our criminal procedure is not nearly so sick as it has sometimes been painted.

While all these criticisms, then, have some basis, we cannot accept them at face value nor can we ascertain to what extent they are valid without careful analysis. Indeed, the well-nigh universal impression of a great increase in crime itself may well be open to question. We must say at the outset of considering this matter that a demonstrably certain answer to it is impossible. Neither accurate nor comprehensive statistics of crime are obtainable anywhere, and not even an attempt has been made to collect country-wide information as to any crime except homicide. All our discussions pro and con are necessarily based on such scraps of information as we are able to collect, but we are, after all, absolutely without real knowledge. It is no wonder that ideas are so conflicting and that legislation is so often ill-considered and impractical. We would not attempt to solve any problem of business without first ascertaining the facts, but we are content to continue to attempt to deal with crime without adequate facts on which to base our conclusions. It is apparent that only governmental provision can secure the uniform country-wide and accurate information that is necessary.

The chairman of the criminal law section of the American Bar Association

last September, after a survey of the figures from what he termed "the grab-bag sources which alone are available," concluded that:

Homicide, in the United States, alarming as the total is, shows an average annual decrease. Increases are recorded among the colored population and in many of the larger cities. The aggregate of other crimes has materially increased, due partly to increase of holdups and banditry, and due largely to increase in traffic-law violations, liquor offenses, and a mass of new crimes. Old-fashioned crimes such as burglary, larceny, from the meager statistics available, seem to show little increase.

In a recent study Dr. Ellen C. Potter, secretary of welfare of Pennsylvania, concluded that for the United States as a whole from 1910 to 1923 there was a decrease in commitments for crime, in proportion to the population, of 37.7 per cent; that in Pennsylvania from 1875 to 1924 commitments to all prisons increased 81.2 per cent, while the population of the state increased 119 per cent, showing a decrease of commitments in proportion to population of 39 per cent. She further concluded that convictions in the criminal courts of Pennsylvania in relation to charges made have increased from 17.8 per cent in 1875 to 51.3 per cent in 1924, apparently indicating that our criminal procedure in Pennsylvania is more effective now than it was fifty years ago.

There are manifestly certain conditions which make crime of certain kinds easier to commit nowadays. Not to mention the increased density of population, especially in our large cities; in itself this is the cause of the concentration and display of large amounts of property easily accessible and tempting to the crime of larceny. The automobile, an item of property of this nature, also furnishes a means of swift transportation to and from the scene of a robbery or holdup. The automobile, too, is a factor in our large list of homicides: five thousand persons were killed in 1924 in fifty-seven cities having a population of less than twenty-seven million.

There are a good many more crimes to commit now than there were fifty, or even twenty, years ago, and the number is increasing constantly. In fact, the legislature of every state at every session, and Congress as well, adds to the number. Many are not only new crimes but belong to new species of crime. The pure-food statutes added one new variety and the narcotic drug acts another. Coincident with the advent of the automobile to our streets is the advent of traffic rules to our criminal codes. The prohibition statutes constitute, of course, the outstanding example of new criminal offenses, but it is only one of a large number that might be cited. We are carrying the attempt to regulate human relations by criminal law to the extreme. Is any condition alleged to be unsatisfactory? Pass an act of the legislature about it. Is any action deemed detrimental? Make it a crime. Are people too willing to buy stock of uncertain value? Make selling it criminal. The merchant thinks the criminal law should collect his bills for him; the mere giving of an order to pay money, unless the money is placed in the hands of the party on whom the order is drawn, has been made a crime in some states. A mass of things has been made criminal, relating to business, relating to personal habits, that has not been criminal hereto-

fore, and yet we expect people to have the same regard and respect for these new standards, the same detestation for the things prohibited, that has been built into the group consciousness and the group morality by the traditions sanctioned not only by the law, but by morals and religion for hundreds of years. Coincidentally with this tendency is that of obliterating any distinction between crimes, misdemeanors, and police regulations. If you don't like something, call it the worst name and attach the severest penalty. It sounds better in the criminal code, no matter how it works out in practice.

Without questioning the desirability of the things we are aiming to accomplish, it is time that we seriously faced the questions whether it is wise to place so much reliance on the one agency of criminal law, whether there are not other more effective, and indeed necessary, methods of improving conditions; whether, in fact, it is possible for the criminal law to accomplish all that it is being called upon to do. It requires something more than the mere fiat of a legislature to make law. Law in its essential substance, apart from the mere formulation of law, is a product of social life. It is a social thing. It results from the interaction of individuals with each other in actual social living. It is a social product, as language is a social product. The grammarian may lay down the correct usage in formal rules, but the usage that really survives is determined by the actual speech of the individuals who use the language in intercourse with each other. So the norms of social conduct, the sum total of which is law, while their details may be formally expressed from time to time in rules of law, are in fact determined by the actual experience and life of society, and legislation that runs counter to them cannot be made effective. To avoid the confusing element of the merits of the purpose sought to be accomplished, let me take an example from the legislation of the fourteenth century in England. In the year 1348 the Black Death which swept over Europe from the East reached England, carrying off in its repeated visitations more than one half of the entire population. The sudden rise of wages and of the price of commodities seemed to some a calamity second only to the plague. In 1349 parliament passed the first of the statutes of laborers, fixing the rate of wages at the same as they had been two years before the plague, and requiring every man, bond or free, having no other service or land of his own, to serve whoever should require him at that wage. The failure of the statute to produce the result aimed at is shown by its repeated reenactment by subsequent parliaments, with added penalties denounced against its breach. The payment of higher wages was made criminal; laborers were forbidden to quit their homes in search of higher wages, on penalty of being branded with a hot iron on the forehead; in every way it could devise, Parliament thundered its commands against the rise of wages and the movement of laborers in accordance with the demand for labor. It might just as well have thundered against the multiplication table. A hundred years later wages were twice in purchasing power what they were before the plague, and villenage had become practically obsolete.

But legislation has many successes, as well as failures, to its credit. In the sudden changes of conditions caused by the modern industrial system resort to legislation for means of readjustments has been essential. The system of workmen's compensation in relation to industrial accidents is an example of successful legislation. As Dean Pound has said:

Legislation is something we must have; and yet admittedly it is most unsatisfactory in practice. How to make it take account of the legal background on which the courts will project it when they come to apply it, how to insure that all the interests have been, as it were, inventoried and valued and delimited so as to secure the most that may be with the least friction and the least waste, is a problem of social engineering calling for as great an equipment of science and as much creative resource as any problem of electrical or mechanical engineering that has been solved in whole or in part through the research carried on in our highly endowed laboratories.

We need to study systematically and scientifically the law itself, its action, and the limits of its efficiency. Instead of merely deciding what we want to do and seizing what seems to be the first club with which to beat it into society, we need to consider what we may reasonably expect to accomplish through legislation, and for what we must look to other means. We must recognize that even then all novel legislation is after all but an experiment which must be subjected to the test of experience for a determination of its value.

Scientific study is as much needed in the field of law as in any other. By this I mean the scientific study of law and human conduct itself, not the taking of a few biological or medical facts, and by a purely hypothetical extension of them to the field of human conduct, attempting to explain all the phenomena of crime. We have seen attempts to maintain that all criminals are insane, that all criminals are feeble-minded, and what not; that crime is a disease. The phenomena of crime are too complex to be explained by any such single-track and simple-minded theories. It is only by long-continued and methodical collection and observation of the facts, and then the patient and thoroughgoing study of them, that we can arrive at anything like scientific knowledge of criminal law. Meantime we shall do best if we stick closely to traditional experience, innovating only step by step and bearing in mind that of our innovations many will have to be discarded for one that proves its value by the test of experience. It is so that social values have been and must be built up. And this is true in the field of crime and criminal law, for crime is purely and essentially a social manifestation. No more senseless phrase was ever coined than "antisocial" as applied to crime. We are altogether too prone to overlook this social nature of crime and to look at it as pertaining solely to the individual, as due to the individual criminal's depravity, disease, or perverseness. We need to remember that crime is a social construction, a part of a scheme of social values evolved by the life of society. We are too apt, in trying to study it intensively, to isolate it in our thinking from the social whole of which it forms an integral part. The more we investigate the evolution of law—and this includes criminal law—the more clearly we see that it has specialized itself out from a social whole of conduct

which included the total of what we now think of as law, morality, and religion. This specialization, which exists more in our efforts at logical thought than in the group phenomena themselves, has arisen in response to a need, but we must not carry it to an extreme. The age-old conception of crime was bound up with primitive religious and magical ideas, and developed coincidentally with evolving religion and morals. It did not rest for its effectiveness solely on the force that society might apply to the individual. Not force, but order, the due and equal ordering that is justice, is the fundamental conception of law. Thus law becomes the expression of the sense of justice of the individual himself as a part of society, as other social institutions are the expression in the action of individuals of group consciousness. We weaken the institution when we emphasize too much the view of law as something imposed by force on the individual by the rest of society. This element of the legal order can only perform the function of whipper-in of the stragglers from the line of march of the social army. The main burden of sustaining the institution must be borne in subtler ways. Other social institutions, such as fashion, for instance, secure a large measure of conformity without it. Not a few who would not hesitate to violate some commands of the legislature will never wear a straw hat before the fifteenth of May or after the fifteenth of September.

If precepts deemed essential—apart from mere rules, whose content changes with time and occasion; rules, I mean, whose subject matter is indifferent so long as there is a rule on the subject—are to become effective they must be built into social habits. And for this something more is necessary than a mere legislative fiat. Something more is necessary than the mere approval of public opinion. In some way they must be tied in with those subtle social influences whose presence we recognize but whose operation we do not yet fully understand. They must enlist the support of the emotional forces which express themselves most clearly in moral and religious ways, but which permeate all social institutions. We need to talk and think less about enforcement of law and more about conformity to law. We need to think of sustaining the legal order not alone by political force, but by all other available methods of social control. For its improvement we must invoke education in the broadest sense of that term. And we must recognize that for the bettering of human conduct law is but one agency which must cooperate with, and needs the support of, all other agencies capable of working for that betterment. It is only as the criminal law can maintain liaison with and be supported by morality, religion, and all other practical agencies of social control that the administration of criminal justice can become reasonably effective.

HOW MUCH SOCIAL WORK CAN A COMMUNITY AFFORD: FROM A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW

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How much social work can a community afford? I was asked to attempt an answer to this question because I was supposed to have some experience in economic conditions and some knowledge concerning the wealth and giving power of communities. In the first instance the title of my paper was qualified by the proviso that the answer was to be from the economic point of view. The more I thought of the subject the more it was impressed upon me that the economic point of view is only one, and by no means the most important, point of view. The title was therefore modified so that I might be permitted to discuss the question both from the economic point of view and the social point of view.

No one is competent to answer this question by a statement of how much, per capita, a community can give if it is minded to give; nor is anyone competent to answer a more important question: How much ought a community to give at any particular time and under any particular circumstances? Every community must put the question to itself: What is our capacity to pay for the benefit of others? and What is the need of those for whom the money is to be spent?

Everyone who knows anything about the United States knows that its capacity to pay varies greatly. In general, the southern states were ruined by the Civil War. Some have increased in wealth more rapidly than others. Some, with a large percentage of illiterates, obviously have a less capacity to produce wealth than some states in the North. For example, the census estimate for 1924 of the true value per capita of property subject to the general property tax is, in the state of Mississippi, \$574; in the state of Iowa, \$3,082; and in the state of Rhode Island, \$3,523. The *Financial Statistics of Cities* for 1923 furnishes evidence of the relative wealth of cities. The per capita revenue receipts of New Orleans were less than \$28; and of Detroit, \$87.

The report of the National Bureau of Economic Research on income affords further evidence, not only of the relative wealth of different states, but also shows something of capacity to pay. In that study the Bureau has attempted to determine the per capita current income of the total population of each state; also the per capita current income of the non-farming population.

For 1919 the per capita income of the non-farming population in the state of New York was \$928; in Michigan, \$756; in Ohio, \$738; in Nebraska, \$694; in Iowa, \$657. The Bureau has not only attempted to ascertain total per capita income, but also has calculated the distribution of that income. It presents a table showing what percentage of the population receives an income of less than \$5,000 a year, and what proportion of the total income is thus received by persons receiving less than \$5,000 a year. It is obvious that in general that state which has the largest per capita current income in which the largest percentage

of the people receive less than \$5,000 a year and share among them the largest proportion of that total income is the state in which economic conditions are best. As anyone would expect, we find that in the state of New York there is the largest per capita income; but, on the other hand, we find, to the disadvantage of New York, that the smallest proportion of the people receive less than \$5,000 a year and share among them the smallest proportion of the total. In the state of New York $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the people have more than \$5,000 a year and share almost 25 per cent of the total income, whereas in Wisconsin only 1.3 per cent of the people have more than \$5,000 a year and share only 8.8 per cent of the income. Iowa and Nebraska are in about the same class, only 2.8 per cent of the people in Iowa and 2.6 per cent in Nebraska have more than \$5,000 a year, and that small fraction shares somewhat less than 15 per cent of the current income among them.

The distribution of home ownership is generally regarded, and rightly regarded, as important evidence of the economic status of population. In Des Moines, Iowa, 51 per cent of the homes are owned by the occupants, a quarter of them free and clear. At the other end of the scale comes the city of New York, with 12.7 per cent of the homes owned by the occupants and 2.7 per cent free and clear. It would not be fair to let those figures stand without comment, for conditions in these two cities are so different, in that most of the people in Des Moines live in single-family houses, and three-quarters of the people in New York live in multi-family houses.

To indicate a condition of economic well-being it is not sufficient to show that per capita income is large. It is important that it should be evenly distributed. The figures I have given showing total per capita income and the proportion of persons who receive less than \$5,000, together with the proportion they receive, are not, standing alone, complete evidence. It might be the case that a very small fraction of the people receive incomes so large as to destroy the balance superficially indicated.

We have another table which throws some additional light on this problem. In the state of New York $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the people receive more than \$10,000 per annum each, and share 19 per cent of the total; but in Wisconsin only $\frac{1}{16}$ of 1 per cent receive more than \$10,000 a year, and share 4.7 per cent of the total. We may say with some certainty that these figures indicate a wholesome state of economic well-being in the state of Wisconsin. The conditions are about the same in Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska. This accords with our ordinary observation. The figures are what we would expect to find. If they were not, I should believe that there was something wrong with the statistical method and refuse to accept the figures. Statistics are not much good unless they furnish evidence to support what is in harmony with the observation of an experienced man.

I have been permitted to inspect a study of the volume and cost of social work in nineteen cities, prepared under the auspices of the American Association of Community Organization and the Welfare Federation of Cleveland.

This study divides the total income for social work in the nineteen cities into taxes, earnings, contributions, and endowment. There is a detailed analysis of expenditures, starting with a broad division into the amount expended for five purposes, entitled dependency, health, character-building, delinquency, and coordination. There is a chart which shows for each of these divisions of expenditure the proportion of income derived from earnings and income contributed by taxes, endowment, and contributions.

We have seen that communities differ materially in respect to the amount of average income and in respect to the distribution of that income, and that in some states there is a better condition than in others. Most people will agree that an ideal community would be one with a large per capita income and a very small number receiving more than the average and sharing a very small part of the total. In such a community one would expect a high average of education, intelligence, and character, both because these qualities are essential to the establishment of such an economic condition and because they would be the qualities which naturally would flow from such an economic condition. In such a community people could manage their own affairs and pay their own bills. They could insure themselves in some appropriate way against the ordinary hazards of life, such as sickness, disability, death, and against the natural disabilities of old age. In such a community they would have the best hospitals, and those hospitals would be supported by those who used them. Payments for health would be high. The earned income of the hospitals would be high and the unearned income low. In such a community character-building agencies would be many, and they would all be paid for by those who used them as, in large degree, are the activities of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. The expenditures would be large for clubs to meet all needs, for education and recreation for men, women, and children. Such opportunities would just naturally flow out of the needs and desires of the community, as country clubs and golf clubs just naturally arise in a rich suburban community.

The ideal condition in such a community would be the absence of any dependency, and there would be no need then for any fund to care for dependents. Delinquency would be almost non-existent, and no fund would be required to care for delinquents. Coordination is a necessity when various agencies exist for the service of others. In an ideal community, in which people served themselves through voluntary associations, a coordinating agency would have no work to do. Federations might exist, but they would be self-supporting.

Such an ideal community cannot exist so long as legal privilege exists. World-conditions affect us, but in the main we can control our own destiny. Social workers, as such, can do little to further sound economic conditions because evil economic conditions are produced by tariffs and taxes and laws which restrict the production of wealth and interfere with its natural distribution. As has been shown, some communities in the United States are nearer to the ideal than others. The influence of social workers may be potent for good or ill.

Their action may pauperize a people by giving them for nothing money or money's worth in such fashion as to weaken ambition and independence and so tend to perpetuate evil conditions; by making people contented when they should have a righteous discontent; or they may open opportunities for education and self-help which shall result in strengthening character and fostering worthy ideals of freedom and independence for all men, and not for themselves alone.

In this study of the volume and cost of social work in nineteen cities there are facts which raise important questions. I do not say that the study answers these questions. When we deal with human beings we may know with some certainty what may affect their bodies, but it behooves us to be very humble when we touch their souls. Moreover, the effect upon bodies, which are mortal, is of comparatively minor consequence as compared with the effect on souls, which are immortal.

Speaking with all humility, we can assert with confidence that there is danger in giving for nothing material things, or even services which may be purchased. There is less danger in freely rendering services which are not purchasable.

It is worthy of note that among the nineteen cities for which the income and cost of social work is recorded, those which spend much on dependency receive most from public revenue. In the last ten years there has been a large increase, measured by pre-war dollars, in the amount of money given away by family societies in many cities in relief to dependent families. That is true both for those in cities, which give an increasing amount in outdoor relief from public funds, and in those cities which give little or no outdoor relief. During this same period there has been a constant improvement in the quality and quantity of the service rendered to individual families, having regard to the need, environment, character, and condition of each family. There has been a consistent effort to reduce the number of families under the care of each worker, with intent to give a more intelligent, informed, and better service.

Ten years ago the leaders of thought among family social workers believed that with the improvement in the service rendered the need for material relief would lessen. During this same period more and more study has been given by home economists to the needs of men, women, and children as reflected in family budgets. The rapid growth of public health nursing and the emphasis put by health workers on the need for the right kind and quantity of food have probably had some influence in increasing family budgets. Whereas not many years ago social workers rather regarded relief giving as an unfortunate necessity and no more, their study has led them to believe that adequate relief may be made an important element in the improvement of the family in respect to its character as well as health. Relief, like strychnine, is a valuable remedy when prescribed in proper doses for those who need it.

Not many years ago, in the best family societies, the number of trained

workers in proportion to the families under care was small. The average number of families per worker was often as high as seventy or more. Of late years about forty has been deemed the greatest number that one worker could serve efficiently, and even then only a small proportion of the forty could be given intensive care. Under ordinary conditions at the present time a large proportion, often 75 per cent or more, of money expended for relief is given to those families to which it is expected that material relief will be given for a considerable period of time, and are classed as what are called allowance families. The amount spent today on what is called emergent relief is a small proportion of the total. In such a period as the hard times of 1915 the proportion was probably reversed, or nearly so. At all events, a much larger proportion of the total sum expended for the material relief was of the emergent character than at the present time. During a period of unemployment this was due partly to lack of money for relief, partly to the small number of workers in proportion to the number of families served, partly because many clients could manage their own affairs with temporary financial assistance.

Family societies from time to time have been confronted by increasing demands for help and service and what appeared to be their inability to get money enough to render the service as they would wish to render it or to give material relief in amounts sufficient to meet what they regarded as proper family budgets. On this subject I can speak with feeling because I have been confronted with these conditions day by day for a number of years past. When we confront these problems it is well to realize that human nature, with all its marvelous differences, has underlying springs of action that are essentially the same. We, all of us, spend more liberally on ourselves as our income increases. We, all of us, are disposed to spend more liberally on others when we dip into what seems to be an inexhaustible purse than if we were obliged to spend time and energy and give ourselves in the pursuit of the money.

Automobile manufacturers assure us that a gallon of gasoline will drive their car a certain number of miles. If road conditions remain reasonably constant they probably tell the truth. Even in this mechanical computation there are factors of uncertainty. How much more in human affairs are there factors of uncertainty. We cannot classify human beings as we can classify machines. We try to make family budgets with due allowance for all human factors, and I have no doubt whatever that our capable home economists know much more than was known twenty years ago as to what should be expended for food, clothes, and shelter by families of various kinds and composed of persons of varying ages.

Family workers today would devote some part of the family income to insurance and to recreation and for such expenditures which would once have been deemed luxuries. They make very convincing arguments. Everyone will agree that it is wrong to leave the family habitually undernourished, to let them be housed in dwellings that menace health, and to subject them to harassing

anxiety as to where the next meal shall come from. Everyone familiar with family work will agree that there should be a sufficient number of trained workers to make such a study of family conditions as will result in the largest possible part of the support of the family being derived from its own earnings, and second, from those persons upon whom it has a natural claim by reason of relationship by blood or any other tie which imposes obligation to help. On the other hand, when we meet some financial stress and strain it is possible to say, between the extreme of starvation on the one hand and unnecessary abundance on the other, just what amount of money shall be spent on any one family so long as another family may be suffering danger of starvation, or what may, perhaps, be a still greater danger—the temptation to resort to indiscriminate begging.

When a city is confronted by famine and pestilence it must mobilize its resources; it must spread them out very thin; indeed, there may be soup kitchens and bread lines, as in Russia after the war and in other parts of Europe. When we are dealing with human beings it is impossible to lay down precise rules to meet all conditions. We are human. Our clients are human. Let us apply to all our problems the same principles taught to the family social worker, which are that we shall deal with each human problem on its merits, with the object of obtaining the best possible result in view of the peculiar conditions of each problem that is presented to us.

For the family workers it is disagreeable, but it is helpful, to be obliged to take serious thought about every dollar spent. If money comes too easily it is inevitable that it will be spent too easily. Easy spending is certain to be damaging to the beneficiaries in the long run. On the other hand—it is so important that it should be stated again—it is bad for the beneficiaries if they are to be served by one who is worn out in the struggle to serve too many families at the same time. It is bad for the beneficiaries to be kept in a state of semistarvation of body or mind or both.

Among the nineteen cities dealt with in the special study there are some that, on the face of the figures, would seem to be approaching an ideal in respect to health care. They spend the largest sum per capita for health and they get the largest proportion from those who pay for what they get. It is unfortunately true, however, that a very small fraction of the earnings of any of the hospitals and dispensaries comes from the out-patient departments. Taking all the hospitals together, the in-patients paid 50 per cent more than the total income received from other sources, whereas the out-patients paid less than one-sixth as much as was received from other sources.

The earned income of public health nursing is just about the same proportion of the total income as the earnings of the out-patient departments of hospitals. Even in those cities in which earnings of hospitals are very large, the earnings from out-patients is very small. Hospitals are under an unfortunate necessity, that they must inquire whether a person is destitute in order to determine whether he should pay his bills or not. May we not welcome the estab-

lishment of clinics in which all must pay a sum sufficient to support the clinic, even though there may be need for clinics in which no one will be required to pay? Let us not forget that fundamental defect in human nature, of delight in getting something for nothing. It is nearly universal. It is not an appetite which should be encouraged.

We may turn with satisfaction to the table of the report which sets forth the income of character-building agencies. The earned income exceeds the unearned income. Of course it ought to exceed it, and in some of the cities it very greatly exceeds it. No account is taken here of the fact that a good many of these institutions own their buildings and that they are generally free from taxation. We need not be distressed about that. Those of us who had the privilege of going to college did not begin to pay what our education cost. It seems to be the fact that we may be the beneficiaries of the gifts of the past that erected buildings and established endowments without loss of self-respect, and so it may well be with character-building institutions; but the nearer they can come to obtaining current support for current expenses, the better it will be for their beneficiaries.

Under existing conditions money spent on planning common service and the coordination of effort is free from the danger of encouraging dependency. It is hard to see that that expenditure can do any harm, and it may do great good.

From the figures I have quoted as to per capita income it is reasonably evident that there is money enough in every city to support needed social work. If the per capita income is no more than \$600 a year it may be that only one-fourth of the persons who receive their share of that income have enough to give anything. That being so, three-fourths of the persons receive less than the average, and one-fourth receive more. The per capita income of those who receive more would average at least \$1,000, which means a family income of at least \$4,000 or \$5,000. If, then, we assume that the more prosperous quarter of the community can give to social work half of its tithe, we would have the equivalent of \$12.50 per capita for the entire community devoted to social work, which is more than five times as much as the per capita contributions of the nineteen cities for which we have statistics, and more than three times as much as in the city which makes the largest per capita contributions for social work.

It is not enough that the need shall exist; it is necessary that it must appear to those who can give that it does exist. Moreover, some people are trained in the habit of giving and some are not. We are the inheritors, all of us, of the history and traditions of the Jewish people. Early in their recorded history they were taught to devote at least 10 per cent of their income to the support of the synagogue, and something over for the needy. Tithing is more or less traditional in the Christian church. It is a good rule for everyone to set aside some definite part of his income, be it a tithe or more, or, if absolutely needful, less. We have seen that the income in total is enough. It may well be objected that a large per-

centage of the people have only a sum sufficient for absolute necessities, and can spare nothing for others. I doubt whether there is anyone so poor that he cannot appropriate something for others; but however many those people may be, there are in all of our cities today people who can afford to give more than a tenth of their income, and many who do give much more than a tenth. I had the privilege of knowing one good man, now gone to his great reward, who was said to give more than two-thirds of his income. According to our standards he might be thought very rich; according to the standards of a great metropolitan community he was not extremely rich. His annual gifts would more than make good the tithe of a thousand men whose earnings were only a bare living.

We have much to do to inculcate the habit of giving, for the benefit both of the giver and the beneficiary. It may well be, where income for social work seems inadequate, that sometimes the need is not made clear enough, and, sometimes, that the plan for spending money ought not to meet with enthusiastic approval. In every community there must be a proper balance in the proposed budget, and that balance must have regard not only to the conditions in each community and the amount that should be spent for the various classes of work and for the various classes of beneficiaries, but it also must have regard to the habits and customs and scale of life of that community. In a rich community with a reasonable distribution of wealth it may be right and proper to spend much more on certain classes of beneficiaries than in a poor community. It is probably true that in the United States there is no city which cannot afford to do everything for those who are in need that the habits and customs of that community render reasonable and proper to be devoted to that use. A community could be pauperized as well as an individual. We owe a responsibility to all alike. We must afford opportunity to give wisely. We must demonstrate to potential givers the wisdom of the plan. We must not coerce men into giving when they are not moved to give. At some time and at some place there has been a pressure brought to bear that is evil both for those upon whom the pressure is brought and for those for whom it is brought. Offerings must be free-will offerings to bless them that give and them that receive.

Far be it from me to say one word that could be interpreted as counseling the reduction of contributions. Very few people indeed give more than they should. Every one of us is interested in social agencies, which we firmly believe could spend more money wisely. The dangers against which we must guard ourselves and the community are dangers in spending. From time to time we must assess what we spend by the results achieved in the increase of self-reliance and independence among our clients. Money may be spent for backward communities and for weak people, provided always the spirit of the giver is imbued with charity and the gift to each community and to each human being brings a little nearer the time when that community can give to other communities less favored than itself and each human being shall be more able and more willing to do for others.

HOW MUCH SOCIAL WORK CAN A COMMUNITY AFFORD: FROM THE ETHICAL POINT OF VIEW

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago

There is no doubt that there are two sides of the question, "How much social work can a community afford?" The community has at last definitely included social adjustment as one of its essential functions, and expects to pay for it—to pay reasonable sums, so to speak—but still to pay. The community long ago learned that it must take care of the sick, the dependent, and the aged, and many charities dealing with them are now passing into the realm of taxable services. The community has incorporated them politically into its permanent arrangements. But the other is still so new that the social workers are constantly being challenged, as indeed we ought to be. This challenge has been organized and vocalized most definitely by the community chest in its various forms. The chest hopes to eliminate waste in the collection of funds, including the waste of the business man's time, and also to eliminate waste motions on the part of the social worker. I think we would all be happy to have the Taylor System applied to our work so that we too might get rid of wasted time and effort. It is quite possible that there are too many kinds of social service, or too many forms of any one kind, and we welcome any effort which would rectify this. But there is one danger involved. It is to look at social work too steadily from the business point of view, to transfer it into the psychology of the business world, and to subject it to tests which are totally irrelevant to its purposes. We have in social work, of course, a very large business aspect. An old friend of mine attending this Conference is responsible for the welfare of nineteen thousand people living in five different communities. She has on her staff 268 workers; she knows the exact nutrition status of every child. If he falls below 7 per cent of the standard he is immediately put in the nutrition class. The large corporations who engage her find it a fine business investment, and continually say so. On the business side we could probably prove our case.

Are we doing our duty on the ethical side? Are we giving the community a chance to judge day by day what we are doing in that field? In one direction we are certainly failing, for social workers are constantly required to meet situations which could never occur if the ethical standard of the community were higher. If we were more alert on the ethical side we could save vast areas of life from becoming absolutely brutalized or sinking into a hard indifference. Many of us have been stirred recently by reading what one woman did who had an intolerable curiosity about the lives of the poor and made an unrelenting effort to understand them. Beatrice Webb so analyzed the sweating system as to make clear that the purchaser of a sweated-made coat became a pauper—he was pauperized by the husband of the woman who supported her while she made the sweated coat at half price, just as truly as if he had taken the wages out of

the husband's pocket by holding out a begging hand on the street corner. It became an ethical question then for the purchaser of a sweated garment as well as for the employer of sweated labor, and also for a right-minded community which objected to subsidized wages on the ground of simple justice. If enough people had arrived at that sense of unwillingness to be pauperized, or to make paupers, the whole question of sweated labor would have been taken care of because the ethical standards had been raised.

We can take another matter which was recently brought to our attention in *The Survey* by a study of the number of young people between the ages of sixteen and eighteen who meet with accidents in industry because they are bungling and do not give attention to monotonous work. These accidents are an attempt on the part of nature itself to protect them, strange as it may seem. In the minority report on the English poor law, made twelve or fifteen years ago, all the English-speaking world was told that it was a mistake to put young people between sixteen and eighteen at work which did not have some educational content; that England was preparing for herself a new crop of dependents and unemployables because she was not educating her working population during those years when they might most easily be educated and when they revolted most desperately against the type of work to which so many of them were doomed. If we had applied that ethical suggestion to America as well as England many terrible accidents would have been avoided. Young people would have been protected by legislation which reflected a standard accepted by the entire community. We want them to work, we want them to learn to work, and to bring wages home to their families, but certainly a community should have enough ingenuity to provide its young people with work that has some educational value, and not tire them out before the long life of labor that is before them has fairly begun.

We can no longer challenge the social worker for not being a fact-finding agency; that task has been taken out of our hands by the universities and other research bodies, one of which has just been quoted to us as a fine example in determining the economic value of social work. But the social worker still has a burden laid upon him, of making clear his special human experience, the reaction which comes to him who is brought close to ignorance, poverty, disease, and crime. If he fails to formulate those in such wise as to add to the ethical resources of the community, in my opinion he has failed.

Let us take, for instance, this whole question of bootlegging. Some of us from communities in which bootlegging is practiced—sometimes flagrantly, and always clandestinely. We discover two things—that there are the economic aspects and the ethical aspects. In its economic aspect we see a great industry, formerly carried on in factories—as we may designate the distilleries and breweries—becoming decentralized and going back into the home-industry stage. This is just the reverse of what has happened in other industries. It is now, however, emerging from the home and gradually entering a second period in

which we find the exploiter trying to get control of all the stills within a given area. It is like the situation in the Pennsylvania oil fields years ago, when almost any man who had a piece of land where a well could be dug could produce oil. As one man got more than his neighbor, they began to fight each other, and gradually a certain man gained control in his section, and finally came to control a large part of the entire industry. We have men in the bootlegging industry who are quite determined to obtain control of a given area, and who offer to any man who is discovered within that area a fifty-fifty proposition. They give police protection and selling advantages in return for half his output. If he declines his still is broken up, or, if he is persistent, his head may be broken open, but he is in the end obliged to conform or to go out of business, for a monopoly is always ruthless. Then there is the larger fighting going on between two sets of exploiters. In Chicago it happens to be a fight between a Sicilian gang and another which shall be nameless. The two organizations trying to gain control are carrying on a purely economic rivalry, but the whole situation is complicated and taken out of business into ethics because the entire manufacturing and selling processes are illegal and, more than that, are dependent upon methods of successful corruption. The situation in the old days was typified by the whiskey ring bringing influence to bear directly and indirectly upon state legislatures, and rumors came to us of some such attempt in Congress itself. The corruption has now been dissipated and is brought to bear upon the patrolman on the beat and on his police superiors. The social worker is often conscious of this double development going on all about him. I hope no one will understand me as in favor of the present attempt to modify the Eighteenth Amendment because it is not being enforced. Its present failure is like the failure of the first attempts in the South after the abolition of slavery. The southern people did not believe slavery should have been abolished. They did not believe the United States had the right to legislate about it, and so the slaves were barely free, when they lost their votes, they fell into peonage, and all sorts of things happened to them; yet in three generations no one would venture to say that the descendants of slaves are not enormously better off than if that legislation had not been passed. We will have to watch and see the larger aspect of this amendment which is not being enforced where communities are not trying to enforce it. Here is a distinct ethical situation. Are social workers trying to analyze it? If we understood it, that alone might make us worth our salt. There is obvious need for the application of a tireless intellectual effort there.

Years ago, in the nineties—by that I mean the last decade of the last century, before many of you in this audience were born—we used to have at these meetings almost always a sharp challenge as to the construction of society itself. It was said that certain social mechanisms and arrangements were so awkward and so unfair that they almost automatically produced poverty; they destroyed individual effort, and cramped native energy; but if these social conditions could be changed so as to foster personality, then such individuals would

thrive, and in the end would produce for themselves a better social order. I remember at one meeting a socialist made a long and rather tiresome address. When he sat down, one of the men in the audience arose and said, "Well, that was a pretty sweeping speech you made. You act as if you thought socialism would cure the toothache." The socialist replied, "Of course it would cure the toothache. If every child were looked after by the state, and his teeth attended to from infancy, of course toothache would disappear from the world." Is it not true that in the years since that happened we have dropped more or less the discussion of social theories and paid a good deal of attention to toothache? I am sure that in most cities, with their nursery schools, their nutrition classes, their school nurses, and their dental services sustained by the city health departments, toothache is being abolished. But this effort is quite divorced from any social theory. Indeed, if a social theory were to be attached to it, social workers would probably be frightened away and feel they must drop it. We are willing to work hard at definite social tasks, but we are not quite willing to discuss social theories. Proud as we are of the toothache achievement, we would almost rather have the children go about with poultices tied around their heads than to have the result called socialism, and if a powerful newspaper called a dental clinic bolshevism, I venture to predict that social workers could be found who would say, "We don't really approve of dental clinics. We are only experimenting with baby teeth." We share a certain desire to conform and be safe. This tendency has been registered most conspicuously in the field of politics, but it spreads over into other fields. We, too, are living on accumulated capital in spiritual and ethical affairs. Whether it is a passing phase with us, something we are sharing with the rest of the world, I am not wise enough to say. I merely call your attention to it as an interesting situation.

The leaders in this field of careful individual study are the psychiatric social workers. They are the newest and the most popular group among us, and perhaps we can ask a favor from them: that in time they go beyond this individual analysis and give us a little social psychiatric work. The newspapers bring us every morning—certainly they do in Chicago—information concerning many crimes. We would like to have them tell us what the effect upon the community is, for instance, of a case of capital punishment. Does it deter crime, as so many newspaper editors seem to think it does, or does it not deter crime? More people in this world have been executed because of their heretical beliefs than for any other reason in the world's long history of executions. That is a situation that is well over, certainly as it concerns the witches. Perhaps psychiatric workers will tell us whether, in those places where witches were executed, other ladies were deterred from becoming witches. If we can find that out perhaps we shall have more light on this very vexed question of capital punishment.

They might, in time, venture to tell us that it was a very bad thing to have a state's attorney get great acclaim and many votes according to the number of men he had prosecuted and "sent to the chair," as they say in New York, or "to

the noose," as we refer to it in Illinois. I am sure they would say it was not a good thing for a policeman to gain promotion according to the number of arrests he made. I am sure they would say all of those things had a sadistic (you see I am trying to acquire the language of psychiatry) effect upon the community. We now ask them to get back a little from a purely individual study into something which considers the many, and give us some conclusions which may clear our poor bewildered minds. I am saying this, not as a social worker, but as an old woman who is perplexed by a situation such as we have in Chicago. At the present time we are astounded by the spectacle of an assistant state's attorney being shot in an automobile in company with a man whom he had prosecuted for murder. We are startled by a curious connection which appears at times between the forces which have been elected to take care of the public safety and the elements in the community which are engaged in breaking down public safety. We see it whether in connection with the enforcement of the Volstead act or whether with those older laws meant to preserve and cherish human life. This entire situation challenges the community to make an ethical analysis of itself and of its needs. We may perhaps be presumptuous in saying that social work has any special ethical contribution to such an undertaking. We can base that claim only on the old belief that the man who lives near to the life of the poor, near to the mother and children of the man who is to be hanged—he who knows the devastating effects of disease and vice—has an unrivaled opportunity to make a contribution to ethics. We will certainly fail to meet our obligations if we throw away that opportunity, either because we shirk intellectual effort, because we lack courage, or because we fail to see our obligations.

The greatest moral effort in the world at the present moment is perhaps being made in India, where they are breaking down the long-established caste system which condemned millions of people to the life of the "untouchable." They have a caste system which is buttressed by thousands of years of habit and the sanctions of religion. Not only Gandhi but many others in India are making this determined effort. It comes, as always, from those who are closest to the poor, those who carry on their activities in touch with those who are on the margin of society. Such an effort demands more than ethics. It is religion, which has been defined as ethics touched with emotion; drenched with emotion would better describe this movement in the East.

Shall we paraphrase those fine words of Booker Washington's: "I will permit no man to make me hate him," into "I will permit no situation to make me bungle it," adding, "nor will I be frightened by what those on the outside may think about me." So we come back to the place from whence we started—how much social work can a community afford from the ethical point of view? Perhaps we need more "sea room," to refer to Dr. Crothers' whale story. We had a similar story at the Settlement conference, of a boy who dreamed he was being pursued by three social workers, all dressed in black and wearing glasses; just as

they were about to catch him, he said, "I woke up all in a tremble and hollered to my grandmother: 'Min, move over, I must have room.'"

A friend gave me a newspaper clipping this morning in which I was held up as a leader "in the period of pre-efficiency in social work." I naturally didn't like it, but perhaps it does define our early efforts. We did not have schools in which social workers were trained, but which we now very much admire and insist that the young shall attend, somewhat in the spirit of the Seniors who vote compulsory chapel for the Freshmen. We admire the efficiency of the present social worker, and constantly urge more of it. We are grateful to any group of investigators who will give us more data, and we welcome every chance to pool our impressions with those of other people in the community who are living as best they may in this bewildering old world of ours and pushing forward its ethical standards.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL WORK

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On New Year's Eve, this last year, 1925, I listened in from my armchair in Geneva to the broadcasting from a high-power station in England, and I heard what struck me as the most extraordinary thing I had ever come across in the whole of my life. I heard, first, music played in London in 1925, danced to by people in London in 1925; then we switched over to Berlin and heard music played in 1926, danced to by people in London at the Albert Hall in 1925; then back to London and heard music played in London in 1926, danced to by people in England in 1926; and last, and not least, we switched to New York and heard there music played in the old year, 1925, and danced to by English feet in London in the new year, 1926. I asked myself what was going to happen to the world if everybody was going thus to be flung on each other's doorsteps. Such rushing together of atoms could only mean unity or explosion. That was the greatest argument, it seemed to me, in favor of the League of Nations, which I have the honor to represent, that I had ever heard. The League of Nations has never yet, in my recollection of six and a half years, had any problem submitted to it that was easy of solution. Had it been easy it would not have come to the League. It would have been settled by the nation, or nations, concerned. Therefore any social questions, as any political questions, referred to the League of Nations are difficult ones. The League of Nations has had submitted to it pre-war problems that have never been settled, post-war problems that have arisen; we have been asked to deal with old problems with new faces put upon them by civilization; then there have been the problems which, from an international standpoint, are altogether new.

First I should like to explain what I mean when I talk about the League of

Nations. I am not speaking of some superstate bird which can swoop down upon the poor little fifty-five nations and bear them away to do what they do not want to do. I am not speaking of any mirage in the desert which can be seen but never reached, nor of any castle in Spain which can never be inhabited. I am speaking of a big international machine which has been created and is supported by fifty-five states of the world because humanity needs such an organization. I speak of the method of cooperation devised by those states. I should like to tell you briefly of the organs, of the wheels of that machine, because if I do not, what I say tonight will not be clear. I think, first of all, of the Assembly, which meets once a year in Geneva, with three delegates from every one of the fifty-five states members. I speak of the Council, with its four member states and its six temporary members. I speak of the expert committees which advise the Council on economic questions, on questions of finance, on questions of transport, of the traffic in women and children, of the suppression of opium traffic, and many subjects that I will not mention. I mention them because I have been asked lately whether it was true that all expert and technical questions were decided by the politicians and diplomats in Geneva, and I wish to make it clear that these advisory committees are formed of the experts of the world on the subjects they study. I would mention especially the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, which boasts among its members such people as Professors Bergsen, Einstein, Gilbert Murray, and other persons as eminent.

Again, one of the wheels in this machinery is the secretariat, which is a body of some three to four hundred people working in Geneva year in and year out, without ceasing, carrying out the resolutions and the recommendations of the Assembly, of the Council, and of the expert committees, a body upon which rests the responsibility that those resolutions do not fade away into thin air, but that they are carried out and brought to the attention of the state members of the League. I mention the secretariat of four hundred members, drawn from forty-seven nations, because, as I was telling an audience yesterday, an eminent man who crossed from this country to Geneva last year asked a member of the secretariat whether it was true that the League found it necessary to keep one man all the year round in Geneva. I am reminded of the story of the London girl who, having gone for the first time in her life to a farm for tea, and being given honey, turned to her hostess and said, "I see you keep a bee."

To give you some idea of the work which the League of Nations is doing only in social and humanitarian questions, because it is of that I am speaking tonight, and to show you that this League of Nations is not altogether a European league, I should like to tell you some of the subjects considered in the Assembly of September last. That Assembly discussed, and it did more than discuss, the abolition of slavery in the world; it discussed the minimum rights of thirty million minorities; it made proposals for the well-being of between thirteen and fourteen millions of people in the mandated territories, suggestions as to possible distribution, employment, relief, and care of about one and a half million refu-

gees thrown into Europe by the war; discussed traffic in women and children; traffic in opium. It spoke of child welfare throughout the world; it discussed the training of youth, and, what was the most important of all, perhaps, suggested that cooperation could be substituted for fighting; that friendship could be substituted for warship. Perhaps the mention of these subjects proves that the League of Nations is a matter of international importance and interest, and not an affair of Europe. Time is short, and I do not propose to drag you through long and technical details of what the League has done. Although from those discussions resolutions did not necessarily come at the last Assembly, or the resolutions taken did not result immediately in legislation and international conventions, yet in every case earth was turned up to the sun as never before, and from every one of those discussions some fruit came. Although international conventions did not come out of all those discussions, as a matter of fact some have come.

First, there is the international convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children drawn up by the conference in 1921, put into convention form six weeks after the conference met, and signed by twenty-three countries within ten weeks of the sitting of the conference. That is a world record. That convention is now ratified by forty countries and by others not members.

Then there was the convention for the suppression of obscene literature, drawn up in 1923 and now signed and ratified by forty countries, and having got into national legislation in many countries. Last but not least, I think of something which arose at this last Assembly, of the draft convention for the abolition of slavery. It has been sent around to every state member of the League for approval, and will, I hope, with amendments, be open for ratification at the coming Assembly in September. Most of you may perhaps not know, any more than I knew myself a year ago, that slavery exists in seventeen countries of the world, and that this is the first time any great international effort has been made for its abolition.

Perhaps I may give you one example of each type of social problem with which the League of Nations has had to deal since it came into operation nearly seven years ago. First of all I will take a post-war problem, partly because the League was not meant ever to deal with these problems, and partly because it could not attempt to begin its work of creating and keeping peace until it had cleared up some of the post-war evils still existing. I refer to the repatriation of prisoners from Siberia. Many of you may not know that in 1920, two years after the war was over, there were still half a million prisoners of about thirty nationalities still imprisoned, in most impossible conditions, in the heart of Siberia. I know there were British prisoners, probably there were Americans among them; certainly there were many from the various countries of Europe. When the appeal to help them first came to the Council in 1920 it was shown that some of these people were living in holes in the ground in Siberia, that they were in rags, that they were more or less without food, and, what was worst of all, that they were dying in some camps at the rate of ten and twelve hundred

people a week. An interesting thing is that the application came to us from the International Red Cross Society. It said: "We have tried and failed to bring these prisoners home. Others have tried and have failed." The Council considered the application and decided that although, strictly speaking, this was not work the League was intended to do, yet such a state of affairs could not be left. Dr. Nansen was appointed as commissioner to go to see what could be done. At the end of six months the first hundred thousand were back. At the end of two years, four hundred thousand were back, the rest having died. What is perhaps more interesting is the way they came back. Dr. Nansen appealed to the members of the League to give help. Japan lent ships; Great Britain lent ships also; Russia ran trains to Riga; and Germany agreed to run trains from Riga down into the heart of Europe; so that within two years all of those prisoners still alive were back in their own homes, and at a cost to the state members of the League of Nations (because of the help given by the members and friendly organizations) of less than a pound a member.

Again I would like to give an example of what I described as the old problems with the new faces put upon them by civilization. I think first of all of the serious health problems. Fifty years ago, when it took six months to cross the Atlantic in a sailing ship, germs kept to their own lands and respected frontiers. Now the germ is no longer patriotic, because he goes wherever he can by the shortest route possible. The health work of the League of Nations is concentrating on the necessity for spreading the news of prevention and cure all over the world. One instance, that of an epidemic bureau, with an office set up in Singapore eighteen months ago: Seventy-six ports in Asia, united with this office at the expense of the governments concerned, wire every day to this office, giving the data as to infectious diseases and infected ships. Once a week a code telegram is sent to Geneva giving a complete list of all quarantined cases put in at the ports of Asia, and at the same time those details are telegraphed to Madras, Calcutta, and various other places, and thence broadcast to the whole of Asia. I have had opportunity of speaking with some of the quarantine officers, and they tell me the work of that office has had a tremendous effect upon quarantine arrangements. Ships do not have to be held up in the same way because of possible cases of infectious disease on them; in the same way, port officers know what ships to look out for. This system is thus having an amazing effect on health problems, and not only that, but upon the affairs of business. I do not give entire credit of this to the League of Nations; Marconi should, of course, have three-fourths of the credit!

Then again, the health organization of the League is trying to bring about the standardization of sera throughout the world. It has also a system for the exchange of sanitary personnel throughout the world, so that medical men from one country may go to another to study and learn from the experience of other countries what is being done, and at the same time assist those other countries by their own experience and knowledge acquired in their own country.

Another problem that is practical is that of the suppression of the opium traffic. It has been one of the most difficult social problems with which the League has tried to cope. Very few people know anything about it. I must tell you how, crossing on the boat the other day from Cherbourg, I met a friendly man who said to me, "Do tell me the truth. Is it true that the opium traffic is worse since the League of Nations first tried to curb it?" Let the audience judge for itself. In 1919, because the responsibility was put upon the League of Nations by the various states assembled at Versailles to carry out and enforce the agreements for the suppression of the traffic in opium, the League of Nations was faced with grave difficulties. First, there was absolutely unenlightened public opinion in the world. You in your country knew something of the drug traffic and its evils. In Great Britain we did know something of it, but outside our two countries I do not think many countries were awake to the evils which were gradually becoming worse and worse. Any of you who followed those conferences in Geneva eighteen months ago will know that great publicity has now been given to this subject and that just as this dragon has been dragged out of its hole into the sun, so the League of Nations conference will prevent that dragon ever going back into the dark again. Publicity has been given and the opium evil can never again be hushed up. The opium committee was faced also by a practically unratified convention. The Hague convention was drawn up in 1912 for the suppression of the opium traffic, but very few people know that in 1919 only nineteen states had ratified, and less than that number had signed, the protocol. Today there are fifty-six countries which are parties to that convention, fifty of which are members of the League. Then again, the opium committee was faced with an almost uncontrolled drug traffic, illicit traffic being carried on from one country to another, yet no countries telling each other what was going on. Now a system has been devised by the opium committee, accepted by between thirty and forty countries, known as the import certificate system. No manufacturer is permitted to export to a manufacturer of another country unless that manufacturer produces a certificate from his government saying that the drug is needed for medical or scientific purposes only. I could go on indefinitely on the subject of the suppression of the opium traffic. It has caused many heart-burnings and has been accompanied by many difficulties.

I should like to tell you what the League of Nations is trying to do with problems which are new from the international standpoint. The League of Nations is trying to do something in the international field of child welfare. I was asked the other day by one of the many questioners who come to Geneva how it was possible to say for a moment that child welfare was an international problem. Of course there are international sides which cannot be questioned. The child welfare committee has, for example, two international conventions: one dealing with the repatriation of neglected and delinquent children, and the other dealing with the question of allowances paid by parents or guardians in one country having left children in another country, but there is a much bigger

side to it, which makes the child welfare problem international. The fact that fifty-five states have agreed that the League should treat the question as international shows that those states have seen very far into the future. Surely the question of child welfare is international, for if any nation fails to give its children what they should have, if any nation leaves in the minds of its children the specter of ugliness and squalor and neglect, not the poppy of hard work nor the mandragora of mass recreation, not the press, nor the church, nor politics, nor even peace treaties will be able to medicine the evil in later life. If you leave your child with those specters you are cutting off your later man and woman from all those beneficent and healing influences which make for national welfare, for international peace. These fifty-five states which are working on these international problems are seeing that cooperation is the only chance for a peaceful world in the future. Those states have seen child welfare as not only a national but an international problem, and are perhaps trying to answer that question asked many thousands of years ago, "Lord, am I my brother's keeper?"

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL ACTION IN INDUSTRY

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The various forms of international social activity of today constitute the modern crusade. Waged with perhaps less zeal and sensationalism, the crusade of today has not the dramatic effect of the ancient crusades. There is none of the military spirit, but much of the spirit of cooperation and good will. There is a greater understanding and a larger basis of knowledge and fact behind the social crusades of today. Crusades of today are organized and intelligent. For it was one of the great achievements of the post-war settlements that the world did organize itself for the carrying on of a great moral and social crusade. Subject to and under an international agreement entered into, the nations of the world declared their purpose to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, and that they would establish and maintain the necessary international organization for the purpose in hand.

The International Labor Organization, I need hardly say, falls into that group of social organizations whose purpose is preventive rather than remedial. The problem of labor legislation is that of restricting the activities of the two distinct economic groups of employers and workers. It is still a question of preventing the freedom of bargaining power between them becoming oppressive to the weaker of the two. And it cuts both ways, preventing an unscrupulous employer from unfairly outcompeting a fellow-employer, and a hard-pressed necessitous workingman from lowering the standards of life and comfort of his fellow-workingmen. Labor legislation is designed essentially to prevent oppressive and usurious conditions of work and of business competition.

Internationalizing the problem has had no effect upon its essential nature so long as all the world's a market and all the men and women merely factors in production. Each country with its factories and workers is as a single plant with its hands in relation to another unit establishment. Each plant and each country is competing for markets, and bidding for labor, and inviting capital investments. Other things being equal, labor tends to move to the country of high wages and capital to the land of highest real return. That, indeed, is the reason why we have problems of migration to face. Why, for example, are Mexican laborers flocking into this country? To raise the question is to answer it. To what extent, again, are our restrictive immigration laws, preventing the outflow of the restless and unemployed, the cause of unrest and its resulting Fascism in Italy? To what extent have our laws been the cause of the Irish Revolution and the consequent freedom of Ireland? All very interesting and intriguing questions.

In their economic relations with one another, the fifty-six nations comprising the International Labor Organization face the same problem of commercial competition as do the forty-eight states of the American Union. Omitting for the time being consideration of tariff barriers separating those nations, it is true, other things being equal, that Great Britain finds herself in difficulties if she attempts to vary the hours of labor in her coal-mining industry without consideration as to what Germany or France may do in the matter. It is the same problem which in the past has caused so much heartburning among our northern textile states in advancing their standards of social legislation in the face of continued low standards in the southern area of the textile industry. The steel industry of this country was wont to say that it could not change from the twelve-hour to the eight-hour shift because of adverse competition from the steel industry of Western Europe. Indeed, it was not until that industry was convinced that the European industry was universally on a three-shift system following the war that it was induced to accept that standard. Social reformers have always had to meet the difficulty of raising social standards in one area of industry without bringing about a corresponding shift, or an approach to the higher standard at least, in the depressed area. Social workers and reformers have recognized the difficulty caused by these differences in levels of well-being; the economist and the accountant have termed it the labor differential; employers whose business has become stable and immobile have termed it unfair competition; while those who have new capital to invest and new markets to build up recognize it as cheap labor and low production costs; society in time must recognize it as industrial exploitation of a most insidious character.

In the past the situation has been met by tariff legislation and restrictions on the movement of population, immigration laws, passport barriers, and the like. But tariffs, of course, have had no effect upon it because it has well been said that the higher the barrier to mount, the greater incentive to exploit labor in the other country to produce cheap goods to get over that barrier. Again, in

so far as it is a question of distribution of a joint product of industry, it is essentially a conflict between the two factors in industry, the worker and the employer. Obviously that conflict will go on behind tariff walls and remain unaffected by such barriers.

The solution of the difficulty through immigration restriction is again, of course, equally temporary in its effect, and equally futile. Production of goods and services must, and does, go on. If the labor cannot be brought to the place of natural resources, equipment, then liquid capital, being relatively free and mobile, will move to the place where labor is and, within limits, transport thither raw materials necessary for the processes of manufacture. By immigration restriction America no doubt temporarily has made the country a closed labor market by making labor scarce with a consequent increase in its price. But American capital is going abroad rapidly and extensively. The goods which will be manufactured with the aid of that capital will come in competition with those manufactured in the domestic markets. Thus the standard of living of other countries is brought directly into conflict with the American standard. All the forces of the industrial world are brought to work toward lowering, if not undermining, that American standard.

There is, of course, another phase to this beside the decently proper economic one. Sometime and somewhere conditions of life and labor may become so oppressive as to lead to unrest and internal revolution. It is this fact that the instrument creating the Labor Organization has in mind when it refers to inhumane conditions of labor as likely to imperil the peace and harmony of the world. And then it goes on to appeal to the social conscience of the world, and enunciates those crusading principles upon which the whole Organization rests—the eight-hour day; regulation of the labor supply; prevention of unemployment; provision of an adequate living wage; protection of the worker against sickness, disease, and injury arising out of employment; protection of children, young persons, and women; provision for old age and injury; protection of workers' interests when employed in other countries than their own; recognition of principle of freedom of association; organization of vocational and technical education; and other principles.

Now, the International Labor Organization for the first time in history has tackled this problem of the differential in industrial and social standards directly, instead of indirectly through the tariffs and immigration restrictions. It lays down as the first principle the conception of a minimum of decency below which commercial competition shall not be permitted to depress the life and labor of its population. It has worked out the practical machinery which was the one thing lacking in pre-war attempts in bringing about a realization of a kind of social internationalism which vaguely dominated the minds of social reformers.

The machinery of the International Labor Organization has been frequently described, and only a few words will be taken to put it before you now. It is also

very simple. It consists of an annual International Labor Conference or sort of legislative assembly which specializes in social legislation. The results of its deliberations are outlines of labor laws, technically called draft conventions. Where the problems to be faced are incapable of precise definition in the form of legislation, its suggestions take the shape of recommendations. In make-up the assembly consists of four delegates from each country. Of these four, the two governmental delegates represent, as it were, the consuming public. They are usually governmental officials appointed by the executive. The other two delegates represent, respectively, the most representative industrial organization of employers or workers in the different countries. Each group maintains its own independence and autonomy in the conference; nor is there any direct political interference with the chosen representatives of the industrial groups (workers and employers) possible by the governments. In the face of unanimity on the part of either group within a given country, the government has no choice but to select the designated representative of the group. The conference is completely democratic and cosmopolitan in character, as evidenced by the fact that each delegate votes individually, and not as a representative of the nation. Thus, again, the group is kept intact and a freedom of expression of opinion prevails such as is unknown to the general run of international assemblies.

The second part of the machinery of the Organization is the International Labor Office, controlled by its Governing Body. This represents the permanent administrative and scientific research part of the Organization. The Office and the Governing Body lay the groundwork for each conference, determine the agenda within limits, and supply the background of information concerning the matters to be discussed by each conference. In quite another aspect, too, the functions of the Office are an innovation in the practice of international relations. It is its duty, for example, to collate the reports of the member governments as to the administration of the labor laws which they enact in response to the draft conventions and recommendations of the international conference. The idea that any nation should be required to make reports as to how it has put into effect a treaty which it has adopted is entirely novel, and would have, in the past, been considered a derogation of its sovereign position and authority. It emphasizes once more the non-political character of the whole Labor Organization.

Not the least important aspect of the Organization for social workers is the freedom with which the Labor Office has cooperated with private non-governmental agencies and coordinated numerous scattered social and economic activities. There is, for example, its work of placing Russian refugees, emigration inspection and care, anthrax prevention, questions concerning the disabled in war, maritime problems, codification of seamen's legislation. The older semipublic and private international agencies of social reform, like the old International Labor Office at Basle, the International Association for Unemployment, the Social Insurance Committee, have become active agencies for publicity and sup-

port of the work the new official organization is doing. More specifically, the Office has organized and sponsored two international conferences of official labor statisticians; a third conference is being called for October of this year. It has been the function of these special outside bodies to explore future fields of social action, to incubate new ideas, to lay the groundwork, and to give immediacy and vitality to the work of the official Organization.

What have been the results? First, there is the mere fact of continued existence of the Organization in the face of economic depression and world-unemployment. Beginning with the adherence to its work of thirty-two nations, it now numbers fifty-six member states. Again, the allegedly hostile groups of employers and workers within the Organization appear to have found it possible to function together toward certain common ends. Nor have the workers, as they first believed, been left in a minority and outfaced by a combination of governments and employers. There is nothing in the history of the Organization more revealing, to my mind, than the character of the voting in the conference. Ninety-eight record votes have been taken in the seven sessions of the labor conference. In forty-four instances the three groups of workers, employers, and governments have voted together. In thirty-seven instances the majority has rested on a government-workers' combination, a result which is the very reverse of what was feared, particularly by the labor representatives, when the Organization was created. In only fifteen instances have the governments voted against the workers, and in but two against an employers-workers' combination. The location of the government majority on thirty votes is, again, significant. (By major votes is meant votes upon such problems as the hours of labor, age of admission to industry, night work, workmen's compensation, employment exchanges.) Here the governments and workers have voted together in fifteen instances; and in the other fifteen all three groups in the conference have voted together. The final record votes at the seventh conference (May-June, 1925) on the five draft conventions passed shows that all were put through by a government-workers' majority.

This, it seems to me, is a concrete evidence of the success of a valid type of democracy in social legislation. It is a democracy which functions principally in the interest of social legislation. Social legislation ceases, internationally at least, to be a mere by-product of the ordinary forces of politics, but is to be achieved in and for itself by specially constituted agencies. And it is to be measured by its results. Thus each year the fifty-six member states have been ratifying annually fifty draft conventions dealing, not with minor matters of labor legislation, but with the major problems of hours, employment of women and children, night work, workmen's compensation, seamen's legislation, work in agriculture, and employment exchanges. Even that most difficult of all conventions (treaties), on the eight-hour day, has been ratified by four countries, and last March at London the labor ministers of the major industrial states came to an agreement looking toward early ratification by those countries.

Not only does ratification reflect this progress in social legislation, but the enactment of labor laws following ratification is a most valid criterion. Recently I had occasion to work out some of the progress, and was rather surprised at the results. Thus, before the creation of the machinery of international labor legislation, there were on the statute books of the fifty-six states now members of the Organization 142 labor laws covering the points comprised in the sixteen draft conventions in force at the end of 1925. Now this represents legislation of that character enacted since the beginning of modern labor legislation which comes up, or nearly so, to standards set by the Labor Organization. But in the seven years of the existence of the Organization, 174 additional laws of the kind of question have been enacted. As respects the eight-hour day, twenty-two countries had approximately standard laws, while nine new countries have enacted such laws in the past seven years. Take the matter of the weekly rest, and prohibition of the use of white lead in painting. Here no laws were in existence before 1919; now five countries have laws prohibiting white lead. Thirteen have weekly rest laws. Other instances of progress could be cited.

Remember, too, that none of this achievement is reached by the derogation of national sovereignty. For the only obligation resting on any state is that it shall submit the draft conventions and recommendations of the annual labor conference to inspection and consideration by its competent authority. The home legislator, then, uses his own judgment. Furthermore, in the case of federal governments which cannot ratify labor law, they are asked only to submit the draft conventions as recommendations to their constituent states for incorporation, if desirable, in their own legislation. For federal states the International Labor Office is essentially a huge research and coordinating agency through which the streams of knowledge and publicity are poured to fertilize the arid plains of social resistance.

Thus far it will be noted that no mention has been made of the part and interest of America in the creation and functioning of the International Labor Organization. A few words in that connection should, I think, be added. American interest has been from the very beginning somewhat intermittently active, fairly salutary, and always noncommittal. As to historical precedents the first commissioner of labor statistics, Colonel Wright, sent a representative to participate in the Brussels international labor conference of 1897 and the Paris conference of 1900, which created the old international semipublic labor office with headquarters at Basle. This office was a coordinating center of social reformers and a translation bureau of foreign labor legislation. Some three years after the creation of this older non-official labor office, the American government was persuaded to appropriate, in 1903, the sum of \$200 annually. This item was included in the budget for the present Bureau of Labor Statistics. This sum was appropriated each year from 1903 to 1909. In 1910 the appropriation was made \$1,000. In that year the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Charles P. Neill, had been particularly active in promoting the work of the organization and had

helped them to the extent of printing, revising, and editing some research reports on the legislation of night work of women and employment of children. This appropriation for the old international labor office was continued by the American government until 1920, after the office had ceased to function as a semipublic institution and after it had turned its library and archives over to the International Labor Office at present located at Geneva. The present International Labor Office printed, for example, the 1919 series of labor laws of the old Basle office, and the present "Legislative Series" of the Geneva office is a lineal descendant of the Basle series of labor laws.

As respects the new official International Labor Office, officials of the American Department of Labor were interested in the preliminary work, and representatives from America sat upon the commission which drafted the constitution of the Organization. President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, was chairman of this commission of the Peace Conference. Following its creation the organizing committee, which prepared the way for the first conference, held in Washington in 1919, had on it a representative of the American Department of Labor, namely, the present Commissioner of Labor Statistics. The American government likewise replied to the customary questionnaires circulated by the Labor Organization preliminary to each conference. In other words, the American government supplied information in response to requests of the conference when it was first getting under way. Later on America participated in some of the commission work of the first conference at Washington, and Secretary of Labor Wilson presided over the deliberations of that conference. As late as October, 1921, the United States officially appointed Dr. Marion Dorset, of the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture, to serve as a member of the anthrax committee of the Labor Office.

So much for governmental interest. On the other hand, American labor has played an active and important part in the creation of the International Organization. The American labor movement before the war had developed contacts with the European labor movement. On questions of war and peace the two movements were probably in harmony, and in 1914 and in subsequent annual conventions the American Federation of Labor demanded the participation of labor forces throughout the world in the peace conference which would terminate the war; and in 1919, when the Peace Treaty with Part XIII, containing the labor clauses, came to this country, the convention of the American Federation of Labor then sitting at Atlantic City indorsed those clauses, and the Covenant of the League of Nations, by an overwhelming majority, representing 29,909 votes in favor, 420 votes opposed, with 1,830 votes not cast. The recommendation said: "While the Covenant of the League of Nations with its labor provisions is not perfect, is not all that we desire, it is in the right direction, . . . and should be adopted in principle, and we so recommend." For completeness of the record it should be observed that no formal resolution of indorsement has been since adopted by any American Federation of Labor con-

vention, but the recommendation therefore stands today as then adopted. However, the International Seamen's Union, which is part of the American Federation of Labor, has through its head expressed opposition to the Labor Organization and its purposes. They have objected to the attempts of the Organization to bring about an international codification of seamen's legislation, fearing that codification meant crystallization of existing seamen's legislation. They do not appear to be convinced by the statement of the constitution of the Organization itself that standards formulated are minima and not maxima; indeed, all social legislation is minimum, and it needs no argument to prove that large numbers of establishments observe standards above those merely required by law. All ships are not manned by boys, or factories run by children, simply because employment of them is permitted, to put the case concretely.

As to interest and collaboration on the part of American employers, the story is somewhat briefer. A representative of the Chamber of Commerce informally and personally visited the Organization in Geneva in 1922. A representative of the National Industrial Conference Board also made a study of the Office personally and directly. The National Association of Manufacturers has expressed its hostility to the Organization in a resolution adopted in 1924 on the eve of the presidential election. A report by the National Industrial Conference Board in 1922 expresses intelligent though outspoken hostility—if I may be permitted such freedom of expression—toward the Labor Organization. On the other hand, if a judgment may be permitted, the attitude of the commercial and financial type of employer is somewhat different. Said Mr. Julius H. Barnes in January, 1923, while president of the United States Chamber of Commerce and on the occasion of the visit to this country of Mr. Albert Thomas, the director of the International Labor Office:

We have a feeling that there are times when national self-interest and international co-operation run in parallel channels. America has a considerable pride that its common standard of living is manifestly higher than that of any other industrial country. It desires to maintain and advance that standard, but as a surplus-producing country selling in export markets of the world there is a limit to the disparity in living conditions and wage scales which can not be wholly overcome even by American resourcefulness and American adaptability to large-scale production, through mechanical aids. . . . Manifestly also both in the interests of an increase in human standards, and also in the self-interest of national protection of our own standards, the process of equalization in wages and working conditions between ourselves and our industrial competitors, should be one of leveling up their standards, rather than leveling down our own.

Here we have a clear-cut statement of the whole purpose and endeavor of the scheme of international labor adjustment and collaboration. It reveals the interest of America in the Organization so far as its purpose to raise these standards of other countries that are less progressive in their labor legislation, without tearing down those of the more fortunately situated, is concerned. So far as America, with its natural resources and opportunities, has been able to build up the higher world-standards, its very existence has been salutary for the Labor Organization. On the other hand, as the federal government is unable, except in

the case of seamen's draft conventions and immigration treaties, to ratify the acts of the labor conference, the collaboration of America cannot strengthen the Organization on its treaty-making side. To America membership in the Labor Organization would mean moral and financial support to a world-endeavor in which America is interested. It would be in part a return to the precedents set by previous governmental officials in supporting international research and coordination in the field of labor and industry.

Whatever the future holds in this respect—and it is not for me to express any opinion—I feel convinced that the experiment of international collaboration in the field of industry and labor is bound to continue and to go forward to increasing success. Four years of association with that work, two and one-half years of which were spent in Geneva, incline me to this—I hope, modest—opinion. No one can watch this annual assembly, to which forty-odd nations come—an assembly representing leading employers and organized workers throughout the world—without seeing in their contact and discussion a sign of breaking down of barriers and of a greater understanding of one another's purposes and of willingness to find common ground.

Above the babel of languages, beyond opposing traditions, varying geographical and racial backgrounds, there looms the purpose of a great social crusade. Once more the nations of the world have embarked upon a high adventure, the purpose of which is social justice and humanitarian welfare. They have decided that no longer shall such matters be left to uncoordinated private efforts and voluntary good will. Henceforth human welfare shall be a driving force in the social economy of the world. Through specially created organizations the world is asserting its social unity, and through the International Labor Organization the governments of the world propose to translate into action this gospel of international social justice.

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CHILD WELFARE WORK

Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford, Illinois

It is impossible for me to speak here without first thanking you for giving me the choice opportunity which is my warrant on this program. For I know I am not mistaken in believing that the too generous words of members of this body caused my appointment as an assessor on the Advisory Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations. If I may venture a suggestion which emphasizes my appreciation it is that when you next select an assessor you choose one with better command of foreign tongues than I possess; for of all our inherited retributions, the confusion due to the impudent Tower of Babel causes

the most exasperating waste of time and common understanding. I have tried to invent some way of presenting my subject worthy the end of this wonderful week. I can hardly bear to be its lame and impotent conclusion, since I have come here to report upon a rich experience you made possible. But finally I am reduced to no new way, only the old egocentric method of telling you "how it seems to me."

Perhaps I may first venture to explain what an assessor is, since in our country we have for the assessor a fixed definition and a painful connotation entirely irrelevant to the Child Welfare Committee. In this Committee assessors are persons added to the number of duly appointed government delegate members. Assessors are invited by the secretary-general of the League to sit with the Committee—they do not vote, but are allowed to share freely in the discussions and to sit with subcommittees.

The session I attended was held in Geneva the last week of March. The voting membership in attendance included government delegates from Belgium, France, England, Spain, Italy, Roumania, Denmark, Japan, and Poland. Assessors were present representing American National Conference of Social Work, International Association for the Protection of Children, International Federation of Trade Unions, International Organization of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, League of Red Cross Societies, "Save the Children" Fund (International Union), Social Service Council of Canada and Canadian Council of Child Welfare, and women's international organizations; also representatives of the International Labor Office and the Health Section of the League.

The Committee sat for six days, admirably cared for in the League's headquarters, presided over with great fairness and consideration by the Spanish delegate, Don Pedro Sangros y Ros de Orlano, and aided at every turn by the experience and extraordinary understanding of the permanent secretary of the Social Section, Dame Rachel Crowdy.

The proceedings were conducted in both English and French, with extreme courtesy to all; but at a cost of time and attention which must sorely have tried the patience of the majority of the Committee, since they command at least three or four languages each.

I shall not attempt to mention in detail the subjects discussed. Certain of them had to do with labor, with health, education, recreation, with various aspects of dependency and delinquency—the economic issue always looming in the background. The Child Welfare Committee has wisely requested the appointment of *liaison* members from three other scientific services of the League—the International Labor Office, the Health Commission, and the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation—in order to insure harmonious study and avoid overlapping. One of the matters to which much attention was given was the proposal of an international convention or agreement for the repatriation of dependent or delinquent children who, as refugees or otherwise, may be living elsewhere than in the country of their legal residence—a matter doubtless of imme-

diate interest to both the country of sojourn and that of legal residence. The discussion was painstaking, and it was emphasized that the first consideration in every instance must be the best interest of the individual child. This view of the question is not without a strong claim to the attention of every country which deports children to countries of origin.

This Committee is new. It was set up under the Social Section of the League in 1925. Its purpose to promote internationally the welfare of children and thus to aid the purpose of the League's existence—the peace of the world—cannot be quickly accomplished; for it is plain that permanent, serviceable peace will be obtainable only through successive generations who add in turn some increment of vigor, wisdom, and good will to the accumulations of their predecessors. Its method is that of scientific research and publication in the field of child welfare. Already its cooperating audience is the populations of the fifty-five nation members of the League.

From this meeting I came away with an almost overwhelming sense of the power of the League's Child Welfare Committee. Why? Two great reasons suggest themselves to me.

First, the creation of the committee is timely; the world is ready for it. Is it not true that no study in the great search for that true social order which the conception of a peaceful civilization compels could just now be more sympathetically received than this of child welfare? A new interest in child welfare exists throughout the world. Progress has not gone far, but already the old fatalism is being driven out by the sheer beginnings of scientific knowledge. Every quarter of the globe is alert as never before to the needs and rights of children, and eager for practicable information. To illustrate briefly:

On the Western Hemisphere South American countries are appropriating lavishly for elementary education, health measures, and other phases of child care. They are concerned for the social protection of the young and are interested in the social and economic matters which largely condition child welfare.

For some years the Pan-American Child Congress has held periodical sessions in various South American countries. Last year the conference was held in Chile, and our government participated by sending a delegation. It should be added here that the president of this Congress was Sr. Valdes, a distinguished Chilean known internationally as a philanthropist and a man of affairs. He has accepted an appointment as assessor on the League's Child Welfare Committee, although regrettably he could not attend the recent Geneva meeting. It will not be a digression in this connection to mention the fact that the next session of the Pan-American Child Welfare Congress is to be held in Cuba probably in January, 1927. I am sure that President Lapp will appoint delegates from this body, and we may hope that a large number will attend to participate in the Cuba conference under our common title of American.

We learn that a new department has been set up in the University of Uruguay with the purpose of research and publication in the field of child welfare,

and it is intended that this department, under the auspices of the University at Montevideo, shall serve as the permanent organ of the Pan-American Child Congress. At this moment the Pan-American Red Cross is meeting in Washington, and we know its deep interest in child welfare activities.

With Mexico's heroic efforts to protect and educate her children too few of us are fully acquainted. We know, however, that this recognition of the needs of children will form a great chapter in the history of Mexico's struggle for democratic freedom.

With the efforts of Canada and our own country we are acquainted largely because there is no confusion of tongues between us. Canada sends to the committee at Geneva as an assessor the secretary of the Canadian Child Welfare Conference, Miss Charlote Whitton, young, able, devoted.

The new states of Europe have written new constitutions which, differing as they may in other respects, show in common a new conception of the duty of the state to protect the young, and perhaps this is the most profound indication we can cite of the growing interest in child welfare.

England's Education act of 1918 is easily the greatest single piece of child welfare legislation of this period, though it must wait for resources and much experimentation for full effect.

China and Japan are aroused, as we know, to the injury of child labor and the necessity of elementary education. What courage is shown when Gandhi, of a great Brahmin family, gathers fifty children of the untouchables, sets up a school, and educates them to a wholesome and admirable maturity with his own children!

As to my second reason: I am sure our honored guest, Dame Rachel Crowdy, will not misunderstand if I try to make my point by an analogy which I should not use abroad, but which fills my mind. I think it may make clear to this audience why I feel profound confidence in what may be accomplished through the Child Welfare Committee of the League.

We in this country have various ideas about the League, but we are fairly unanimous in regarding it as essentially a political organization. We have wrangled into print a literature of debates taken up largely with claims of achievements and countercharges of lack of power in the field of its political action. But while Geneva gives us daily new material for our political discussions pro and con, she is also quietly doing something entirely different. Perhaps she is behaving with the strategy of the mother-partridge whose drooping wing distracts attention from the object of her greatest solicitude.

Geneva is setting up a series of scientific services, of which this Advisory Child Welfare Committee is one. These services—committees or offices—have no authority to enforce their findings. That is their strength. They have a duty to discover and make known facts. A fruitful fact needs no compulsory legislation nor military sanction; nothing but a chance to be used.

May I ask you to compare for a moment the structure and interests of the

League with what has developed in our own history? The League of Nations has been in existence for six years; the Child Welfare Committee, for a twelve-month. One hundred and fifty years ago thirteen small colonies, separated by vast distances over an area now made small and intimate by the inventor, had a common aim. They wanted the same thing—*independence*. Because they were not strong enough to get it separately, they somewhat reluctantly united. They went into the war with jealousies and divergencies, Massachusetts arming first, and Georgia and New York coming in last. They adopted the Constitution with some jealousies and divergencies—New York eyeing the new document with doubt as to whether she would not do better to keep out and be a great nation singly. The differences between the industrial systems of the North and South already were breeding trouble, but on the whole—all slowly determining that there was no mode of living save by agreement—they became one politically, a union now long accepted by all. If the news service from the United States to Europe 150 years ago had had the rapidity, and perhaps one may say the vivacity, of today it would doubtless have gratified most of Europe to learn daily of the quarrels and difficulties between the colonies, and later between the states, in that long ninety years from the Declaration of Independence to the close of the Civil War. Europe would have known that we were too feeble to succeed in creating a political solidarity.

But in this same period, and up to the present day, as rapidly as science has bestowed new discoveries valuable to human life and vigor and happiness, our government has carried on, under the protection of our political structure, an increasing volume of scientific research and an equally growing power of diffusing knowledge.

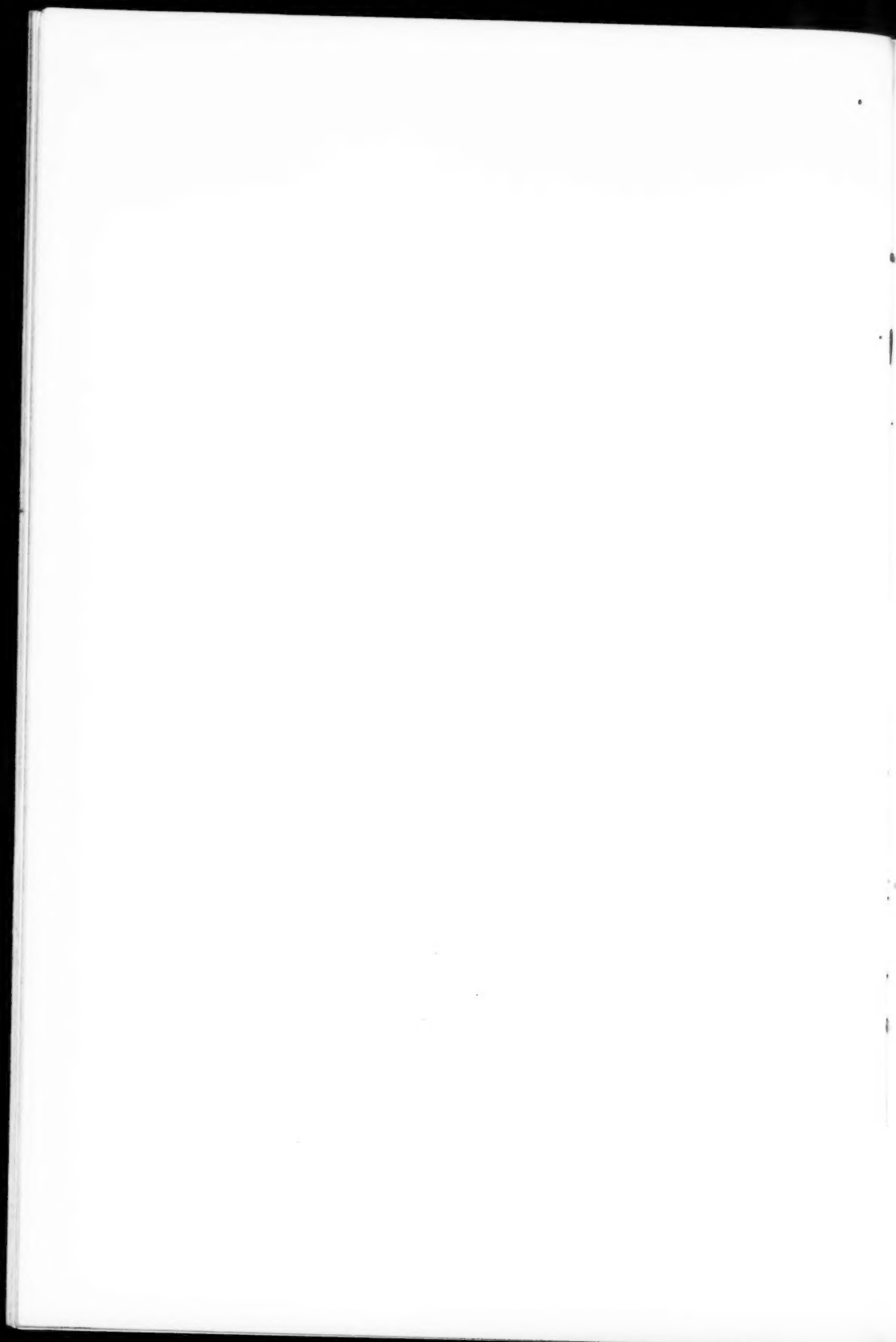
Think of all the changes and quarrels of political parties which have gone on engaging more or less happily the attention of many persons and most of our newspapers while, undisturbed by party changes—so long as the withering touch of the political trader in office was stayed—the scientific bureaus of the Department of Agriculture and other departments have enriched our fields, increased our powers, and lifted slowly the standard of living. The Department of Agriculture naturally saw first field and forest and directed its efforts to making the farmer more efficient, but as the increase of applied science has helped to develop agriculture, gradually the Department saw the mother and child in the house and began to send out women agents to teach by homely demonstration the arts of the household. Is this trivial, or a wise application of science? I need not remind you of the work of other scientific bureaus in our government, such as the Bureau of Standards, the Bureau of Education, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Woman's Bureau.

Do these slowly developed common services to the forty-eight states of our nation suggest the power of a League of Nations in this period of vastly accelerated communication to give at once—to its Child Welfare Committee, if you please—a power of world-service effective beyond our imagination?

But let us not deceive ourselves. This pursuit and diffusion of knowledge is by no primrose path. It is a matter of endless exacting toil. The Child Welfare Committee has one obvious advantage. It need make no converts to its cause; they are already made. All the parents of the world are its willing, eager audience if its skill and its gift of tongues enables it to make itself understood. "I am a father, and, like every father, I want my child to go higher than me," I once heard an immigrant father say with unconscious but unforgettable eloquence.

The highest type of scientific work is alone worthy the League. At no point in all the League's undertakings is this truer than in the long reach of the Child Welfare Committee. But words creep unless some power gives them wings. This Committee must be equipped for its task. It should have the aid of those most accomplished in this field, and it must have the physical equipment to make their work effective. All this is costly, but it is permanent—and it is grotesquely cheap when set beside the sums yearly demanded for the swiftly outdated equipment for war.

To return to the subject assigned to me, "Our Participation in the International Efforts for Child Welfare": Quite apart from the question of our country's membership in the League of Nations, cannot we readily discover practical ways at once to promote the scientific work of the Advisory Child Welfare Committee if we care enough about the children of the world?



B. DIVISION MEETINGS



I. CHILDREN

PROGRESSIVE METHODS OF CARE OF CHILDREN PENDING JUVENILE COURT HEARING

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Any community planning for the temporary care of children before the first hearing, during continuance of the case, or during the interval, if one be necessary, between commitment and actual admission to an institution, must consider three questions: First, what kind of children, and about how many, will require such care? Second, what methods of care are best suited to the needs of the community? Third, what standards should be maintained in the development of the types of care selected?

What children should be given temporary care?—It is generally agreed that the number of children detained and the length of detention should be kept at a minimum. "This may be accomplished," the juvenile court standards drawn up by an advisory committee appointed by the Children's Bureau state, "through frequent hearings, prompt investigation, sufficient court staff to expedite the movement of cases, and adequate facilities for institutional care." Children should be kept in their own homes pending hearing except under the following conditions: when home conditions are such as to make immediate removal necessary; when the parents cannot be relied upon to produce the children in court; when the children are runaways or beyond the control of their parents; when they are charged with delinquency so serious as to make it seem unsafe for the community for them to be at large; when they must be held as witnesses; or when they are in need of study so intensive as to require continuous observation.

Two recent unpublished studies, one of a large city and one of a county with both urban and rural population, have shown the large percentage of children (more than two-fifths in the first community and more than half in the second) released from the detention home to parents or relatives. The reports of both studies raise the question of whether the problems of many of these children could not have been adjusted without any period of detention care.

If it were generally recognized that the first essential in the administration of any form of temporary care is a sound admission and release policy, based upon the individual needs of the children with whom the court and allied agencies are dealing, there would be no more building of detention homes in advance of the employment of at least one well-trained and well-equipped probation

officer in whom could be vested discretion as to what children should be detained. Moreover, there would be no more construction of expensive buildings without an adequate basis of fact, obtained through actual experience, regarding the extent of the detention problem as determined by the needs of the children and the existing resources of the community. The recent study of children's work in Westchester County, New York, which was undertaken partly with the object of ascertaining the provision needed for the temporary care of children pending juvenile court hearing, indicates the value of a careful survey in advance of deciding upon a detention program. The report emphasized the desirability of strengthening and fully utilizing existing resources and letting experience determine whether additional provision is necessary. A demonstration of trained probation service has recently been made by the state bureau of child welfare in Albuquerque, New Mexico, a city of 15,000 population. There had been considerable sentiment in favor of providing a detention home, but during the two and one-half months of this experiment it was necessary to find temporary care for only one child.

Methods of temporary care.—Most cities of 100,000 population and over have made special provision for detention care, all but a few having provided a detention home under public auspices. Yet in many of these cities some children are detained in jails, either because the detention home is overcrowded or because it is believed that certain types of delinquents, usually older boys, can be safely handled only in jail. Moreover, many city detention homes fail to provide for the segregation of different classes of children, for adequate supervision, or for wholesome occupation.

The Children's Bureau has recently sent a brief questionnaire to each of the 220 cities in the United States having populations of between 25,000 and 100,000, excluding only cities served by courts in other localities. Replies have been received from 136 cities. Sixty of them are maintaining public detention homes, with capacities ranging from four to sixty. Forty-four use boarding homes either as the sole method of temporary care (in two communities), or as the sole method aside from the jail (in two other communities), or in addition to care of other types. In fourteen of these cities both a detention home and boarding homes are provided. Seventeen use receiving homes or shelters of private agencies, usually in addition to other methods. Other places of detention, including children's institutions, homes for the friendless, homes of probation officers, a room in the sheriff's residence, and occasionally the county almshouse, are utilized by forty-nine cities. In ninety-five cities children had been detained in police stations or jails during the year 1925, the number ranging from only one or two children, perhaps of doubtful age, to 146. In sixteen of the ninety-five cities it is reported that no provision is made in the jail for separation of children from adults. The sixty-seven cities stating the number of children detained in jails and police stations report a total of 1,525 children subjected to such an experience in 1925.

Information concerning methods of detention in rural counties has been obtained from state-wide agencies in ten states, and the Wisconsin survey made in 1924 by the National Probation Association gives information concerning an eleventh state. The reports indicate that children are allowed to remain in their own homes whenever possible. In Indiana, for example, frequent hearings are said to make detention unnecessary in most cases. Many rural communities have no other facilities for temporary care than the jail. The occasional or more frequent use of boarding homes is reported for some of the rural counties of five of the eleven states (New York, Indiana, North Dakota, Georgia, and Alabama). In Virginia the State Department is using boarding homes extensively for the temporary care of delinquent wards. In at least two of the states detention homes in a few urban centers sometimes care for children from neighboring rural territory. Detention rooms in courthouses and jails, or in the sheriff's residence, have been provided in some instances. In Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, Indiana, and New Mexico directors of state departments are encouraging the use of boarding homes in rural counties, or have indicated their belief in the feasibility of this plan.

It thus appears that aside from jail detention the principal methods of temporary care used by juvenile courts are two: the detention home providing group care, and the family boarding home, providing individual care. The former is suitable only for communities in which there will be at least a few children requiring detention at all times of the year. It may be possible under certain circumstances to establish a detention home which serves two or more courts, but the geographical area which a detention home can serve efficiently is limited by the fact that it must be easily accessible to all parts of the district. The boarding home plan is especially adapted to the needs of small cities and rural districts, though it is being successfully developed in some large cities. Possibly experience will demonstrate that a combination of group care and boarding home care is the best plan for the large city.

Other methods of detention include special detention rooms and private institutions. The city of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, for example, is reported to have adequate detention rooms, with a matron in charge, in a new building erected for the county health and welfare departments. The special detention room plan is adapted only to communities where not more than two or three children are likely to need care at the same time. Such arrangements should be carefully worked out, and if a private institution is utilized, adequate compensation should be provided by the county. A matron should always be available, and should be on duty whenever children are detained. Under no circumstances should the almshouse be utilized for the detention of children.

Construction and administration of detention homes.—The past year or two appears to have been a period of unusual interest in detention home construction. Among the new homes which should be studied by communities contemplating building are those of Chicago, Little Rock, Arkansas, Richmond, Vir-

ginia, and Camden, New Jersey. Institutions in several other localities are under way or planned.

Some of the physical features of an adequate detention home, in addition to fire protection and proper lighting and ventilation, are the following: first, sufficient space to accommodate without crowding the number of children likely to require care at any one time; second, arrangement of rooms so as to permit segregation according to sex, character, and physical condition; for older children, single rooms being preferred decidedly to dormitories, and less night supervision being necessary when single rooms are provided; third, security against escape. Bars should be avoided, as giving the home too much the appearance of a jail. Windows may be protected by iron screening, or may be constructed of iron frames with small panes of glass; fourth, separate and ample bathing and toilet facilities for boys and girls, and for children suffering from infectious diseases; fifth, conveniently arranged kitchen, dining-rooms, recreation rooms, and schoolrooms; sixth, outdoor play space.

The juvenile court itself should operate the detention home, or at least control its policies and the admission and release of children. Effective supervision of the children should be maintained. Adequate facilities should be provided for the study of the child's physical and mental health. Specialized school work, recreational facilities, and opportunity for the exercise of the child's religious duties are necessary. Among the homes which have worked out constructive programs for occupying the time of the children are those of Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Newark, New Jersey, and Camden, New Jersey.

More important than the physical aspects or the daily routine of the detention home are the personalities of the superintendent and his or her assistants and their conception of the opportunities for service which are theirs. A community intending to build is wise if it selects its superintendent before beginning construction, and allows him to have a part in the planning of the building. It will then be more likely to be both planned and used as an instrument, not merely for safekeeping, but also for understanding and helping the children whom it shelters.

The boarding home plan.—The boarding home plan of detention care was first developed in the central district of the city of Boston, where it has been in operation for twenty years. A similar plan has recently been developed in Minneapolis, where there is no detention home of the ordinary type. St. Louis is using the plan extensively, about 30 per cent of the children provided for being delinquents. The city also maintains a detention home, which is now used only for delinquent children. Los Angeles, which has a large detention home, reports that boarding homes are being used to some extent.

It will be remembered that forty-four of the 136 cities of from 25,000 to 100,000 population reported using boarding homes for temporary care. Nineteen of these used them for delinquent, dependent, and neglected children; six, for delinquent children only; eighteen, for dependent and neglected children

only; and one did not report the types of children detained. Thirty-seven cared for both boys and girls in boarding homes, and twenty-four, for both white and Negro children. The number of homes in use ranged from one or two (in twelve communities) to ten or twelve (in two.) Doubtless the cities with the largest number of boarding homes used some of them at times for other purposes than temporary care. Among the smaller cities in which the boarding home has been developed for temporary care of court children are Wilkes-Barre and Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, Madison and Kenosha, Wisconsin, Charleston, South Carolina, Augusta and Columbus, Georgia, Gadsden and Tuscaloosa, Alabama. State departments in Massachusetts, Virginia, and Alabama also use boarding homes for the temporary care of children committed by courts, the Massachusetts department furnishing detention care in cases of children temporarily committed, pending the final disposition of their cases. Reference has already been made to the use of boarding homes in rural counties of some of the other states.

The boarding home plan has a greater chance of being successful if it is developed in cooperation with an agency or department which has already had experience in children's aid or child placing work. The Boston Children's Aid Society, the United Charities of Wilkes-Barre (an organization with a broad program), the Children's Protective Society of Minneapolis, the St. Louis Board of Children's Guardians, the Charleston Department of Health and Welfare, state departments that have engaged in child placing, are among the agencies which, in cooperation with the courts, have been developing this type of service. If it is to be generally successful in rural communities and small cities it is probable that it must be worked out by courts in close cooperation with a state department that can assist in developing standards and in the actual selection of homes. The task is not a simple one, but requires experience and skill.

Financial arrangements sometimes include a monthly rate or subsidy paid to each home, which is the same regardless of the number of children cared for and which insures the home being on call at any time, and an additional per capita rate on the basis of the number of days' care actually given. Outfits of clothing, drugs, medical attention, and extras are usually supplied.

In selecting a boarding home the composition of the family and the personality of its members, especially the mother, are of primary importance. Certain homes are adapted to some types of children and not to others, and they must be used with discrimination. Ideally, not more than one or two children should be cared for in the same home at the same time, unless provision is to be made for a group of brothers and sisters. Unfortunately in some communities this standard has not been maintained.

Sometimes it has been found possible to send certain children to the public schools. The children are often given medical attention while in the home, and must be taken to and from clinics. They play indoor and outdoor games, read and sew, help with the housework, and are taken to the movies and to church

and Sunday school. The agency supervising the homes must have a member of the staff who can keep in very close touch with them, be on call in all emergencies, and give the boarding mothers instruction, guidance, and encouragement.

It is very important that there be complete understanding and cooperation between the agency supplying the boarding home service and the police department. Children arrested should be taken direct to the home or to the court or agency supplying the service, and not to the police station. In at least two communities the success of the plan has been seriously jeopardized by the fact that children are often held in the police stations several hours, or even days, before being placed in the homes.

The boarding home plan is relatively inexpensive, can be used by communities with very few children or with larger numbers to be provided for, is extremely flexible, does not present the temptation offered by large detention homes to detain children unnecessarily, and permits classification of children and individualized treatment. Its chief advantage is thought by some to be its psychological effect upon the child. Whether it can be made a complete substitute for a detention home in a large city is probably still to be determined. Certainly it can render effective supplementary service. Outside the large cities it appears to be the most practicable plan for detention care that has yet been devised.

The psychological aspects of the detention problem.—Little has been said or written regarding the psychological aspects of detention or the relation of detention to other parts of juvenile court organization. An exception is a suggestive paper by Judge Cabot, given at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Chicago juvenile court. In the belief that the child guidance clinics are in the best position to obtain information bearing on this question, the directors of a number of clinics and a psychiatrist of nation wide experience were asked to state their opinions as to the psychological effects of care in detention homes. The letter of inquiry suggested six points to be considered, four as possible bad effects, and two as possible good effects, of detention home care.

Twelve replies have been received. Some of the clinics have been recently established and some of the directors state that their experience has yielded no definite information, but that their replies are based mainly on their own opinions and general impressions. On the other hand, some give concrete cases as illustrative of certain points.

Six psychiatrists emphasize the possible bad effects of detention home care, while six are inclined to minimize the dangers; two, however, stating that their opinions are based on conditions in communities where the administration of the court or the detention home is unusually good. Naturally the experience of the clinic is greatly affected by the quality of the local detention service.

The four possible bad effects mentioned may be briefly stated as follows: first, creation of a "defense reaction," a spirit of antagonism to the whole juvenile court process; second, development in certain children, especially members of

gangs, of a spirit of bravado, the experience making the child more or less of a hero to his associates; third, suffering due to fear, humiliation, and separation from parents, especially in the case of young children; fourth, contamination from children with bad habits or a bad outlook on life, and exchange of delinquent experience.

Time does not permit analysis of the statements relating to each of these points. Regarding none is opinion unanimous. The fourth point (the danger of contamination) is the one which is given the greatest emphasis. Six psychiatrists believe it is serious; two, that it is avoided in their communities through segregation and supervision; and a ninth, that it is difficult to evaluate and is probably less prevalent in a well regulated detention home than formerly.

The two points regarding probable good effects were: first, opportunity for the child to "think over" his own conduct; second, removal of children from family situations in which the parents are inclined to vent on the child their own feelings of anger or humiliation caused by the child's court experience.

Four replies state that the argument that detention gives an opportunity to "think over" his conduct is "ridiculous," or "grossly exaggerated," or "can be completely eliminated," or that the children are rarely capable of comprehending situations unaided. Three indicate that in a few instances detention is advantageous for this reason, and two unqualifiedly assert that it is an advantage, one emphasizing the additional value which results from the child's taking his court experience more seriously than when temporary care of some other type is provided. With reference to the second possible advantage, removal of the child from difficult family situations, four of the five who state that temporary care is sometimes desirable for this reason add that the problem can be more adequately met through boarding homes. Several of the replies emphasize particularly the opportunity that a properly conducted detention home may give for observation and careful study of the child, believing this to be its chief function.

The inquiry has brought out the present lack of unanimity of opinion on the part of those who are having an opportunity for scientific observations of the results of detention home care, and the need for accumulation of data regarding this and other methods of temporary care. Child guidance clinics are studying the successes and the failures of the home and the school as they affect the development of the child's personality. Is it not time for the juvenile court itself and all the phases of the juvenile court process to be included in such a study?

In the meantime, ordinary common sense tells us that the problem of temporary care, like the problem of probation and of institutional care, is fundamentally a question of bringing the child who needs it, and only such a child, in contact, under favorable conditions, with wise and understanding men and women whose concern it will be to discover his individual difficulties and capacities and to help him to better self-understanding and social adjustment. Such provision will become general only when the public understands its need and its value.

THE JUVENILE COURT AS A CASE WORKING AGENCY: ITS LIMITATIONS AND ITS POSSIBILITIES

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We are agreed that the juvenile court must be a social case working agency, although there are courts to which this is an alien thought. I shall not discuss the theoretical limitations of case work in the juvenile court in comparison with the public schools or other agencies, vital as is the bearing of this issue upon the direction of future evolution in this field. In few juvenile courts, if any, has social case work so closely approached the ideal limitations imposed by necessary inherent conditions as to be seriously hampered thereby. The juvenile court should perform thoroughly and efficiently the functions assigned to it, however much we may disagree as to what those functions ought to be, in the present or in the future. Observation of the juvenile court case work actually being done in communities of various types and sizes in various parts of the country and experience in devising means for its improvement suggests emphatically a more immediate and practical aspect of the subject. What are, in fact, today, the forces limiting the development of good case work in the juvenile courts? In our efforts for progress are we facing the real obstacles?

To remind ourselves how far, taking it the country over, our juvenile court practice lags behind our knowledge is a painful but salutary exercise. The gloomy picture of the situation occasionally drawn for us is true. But why are the shadows so extensive and the high lights so few? Why, after a generation of rapidly improving standards, given wide publicity, and even after the enactment of juvenile court laws conforming, in many respects, to the best of these standards, does actual juvenile court work over so large a portion of the country remain so incomplete and ineffective? This inquiry will concern some rather commonplace and uninspiring considerations. But they are none the less vital and fundamental.

There are, in the first place, the limitations imposed by the qualities of the judges themselves. However much we may exalt the importance of the probation staff and the equipment of the juvenile court, it is the judge who immediately determines the policies of the court, its organization, its procedure, and its spirit. The "Juvenile Court Standards" adopted by the United States Children's Bureau and the National Probation Association state that "the judge should be chosen because of his special qualifications for juvenile court work. He should have legal training, acquaintance with social problems, and understanding of child psychology." A few state laws reiterate and even amplify this standard. Yet in most communities the judge exercising the juvenile court jurisdiction has not been chosen with primary reference to that function at all. He has been chosen to preside over the circuit, or district, or county, or municipal, or probate or other court, and the juvenile court law imposes upon him only an

incidental function. Even when the law gives him exclusive jurisdiction of children's cases, and when this requirement of the law is observed, he may, and often does, have little inclination or adaptability to the work. His legal training may result in his having undue regard for harmful technicalities of procedure, and his experience in the administration of the criminal law may result in his carrying into the juvenile cases the punitive theory of justice. He is likely to be affected by the point of view held by so large a proportion of the legal profession and of the general public as well, that children's cases are comparatively trivial, or he may even regard them as a vexatious burden.

There are signs of an increasing disposition among lawyers as well as laymen to question the method of selecting judges by popular election. Some of the most conspicuously successful juvenile court judges have hard fights for re-election, and in very many communities the persons best fitted for the work are deterred from becoming candidates by reason of their political independence or a contempt for the scramble of political campaigns. Even in states where the desirable precedent obtains of retaining in office satisfactory judges, regardless of their party affiliations, political considerations are an insidious force limiting the independence of the courts. Our judges are without doubt our ablest and most conscientious public officials. But an able and conscientious judge who has served several terms has said that as each successive election approached he felt that it would be more and more difficult for him to rebuild a private law practice; that as he grew older he felt an increasing dependence upon retaining his office, and saw the time coming when it would be difficult for him to leave entirely out of consideration the political bearings of the matters coming before him.

But entirely apart from any question of personal integrity of the judges, which probably influences the disposition of few cases in few courts, there is the much more important limitation on the case work of the juvenile courts imposed by the mere fact of its being a public agency. A group of like-minded, progressive citizens may organize for any purpose not actually forbidden by law and conduct social experiments. But the courts in a democracy are created and supported by public laws and appropriations, and they must commend themselves to the public. They may lead public opinion, but they cannot go far ahead of it, and they must be sure it is following. True, much depends upon the manner in which new things are done, and the angle from which they are presented to the community. Methods and personalities play an important part in the community reaction. But the fundamental fact remains that the prevailing opinion constitutes a limitation beyond which any official public agency attempts to pass at its peril. Social workers are well acquainted with the forward looking but canny judge who, although himself thoroughly in accord with some new policy urged upon him, nevertheless postpones its adoption because he knows that at that time, in that community, it would endanger the whole juvenile court program. Social workers also are well acquainted, be it regretted, with the standpat judge who lacks the courage or the enthusiasm to lead his commu-

nity and convince them that the time has come for a certain progressive policy to be adopted.

Nowhere are the limitations imposed by public opinion more obvious than in the probation service. Acutely aware of this, indeed, are those of us who have attempted to persuade a county fiscal board that they ought to appropriate money for an adequately paid probation staff of competent officers. Forthwith we are confronted with the tragedy of the already overburdened taxpayer; of the struggling farmers who are in danger of losing their property; of the laborers and tradespeople who don't want this innovation; with the view that all this is for the benefit of criminals who don't deserve consideration; and to our arguments that probation officers ought not to be burdened with an utterly impracticable volume of cases is made the reply, often with much justification, that no public officeholder was ever known to overwork. These and similar arguments are often sincere, and the attitude they express constitutes a disastrous limitation today upon the effectiveness of our juvenile courts and upon adult probation as well. These county boards are the chosen representatives of the people, and their powers are those conferred upon them by state constitutions and legislatures, adopted or elected by the people.

To be sure, it is not always easy to know just where to look for public opinion. It may be contended that county fiscal boards, or even state legislatures, often do not represent even average public opinion, and usually not the best public opinion; that they are often interested, not primarily in the good of the people, but in the success of a party or faction. In large measure this is true; but the practical question is whether their opinion, or at least their expressions of opinion, are not the effective public opinion with which the juvenile court must deal and by whose decisions it is bound. They are organized and vocal, while the friends of the court are too often unorganized and silent.

How can we expect good case work to be done by juvenile courts which have no case workers? Or by courts whose case workers are political hangers-on of dubious personal character, or untrained, uneducated weaklings? That is the practical situation confronting us today in many juvenile courts of the country. The strong arm type of probation officer who carries a gun and occasionally beats up his wards appears, fortunately, to occur only in adult probation departments, and not in many of them.

But the most devastating limitation upon juvenile court case work is the lack of understanding, still widespread, as to its real significance, purposes, and methods, on the part not only of the general public, but even of judges and others administering the juvenile court law. Nearly every state has accepted the juvenile court in theory, but over large areas of most states—perhaps of all states—there is a woefully inadequate understanding of what the court is really intended to accomplish, or how it should function. We find courts in which there is entire satisfaction with untrained volunteer probation service; in which there is no need felt for the social investigation of cases; in which physical examina-

tions are never ordered unless necessary to procure admission of a child to an institution, and in which, as to mental examinations, one would not dare use the word "psychiatric"; which use a strictly criminal procedure in children's cases, regardless of explicit provisions of the law to the contrary; in which the hearings are public; in which social records are unknown; which not only tolerate but encourage adjustment by police departments of children's cases, with jail detention as an incident. You who know juvenile court work only at its best, in communities where the judges and probation officers are capable, devoted people constantly improving on their own best work and diligently striving to push the cause forward, should realize that these communities are the high lights of our picture, easily diverting our attention from the more extensive shadows.

Just one illustration, from a county of 75,000 in a prosperous state; a county which has two colleges and is a nationally known medical center. There are no probation officers, except the part time of an official who holds three other county positions, any one of which might well occupy all of his time. A girl was recently brought before the juvenile court charged with delinquency. Her case was regarded as a serious one, and her commitment to a state institution was considered. There was no physical or mental examination, and no real social investigation to learn the causes of her delinquency. At the hearing a married sister of the girl asked for her custody, proposing to take her to her home in a large city, find work for her, and watch over her. The sister's home was not investigated, but her proposal was accepted, on the condition that she report to the court by mail monthly. The well-organized juvenile probation department of that city was not called upon for any cooperation in supervising the girl while on probation. After several months, during which the monthly reports had stated all was going well, the girl's family informed the court that she had been doing very badly, and had now run away from the sister's home. A few days later the girl was taken into custody by the police in the city and placed in their juvenile court's detention home. The skilled probation staff there, learning of her being on probation (if, indeed, we may call this probation), telephoned to the court of which she was a ward. That court directed that she should not be held in the detention home, but released to that same sister, and a few days later sent a male officer with a warrant for her arrest. Of course she hadn't waited at her sister's to be arrested. At last account she was still at large, perhaps better so, all things considered. This story was related by the part-time probation officer only as an illustration of his work, and apparently without any consciousness of imperfections in his methods.

Now this is a fair illustration, I believe, of the quality of case work that is being done in many good communities in every state. A few people in those communities know how much better work ought to be done. With those people the juvenile court in those communities is not a highly regarded agency. Yet it is by its case work that the juvenile court must commend itself or fall into disre-

pute. There have been enough of high-sounding praises of the juvenile court as an end in itself. The general principle of the juvenile court is, for the time being at least, accepted almost everywhere. It is time we realized the urgency of improving the standards of its case work, not merely in progressive communities which are working out their problems for themselves pretty well, but in those more numerous jurisdictions where little or no progress is being made. In this, or in as many other fields, getting a law on the statute book is only a beginning. Much better work could be done in those same jurisdictions by the right people working under very disadvantageous laws.

A thorough realization of the status and needs of the juvenile court need not lead to pessimism, and it does no good to grow sarcastic about it. It would be remarkable indeed if all parts of the country made progress at the same rate. In the development of social institutions a quarter of a century is, after all, not a long time. And if the high lights of our picture were extinguished, doubtless the shadows would assume a lighter gray by contrast with the blacker things of a century or two ago, even in our own country. Our chief concern should be as to how we may best make progress. Facing the facts of the present situation is not mere calamity howling, it is a necessary preliminary to progress.

But what of the possibilities? It is easy to say that at the root of the forces limiting the efficiency of juvenile court case work is a widespread lack of information and of understanding, and that therefore the thing to do is to educate public opinion. But something more is necessary. It is one thing to get people's passive consent or agreement; that is only to remove their opposition. It is quite another thing to get people to do something; that requires organization and persistent, wisely directed activity. It is not enough that public opinion should favor our general aims; it must be roused to active support of specific proposals. Educational efforts must be continued—yes, and redoubled—but in addition responsible machinery in every state for persistent following up of educational work is needed. Only thus can the full possibilities of juvenile court work be realized.

There are many forces operating to bring about a wider knowledge of good juvenile court standards and to prepare the way for general acceptance of measures for the improvement of the courts' work. We call to mind at once the educational work of the federal Children's Bureau, of state probation commissions, and of enthusiastic judges and probation officers. Improving standards in other branches of social work are demonstrating the need for improvement in probation case work as well. The state and national probation associations are doing their bit. It is most encouraging that more and more requests are being made, from widely separated parts of the country, for studies to be made of juvenile court work and for suggestions for its improvement.

But for the official, authoritative agencies by which the juvenile court laws are set in operation we would do well to contrast the court with the public school. The teacher must satisfy certain increasingly rigid educational requirements

and pass an examination before becoming eligible for appointment. In only a few states and cities has a beginning been made of similar, though as yet rudimentary, requirements for probation officers through civil service examinations. The superintendent of schools is appointed by a nonpartisan board of citizens selected for their high character and for their interest in educational work. Does anyone propose that the superintendent or principal be compelled to campaign for re-election at stated intervals, as is the judge of the juvenile court? The school curriculum and the methods of instruction are set forth in great detail by a state department of education. Why leave each county to grope about as best it may for methods of dealing with delinquency, neglect, and dependency? State tax funds are devoted to the encouragement and necessary aid of local districts in the maintenance of proper standards in school work. Why not in probation and juvenile court work? England has now adopted this policy; the British Home Office is authorized, by the Criminal Justice act of 1925, to aid local units in the payment of the salaries of probation officers.

Some of our states, of course, have gone much farther than others in the state control of education; but all recognize that some degree of state supervision, direction, and financial aid is necessary. It is unthinkable that we should leave to individual school districts the entire control of the public schools. Yet the condition such a policy would cause would be no more chaotic than at present prevails in juvenile court work. Why should the more difficult problems presented by case work with delinquent, neglected, and dependent children be left as largely as they are to local initiative and local resources?

There are, of course, important beginnings of state supervision of juvenile court, and especially of probation work. In a greater or less degree it is already established in several states, notably in New York and Massachusetts, through state probation commissions or departments of public welfare. Some of these states, however, have done little more as yet than to recognize the principle, and in none of them do the powers of their commissions approach those of the state education departments. A few small states (Vermont, Rhode Island) have established unified probation systems for the whole area, administered entirely from one state office. A similar policy for adult probation in a larger state, Wisconsin, has not demonstrated itself to be practicable. Utah has gone so far as to establish a state juvenile court commission which appoints the judges and probation officers of all the juvenile courts of the state and maintains them from state funds. It might seem that this system would err on the side of leaving too little to local initiative; it appears contrary to the genius of our system of government in most states. It is not desirable to destroy the opportunity for local interest and responsibility. On the awakening of that interest and the development of that responsibility depend, in the long run, all the possibilities for good, in juvenile court case work as well as in other fields of public service.

Realization of the utmost possibilities of the juvenile court case work depends then, fundamentally, upon the creation of a general appreciation of its

importance and of the skill required for its successful administration. But to aid in creating that appreciation and to build upon the foundation when laid, the active aid is needed of responsible public departments. The methods by which progress can be secured will include radical changes in the methods of selecting judges and probation officers, aiming at their advancement to a professional status; the direction, supervision, and, it is submitted, the financial aid of the state will be required.

Though we no longer believe that the voice of the people is the voice of God, we still believe in democracy as the best plan of government yet devised. But we are becoming more keenly aware of its shortcomings, and are tempted to impatience with its slow rate of progress. A distinguished foreign observer once told us that the cure for the evils of democracy was more democracy. We are more inclined now to agree with a distinguished American statesman, Charles E. Hughes, when he tells us that the cure for the evils of democracy is not more democracy, but more intelligence.

HOW MUCH CHILD DEPENDENCY IS THERE IN THE UNITED STATES?

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The only real answer to the question contained in my topic is, "Nobody knows." But since this is not a very helpful or constructive answer and since the purpose in assigning the topic was doubtless to supply such background as we may against which to view questions relating to the prevention of child dependency, an attempt has been made to assemble such data on the subject as is available, even though it is seriously faulty and inadequate.

It is possible to approximate from official returns for the country as a whole the number of more easily discoverable dependent children—those who find their way into the care of institutions for children and child placing societies. It is also possible to point out, but not to measure except by the roughest sort of guess work, certain other groups of dependent children for which as yet no adequate official figures are available, but which far outnumber those that are commonly thought of under the term "dependent children." We shall make the term "dependent child" include any child who is in whole or in part dependent for support upon any public or private institution or agency or upon any official charged with the care of dependent children.

As our information is not complete even for the groups for which we have the best figures, and for certain groups is lacking altogether, we shall throughout give approximations in round numbers, since these are more easily held in mind and since our material does not permit us to do more than try to sketch the broad outlines of child dependency, without regard to detail.

The most complete information on child dependency for the United States as a whole is found in the United States Bureau of the Census report for 1923 on dependent and delinquent children. This has not yet appeared in final form. The returns show that on February 1, 1923, there were nearly a quarter of a million dependent children being cared for away from their own homes in institutions, foster homes, and day nurseries. There were 140,000 in institutions for dependent children; 77,000 receiving some form of foster family care, free or boarding; 23,000 in day nurseries; and 5,000 in almshouses and other institutions not primarily for dependent children. This makes 245,000 in all. This figure, however, by no means represents the amount of child dependency in the United States.

Since 1911, when the first mothers' aid law was passed in this country, this form of assistance to dependent children has been extended until it has assumed large and increasing importance. The 1923 census did not take cognizance of public aid to mothers for the care of children in their own homes, but prepared a rough estimate on the basis of some incomplete figures for 1920, 21, and 22 which had been compiled by the federal Children's Bureau. It is believed that a conservative estimate of the number of children provided for in this way on a single date would be 121,000, or about half as many as were in the care of the organizations already mentioned.

Another large group of dependent children are those who are being aided in their own homes by private agencies doing family social work. Some of these children are in families which under the law are eligible for mothers' allowances, but which, because of the inadequacy of public funds for this purpose, must be aided by private societies; others are in families who may be no less handicapped, but who are not technically eligible for public allowances, or for whom other forms of service are needed.

Figures for children aided by private family agencies are not only incomplete, but those which we have are on a basis not comparable with the 1923 census figures. In 1922 the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work collected for that year certain statistics from 204 out of 212 family welfare societies which were members of the association. The returns showed that during the year covered about 191,000 families were cared for by these societies. Not every family received aid in the form of money, but where money was not given it is presumed that there was some substitute service performed, representing a money equivalent. We do not know the number of children in these families nor the number on the books at the beginning of the year, so we cannot say how many children were being aided on a single date. We can only make a rough guess by computing figures for the total group of societies on the basis of the ratios which obtain in two large family societies in New York City, the Charity Organization Society and the United Hebrew Charities. The combined figures of these two agencies for one year show that the number of families in care at the beginning of the year was about half the total number in care during the

year, and that the number of children in these families was a little less than two and a half times the number of families. If we assume that this ratio would hold, roughly, for the country as a whole, we must add about 220,000 or nearly another quarter million, dependent children to our previous figures.

In addition to the member agencies from which statistics were received, there were about half as many non-member family societies which were not covered by this report. It is impossible to say how much their work, were it known, would add to this last named figure.

One more group for which no figures at all are available consists of families outside the mothers' allowance class that are being aided in their own homes by public poor officials. This group constitutes the great No Man's Land in the field of dependency. It is the most difficult group of all to enumerate, partly because of the generally inadequate records kept by overseers outside of some of the better organized city offices, and partly because it would be exceedingly difficult, even if figures were available, to eliminate those families which, while aided financially by overseers, are at the same time being carried as charges by other social agencies for other types of service.

Keeping in mind, then, that such figures as we have are not all for the same date, that it has been necessary to take large and perhaps unwarranted liberties in trying to make certain estimates, and that some groups must be ruled out altogether for lack of any data, what picture of child dependency do we get? From the census report, approximately 245,000 children in the care of institutions and agencies for dependent children; 121,000 living in their own homes under the system of public allowances to mothers; and, if our very crude and possibly very faulty guess can be accepted at all, 220,000 children being aided in their own homes by private family social agencies—a total of very nearly 600,000. With so many important omissions, it would seem that this figure is probably an ultra-conservative statement of the number of children on a single date receiving some form of public or private aid from organizations existing for such service.

To know the total number of dependent children for a given date is not, however, a satisfactory index of child dependency. What we need is an enumeration at regular intervals of children accepted for care by institutions and agencies during a given period, in other words, a statement of movement of population. This is nowhere available except for certain individual agencies and institutions. An effort was made by the Bureau of the Census to secure such figures for the organizations included in the 1923 census for a period of three months, but the returns were, on the whole, so unsatisfactory that no attempt was made to summarize them. Until we can collect reliable figures of intake which will distinguish between new children and those who have been previously in care, we cannot even begin to see trends in child dependency.

What can we say of the factors, personal and social, that have combined to produce this little army of 600,000 dependent children? For the country as a

whole we can say nothing. Individual organizations here and there know more or less of the elements underlying the dependency of the children in their care, but as many organizations tend to specialize, we cannot judge the background of dependency in the large from the clientèle of a few institutions or agencies. Of society's service to these clients and its cost we know nothing.

In the *Survey* for January 15, 1926, in an article entitled, "A Plea for the Measurement of Social Reconstruction," Dr. Haven Emerson has flung a challenge to social organizations to produce some evidence for the faith that is in them. Are we ready as individual agencies and as communities to accept this challenge, with whatever consequences may follow in our social philosophies and our programs?

THE AMERICAN LEGION'S PROGRAM FOR CHILD WELFARE

*John W. Gorby, Director, Child Welfare Division,
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The American Legion is today actively engaged in the important field of child welfare, not by accident, but by the undeniable logic of events. The first of these events was our service as soldiers in the world-war. On our return from serving with the colors our first thought was of our comrades who had made the greatest sacrifices. This has now developed into our great service of rehabilitation of which every legionnaire is proud.

We found that many of our disabled comrades were fathers of little children whose care and education were so close to the heart of the soldier-father. In fact, many soldiers who sorely needed hospitalization refused it, and consequently continued working at the bench, or desk, or shop, or field, or mine, because their children needed them. Quite naturally, and true to their glorious record in their country's service, they would sacrifice themselves to help their children to a fair chance in life.

This condition gave rise to a resolution offered the national convention at New Orleans to look into the subject of the dependent children of "legionnaires" (note the word "legionnaires"). At San Francisco the following year the report of the committee on child welfare revealed such splendid growth in the thinking of the committee that no longer does the record show mention of children of "legionnaires," but of all ex-service men, whether members of the Legion or not. Again at St. Paul in 1924 the development of the thought of the committee had progressed to the authorization of an endowment fund of \$5,000,000, a substantial portion of the income of which is to go toward child welfare, or, to be more specific, toward the giving of adequate care to every dependent child of a world-war veteran.

In entering upon this service the leaders of the American Legion recognized

the fact that it is a highly technical field and that only with the help of such organizations as the Child Welfare League of America, and all other worthy existing child welfare agencies now so nobly serving the American people, could we hope to accomplish anything worth while. We have, therefore, drawn up a "Plan of Organization and Procedure" which received the unanimous approval of our national convention held in Omaha last October. We incorporate this plan herewith in order that the Conference may have on record as a part of its proceedings the official plan for child welfare in the American Legion.

THE NATIONAL PROBLEM

1. The set policy of the American Legion with reference to child welfare is to cooperate in the fullest possible sense with all existing worthy child welfare agencies, to the end that there shall be a home for every homeless orphan of a veteran.

2. This plan of operation applies only to the American Legion within the continental limits of the United States.

3. Any organization of the child welfare service outside of the continental limits of the United States shall be dealt with by special arrangement when and as required.

4. The problem of the orphan or dependent child of the world-war veteran, while a national one, must of necessity be dealt with in accordance with laws and customs of the respective states.

DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

The Director of the Child Welfare Division of the American Legion shall direct, plan, and supervise all the operations of the Child Welfare Division of the American Legion.

DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL FIELD SECRETARY

The duties of the National Field Secretary, under the direction of the National Director, shall be to supervise and assist in all the investigational and other work pertaining to: (1) the placement of children in foster homes; (2) the placement of children in billets, and their removal therefrom; (3) home care of children with their own parents; (4) rehabilitation of children in their own homes; (5) transporting children to parents, relatives, foster homes, and to and from billets.

In this work the National Field Secretary shall work in conjunction with the designated American Legion representatives in the field and in cooperation with the Billet Boards, department child welfare chairman, and recognized social agencies to the best interest of the children.

The National Field Secretary must be familiar with the laws pertaining to interstate placement of children and the facilities available for child care in the various states.

OPERATION OF THE BILLETS

Our billets have been much misunderstood. They are not intended to be permanent homes for little children. Our service for the children may be placed in four groups: First, caring for the child in his own home with his own mother wherever possible, accepting only the immorality or the physical or mental incapacity of the mother as justifiable grounds for the separation of mother and child. Second, foster home care. The foster homes are thoroughly investigated and approved before the placing of a child therein. Third, temporary billet care. In the billet the child is cared for only until the child can be rehabilitated in its own home or in a foster home. Our slogan is "A minimum of children, a minimum of time in a minimum of billets."

STATE ORGANIZATION: DUTIES OF STATE OR DEPARTMENT CHAIRMAN

1. The department chairman of the child welfare committee shall be selected by the department Commander and shall organize his state in the manner outlined and specifically described in the following paragraphs.

2. The department child welfare chairman shall initiate the appointment of a County child welfare chairman by the County Commander of the American Legion where a County organization of the American Legion exists, and the election, or selection, of a County child welfare chairman by the Post Commanders, or Post Commander where no County organization of the American Legion exists.

3. The department chairman shall receive from all County chairmen monthly statistical reports which must be transmitted by him to the Director of the National Child Welfare Division.

4. The department chairman shall call into conference at least once each year all County chairmen of the child welfare division for counsel and advice and the determination of future policies for the improvement of the service.

5. At least once each year he shall visit the billet to which the orphans of his department are assigned.

6. He shall read and study all available authoritative works on child welfare.

7. He shall, as soon as possible, on a date assigned by the department Commander, call a conference of all County chairmen in the state at a central location most accessible from all parts of the state. This conference shall continue for not more than two days. At this conference full instructions will be given to the County chairmen as to their duties and methods of procedure in every feature of the child welfare service. The necessary traveling expenses of the department child welfare chairman to the annual convention of County child welfare chairmen shall be borne by the department. The necessary traveling expenses of the County child welfare chairmen to said convention shall be borne by the respective County Legion organizations, prorated among the posts on the basis of membership.

COUNTY ORGANIZATION

This organization is used only where the state has already set up a regular County organization within the Legion. Where there is no such organization and the department officers desire an intermediary organization between the state child welfare committee and the Post organization, then a District child welfare chairman is appointed having charge of the judicial or congressional district, as the case may be. Most of the states of the union, called in Legion parlance "departments," do not have County organizations, but substitute therefor District organizations for organization purposes only, leaving the administration to have direct contact from the Post organization to the department child welfare chairman and his committee.

COMMUNITY OR POST ORGANIZATION: DUTIES OF COMMUNITY OR POST CHAIRMAN

1. He will thoroughly inform himself and the committee under the direction of the County child welfare chairman, as to his and its duties.

2. The Community chairman, until complete instructions have been received from the County chairman, will, when emergency cases come to his attention, seek to connect such cases with local established facilities for relief, reporting each such action to the County child welfare chairman.

3. He shall so equip himself, by reading and study of books and pamphlets as are available to him, as to qualify him to perform the duties of his office.

4. In all phases of the child welfare program, the American Legion carefully avoids duplication of the efforts of other child welfare agencies.

5. Where further aid involves the assistance of a mother with dependent children and there is a Mother's Pension Law and provision for the operation of the law, the Community chairman should have a complete knowledge of just what the provisions are under the law, how these provisions are satisfied, and should, further, be able to connect the child or family with the state aid available.

6. It will be found that in some states special legislation has been enacted to care for the widow and children of the deceased and disabled veteran, and the states having established

means for the care of such families are, of course, desirous of caring for their own. Where such provision has been made the Legion will act in a supplementary and cooperative capacity.

The relationship between the child caring and social agencies in the field should be cooperative. Mutual benefits may be derived from a happy working basis of cooperation between those agencies and the Legion.

The representatives of social agencies everywhere have offered the Legion hearty cooperation and are giving valuable assistance in investigational and other work. The Legion desires to act in conjunction with all child welfare activities in an effort to improve conditions, not only for dependent children and orphans of veterans, but for all children.

We plan to cooperate in the following manner: First, to make a close and careful study of the best means of caring for the dependent children of world-war veterans and to publish our findings from time to time for the benefit of all dependent children and those who care for them. Second, the full force of the American Legion will be exercised in every state in the direction of up-to-date legislation, as well as mothers' pensions and public aid to children in their own homes, so that the mother may if possible be kept with her child for the benefit of both. Third, interchange of information useful to both the Legion and the cooperating agencies will be available so far as the Legion is concerned. Fourth, educational work is now going on in every state; copies of laws of states, recognized leaders in up-to-date child welfare legislation, are now in the hands of every department commander in the United States, urging that he not only study the laws himself, but that he should hand them over to the members of his committee on legislation for their information and whatever recommendation they may deem wise in their respective states. Fifth, perhaps the most beneficial service we have rendered the cause thus far is the new stimulus given to the study and care of the dependent child in states where the public interest has up to now been rather sluggish. The fact that we have turned our constructive criticism on that subject promises very favorable results.

These results are now being worked out in all the states, including the District of Columbia. In all these departments we have found the finest spirit of cooperation everywhere. In New England, New York, the Middle West, the South, and the Coast states, legionnaires vie with each other to see which state can produce the finest and most perfect system of child care in the Legion. Of course, we make mistakes, as nearly all the child welfare chairmen in the departments are new at the work, but we make surprisingly few and those, we are glad to report, have not so far been of a serious nature. Our child welfare chairmen show a large number of lawyers, doctors, ministers, bankers, one judge of a juvenile court, one college professor, one professional child welfare expert, and three women—of course, all legionnaires.

There is authority in Holy Writ that "a little child shall lead them." May it be said a hundred years hence that this organization of fighting men, returning victorious from a great war, found their greatest contribution after all in the peaceful service of the America of tomorrow, through taking care of the children of those who offered up their lives. In this way the "still small voice" of peace again may sound in service above the boisterous acclaim of war.

CHANGES IN THE INSTITUTIONAL FIELD IN
CLEVELAND IN THE LAST DECADE

Rev. C. H. Le Blond, Vice-Chairman, Children's Bureau, Cleveland

In the life of any person or any community ten years is a long period, if we look at that period to contemplate changes that occur. In the life of an individual there is development that naturally comes from the acquisition of additional knowledge, greater experience, increased acquaintance, change of environment, new opportunities, and new demands. And in a community, in any line of activity, there must naturally be the same kind of development, because in a period of ten years demands change, resources expand, knowledge increases, standards improve. Activity in any particular field meets these developments or it falls out of the procession, becomes decrepit and worn, and dies a natural and deserved death.

In the last ten years in Cleveland, children's work in the institutional field has not died. Changes have occurred, demands have arisen and have been met more or less satisfactorily, and the struggle of growth still goes on.

If we are to enumerate changes and try to explain their cause and evaluate their worth we must be familiar with conditions as they existed at the beginning of the period. Ten years ago Cleveland had children's institutions; they were about as good, and about as bad, as institutions in other communities in our country. They were doing their work according to the standards that prevailed. Those whose energies were employed in conducting them were working hard and struggling hard to solve the problems that were presented, to care for the children that had come to them, and to build for the future. They were individual organizations, each with their own limited resources and all with their limitations. Each, on a small scale, was doing its own case work, its investigation, and its follow up, its child placing, its medical work, and dental care according to the resources that each possessed. But each was active in a small field, dealing with its own constituents, determined by locality, or religion, or race, and none was getting a larger vision of the community need than its own field presented to its view. Some had special facilities for dealing with special problems; and perhaps those special problems were going to other institutions that had not facilities to care for them. Some were overcrowded and some had extra space; some had homes available for children and some had children for placement with no homes to place them in.

It is a matter of compliment to the people working in the institutions to state that they realized their limitations and gladly took advantage of the opportunity that offered to combine their resources, to improve their work, and render better care to the children of this community. And that opportunity was presented by the formation of the Welfare Federation and the Community Fund. These organizations brought together groups, gave them an opportunity to present and study their individual problems through the presentation of com-

bined problems, presented the community need, and opened the way for gradual solution of the general problems that confronted them all. And unselfishly they took up the task and have marched steadily forward on the path of progress and improvement.

One of the most important steps that was taken was in the adjustment of the work of the general agencies. The juvenile court, the Humane Society, the Children's Bureau that was developed, the Associated Charities which is the family welfare organization of the city, divided among themselves the responsibility for various phases of child care, each assuming that for which they were best fitted, and, acting in the finest spirit of cooperation, routed through each other the problems that each could handle best.

The Children's Bureau was organized as a central agency to do the investigating for all the institutions. Every application for institutional care went to this central bureau, the investigation and case work was done by the bureau, and the report with recommendations went back to the institution. The actual admission or rejection was determined by the institution itself in consultation with the bureau. If there was no admission, the bureau turned over to the proper agency the problem, so that the family received the attention needed. If an admission was made the bureau continued its contact with the family, calling in the assistance of all available resources that the community afforded in the readjustment of the home, to enable the child to return there as soon as possible.

A central medical clinic was established, so that every child for whom care was sought might receive a thorough medical examination and go to the institution with a complete report and a definite program of corrective and preventive work to be accomplished during its stay. A system of checking on progress was established with this central clinic, and aid and assistance offered in the establishment of a well-rounded program of medical care in each institution. A dental clinic was added to the central medical clinic, and a dental report, too, accompanied the child.

One of the children's institutions whose wards could be distributed through the other homes where there were unused beds went out of existence as a children's home and opened as a child guidance clinic for the intensive study of problem children, open to all the institutions of the city for their wards.

With the establishment of these central agencies progress went on in the individual institutions and many changes occurred in their standards, policies, and performances. To enumerate all of these changes would require an intensive study of present conditions by one thoroughly acquainted with the situation as it existed here ten years ago. But I may mention a few to demonstrate the progress that has been made. The average length of stay in the institutions for the individual child has been greatly shortened. Today, with less capacity, because of the closing of two institutions, Cleveland is giving care to twice as many children as it did ten years ago. The care has changed from long-time care for normal children to short-time specialized, intensive training for children

from disrupted homes, who have been previously neglected. This specialized, intensive care is accomplished through greatly improved medical and dental service, through well-studied nutritional and dietetic programs, through special classes established for defective children, through better developed programs of recreation and through the establishment of vocational and manual training classes. Better social study and social planning is made for each problem. Boarding homes are used for long-time care of normal children, and today practically one-third of the dependent children of Cleveland are being cared for in these homes. In the past five years the number of such children cared for in boarding homes has doubled. In the same period the number of committed children cared for in private homes under the supervision of the local agency and paid for by the state has multiplied seven times, leaving the institutional facilities available for that many additional children.

During the last decade changes have occurred in three institutions by way of building programs. But they were replacements of old and antiquated structures with new, modern, cottage-plan buildings, in suburban surroundings with modern equipment.

I would not give the impression that this city has reached the millennium in the development of children's institutions. There are many problems facing this community today, and they are just as urgent and just as hard to solve as any that we faced ten years ago. There are many children in this city, as in every city, needing care they are not getting, and many more receiving care that could be better. But we feel we have made progress and we trust that we will still push on, with the hope that ten years more will see as much advancement as has been made in the decade that has passed.

Neither would I suggest that the plan that Cleveland has followed could be accomplished everywhere, or should be. Local conditions, local persons, local problems, local resources must guide every community in the planning of its future. We of Cleveland have tried to face the situation as we saw it, have tried to plan sensibly and courageously, meeting the difficulties as they came, proud of the spirit of our people, rejoicing in the unselfish interest of every group we have, humble in our hope of what the future holds, going forward with absolute trust and confidence in each other, striving only for the best good of the children that are committed to our care. And if the future leads us forward with the same steady advancement that the past has shown we are sure that another decade will tell a story of work well done which will show in the lives of men and women who will bless the city that they lived in.

PROTECTIVE WORK WITH THE YOUNG

MAKING THE COMMUNITY SAFE FOR THE CHILD

Jessie F. Binford, Director, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago

There is no more popular subject of discussion today than our young people, and the inevitable conclusion usually is that when all is said or done the fault is really with the home. We cannot here enter into a discussion of home influences, but we know of course that they are, or can be, the most stabilizing factors in life. Communities, however, have certain responsibilities for their homes, and when they permit bad housing conditions, sordid, neglected residence districts, an economic situation that makes for poverty and neglect, those communities must inevitably substitute institutions for homes for many of their children, even to making provision for some of them in asylums, reformatories, and prisons.

Neither can we discuss at length the educational systems which we have built up, but we know perfectly well that until our schools adjust themselves to the needs of the individual instead of the group, and until they make provision through visiting teachers or some specialized group, call it what you will, for an early detection and adjustment of personality and social problems, the school can be held greatly responsible for many of the children who drift into our courts. And if our educators are slow to realize these two great needs, let us remember that after all the community is responsible for its schools.

In the lives of many of our children, even while at a very tender age and still in school, we begin to see the shadows of child labor. Children work in our mills and factories and fields; they go home from school to crack nuts, to bead dresses, to make artificial flowers and lamp shades and feathers, to tie tags; they help distribute our newspapers on the street corners and out on the wagons at all hours of day and night; they amuse the great pleasure-loving, thoughtless public by appearing in our theaters. At the tender age of fourteen, or perhaps younger, thousands of them are certificated for work. They leave school and cast their fortunes in our great commercial and industrial world.

Children are an important element today in the business of production and consumption. While we are spending millions in an attempt to educate and adjust them, emphasizing more and more the importance of childhood years, we allow a total disregard of childhood in permitting them not only to work, but in submitting them to stimulations and suggestions that every educator in the world recognizes as destructive. A recent release from the federal Children's Bureau (April 18, 1926) states that as a result of industrial accidents, in three states in one year, 38 young persons were killed, 920 partly disabled for life, and 6,520 temporarily disabled. Only accidents which were serious enough to have compensation paid for them were selected in the three states, so that the total number of young people injured was much larger. Accidents were

most numerous and injuries most serious in the cases of boys and girls sixteen and seventeen years old, this group being less experienced and careful than the older ones. Our child laborers have not been educated or trained; they have little stability or judgment; they are not satisfied or contented with what they have to do. And our vocational bureaus, at best, can only guide and perhaps make life a little less difficult and monotonous for them.

Child labor has shaped the end for many of the children of today, and yet we allow commercial interests to defeat one of the most humane pieces of legislation ever introduced into our legislatures. Shall we go on sending children into industry at an age and under conditions which make it impossible for them to attain normal mental and physical development? Is any community that demands child labor for its support, its pleasure, or its commercial success really safe for the child?

Recently the owner of one of our great newspapers came out with an editorial having this headline, "We can cure criminals by a practical application of the principles of Christianity." This elicited great commendation from religious and civic leaders throughout the country. Is it not typical of our lack of intelligent and thoughtful civic consciousness and responsibility that we find no comment on the fact that the newspaper itself today is one of the greatest influences in the lives of our children, and that child labor in the distribution of newspapers is a great factor in our production of delinquency? Where would Mr. Hearst have us begin to apply the principles of Christianity? And is he willing to take into consideration all the factors that begin to formulate a delinquent career even in the newspaper business? The distributing room of his own newspaper in Chicago has long been a source of much delinquency among the little boys who work there. Mr. Hearst's editorial with the general comment on it is an example of our tendency to applaud some general panacea which is so comforting to talk about that we fail to see its most obvious and simple application.

We must admit, whether we like it or not, that community life is a much greater factor in the lives of children today than ever before. Schools and churches and community centers take them away from home; they walk and play on our streets; they see our billboards and posters; they live in apartments; they read our newspapers which carry every detail of world-problems and of personal and public tragedies and scandals; they see our theaters and movies; they seek recreation in all kinds of commercial amusement places; they play in our great city and county playgrounds; and the automobile has made it possible for them easily to find recreation in far-away communities. They are continuously being impressed, consciously or unconsciously, by the standards and ideals which we adults express in our business and civic and personal lives. You are mistaken if you think it is long before they recognize the inconsistencies in our community life with what we have tried to teach them in the home, the school, and the church. An Italian girl whom we have known for many years flung her-

self out of our office the other day with this parting retort, "You grown-up people are all alike. You say do what we tell you, not what we do." She had been acting as a maid in large downtown hotels and had been really shocked by the public violation of the Eighteenth Amendment by men and women whom she had had every reason to believe would respect our laws whether they liked them or not.

Years ago, in her book, *The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets*, Miss Addams spoke of the theater as "being a veritable house of dreams, infinitely more real than the noisy street and the crowded factories for thousands of young people in industrial cities where going to the show is the only possible road to the realms of mystery and romance." Since Miss Addams wrote this book, "going to the show" has become a part of the recreation of all children, not only in cities, but in every town and village. Four years' investigation by the Federal Trade Commission reveals the following facts: capital invested in the moving picture business, \$1,500,000,000, thus ranking it fourth financially in United States industries; daily attendance, 20,000,000, three-fourths of this representing children and young people; number of theaters, 20,000.

It is not enough that our children help fill the moving picture houses as spectators; they are now being used to attract adult patrons. Very small children are dancing in the Charleston contests, performing all kinds of stunts on "Discovery" and "Amateur" nights, and taking part in dramatic performances. It is really most unpopular to urge any enforcement of our laws relative to children on the stage, and you get little support or interest in your efforts. Just about twenty-five years ago we established in Chicago the first juvenile court, and today we are advertised as the first city to conduct a juvenile movie contest. The children are to wear Buster Brown clothes bought at the Davis Store, Buster Brown shoes made by the Brown Shoe Company, in St. Louis, and the winners, one boy and one girl, will be sent to Hollywood to try out in the Buster Brown Comedies. Fifty-five theaters are to give these weekly preliminary contests, and it is estimated that 40,000 children will take part in them. The dancing schools and the theaters, with the help of the advertising medium of the newspapers and even the manufacturers, have discovered a cooperative method of persuading people to buy their commodity of entertainment. Their business of selling has become a science, and they were quick to realize the appeal of children on the stage; but what effect this is going to have on the children is a most serious thing.

As spectators and partners now our children witness vulgar, obscene, and often indecent vaudeville acts, pictures of sex and passion, brutal fights, frightful accidents, scenes of debauchery and illicit love, movies of people in their most lawless and passionate moments; and here they are getting their ideas of life and living.

This is supplemented by what they read in our newspapers and in our cheap, obscene, and suggestive magazines; by what they sing in many of our popular

songs; by the general appeal to the sex instinct of youth which has become a great asset in many commercial enterprises. Can any sex hygiene education or adjustment clinics ever counteract the continued perverted and cheapened sex knowledge and appeal made to the young people of today? On the one hand we are gropingly proposing unofficial or official local, state, or even federal censorship of moving pictures and of books and magazines and posters. On the other hand producers will not even admit that anything is wrong, and are using unlimited means to fight all kinds of censorship, from the Congress of the United States to our state legislatures and even our small local courts. International problems of great importance are arising because of the exportation of most objectionable American films. In Boston we have Mr. Mencken prosecuted for a harmless story in a magazine not widely read; in Chicago, one of our oldest and most respected booksellers prosecuted for selling obscene postcards found in his art department—postcards which were all reproductions of famous paintings hanging in European galleries; in Los Angeles, an attempt to suppress *Desire under the Elms*. These unfortunate prosecutions are heralded in the newspapers far and wide, and we are all made ridiculous by them, and all censorship begins to seem impossible and impractical.

We have arrived at certain generalizations. Laws and ordinances, without the support of intelligent public opinion and honest administration, are futile. No one group, private or official, can dogmatically determine what adults shall see or read or hear or say, but young people must not be exploited or subjected to demoralizing influences. We must compel commercial interests to help us avoid this by the sheer force of community opinion and idealism.

Other commercial corporations and individuals are producing recreation, art, literature, and music for our young people. These producers and distributors are not educators nor have they, for the most part, a consciousness of any personal responsibility. The local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago has been making a map showing the recreational centers of Chicago. It shows the city has a total of 3,164 recreational centers. They are divided into three classes. Commercial recreational centers (those open to the public upon payment of an admission fee) were far in the lead, with 2,020; private centers, including settlements, clubs, and private museums, were second, with 881; public institutions, including parks, public libraries, and playgrounds, were third, with 263. Classified by type, billiard and pool halls won first place with 1,098; boys' clubs, including Scout troops, second, with 463; the movies, third, with 381; dance halls fourth, with 264.

We have our dance halls, cabarets, pool rooms, our so-called "closed" dance halls, and now, our roadhouses, so easily reached and so often outside the jurisdiction of any community—all of them patronized for the most part by young people. Commercial interests are quick to supply the demand, to see an opportunity, and they always will be. We go through long processes of law attempting to legislate against and close dangerous places of amusement instead of

meeting the demand ourselves or prohibiting places that are dangerous and demoralizing from ever being opened. I do not believe that laws and ordinances, even when enforced, will ever make of commercialized recreation an asset to the recreational life of the city, but public opinion and education can do this. Mayor Dever in Chicago has recently organized a Recreation Commission, inviting representatives of civic organizations, clubs, settlements, the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Urban League, and many others who are trying in one way or another to do constructive work and who are in a position to know what the problems are. We are now urging that all those men and women who represent commercial interests in recreation be invited into this group so that we may exchange experiences with them and that they too may have a glimpse of the future which our Mayor ideally plans, when we shall have wholesome recreation for all children in all parts of the city. As long as we take all the responsibility onto ourselves we will make recreation safe and available for only a comparatively small number.

There are those other serious, menacing conditions involving the sale of liquor, gambling, commercialized vice, resulting in crime, disease, and demoralization. What are we doing about prohibition, cabarets, houses of prostitution, assignation hotels, street solicitation, and roadhouses? Are we developing better methods in our police departments, or continuing with the traditional raids and fines? Are we keeping intact the protective measures, medical, legal, and social, instituted during the war to make our boys "fit to fight"? Shall we leave the great and old problem of prostitution to the police? The other day a woman came to see me who is a notorious keeper of houses of prostitution in Chicago. When she was a mere child thirteen years old she was left pretty much alone and was placed in a house in our old Federal Street red light district, and her life ever since has been that of a prostitute or a manager of other prostitutes. Her attitude today reflects the only side of our community life which she has ever known: the demand which makes prostitutes possible and profitable; the inconsistency of legislating against it and then accepting it without intelligent protest; the graft that may protect from prosecutions and may not; the futile, senseless raids of the police; the hounding of one person and the immunity of others; the feeling that you are an outcast and at the same time a necessity in our community life. Is not such a life a challenge to us all?

A short time ago in Chicago, after the ninety-second murder in two and one-half years attributed to gang war over beer and alcohol traffic, according to figures issued by the Chicago Detective Bureau, the *Chicago Tribune* had an editorial beginning with this impressive statement: "It has become apparent that there is a relationship between politics and crime in Illinois." Do you think for one moment that the boys in Chicago, especially those in certain districts, have been two and one-half years coming to this conclusion? What relation do you suppose the alliance of politics and crime has to the increasing lawless daring crime of Chicago today; the confidence of immunity from convictions, and of

pardon if convicted; the illicit liquor business, which is so profitable and so devastating? Recently an Italian boy who has lived all his life on the West Side of Chicago was talking with us about one of the recent murders and other crimes. He asked me about a friend of his who was accused of rape, a case in which we were interested, and I made the remark that I thought a great deal of influence was being used in this case. He said, "It won't do any good. You know rape is the only kind of case in which money won't count. You can buy your way out for almost anything else, but not for that."

Our system of patronage, of pre-election favors and post-election payment of political debts, our election of judges and other officers whose duties demand specialized professional knowledge and judgment rather than political astuteness and influence, our failure to develop our police departments along professional and socialized lines—all of these conditions have great elements of danger.

The failure to enforce our laws, the obvious overlooking, on the part of the authorities, of the sale of liquor, of gambling, of houses of prostitution, result not alone in crime and disease and demoralization. They represent a disregard for law and order and decency on the part of those who have been elected or appointed to take responsibility and those who profit commercially, but no less on the part of the community itself—the citizenship which fails to protect its children and young people from such a state of affairs. You may or may not believe in prohibition, but our failure to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment has emphasized and brought to the attention of the American public as never before certain great weaknesses in our local, and state, and federal government, and an attitude on the part of parents and officials and citizens for which our young people can have little respect. All those communities which permit an alliance between crime and politics are not only unsafe for their children, but for us all.

If the shadows cast in the lives of children have been so great that they have eventually led them to our police departments, our police stations, our jails, our detention homes, our courts, our probation systems, our reformatories and prisons, then the task of the community is great indeed, to reconstruct, to substitute, to re-establish the girl's or the boy's faith in the integrity and possibilities of life. No child is safe in any community if when he has failed for one reason or another and we attempt to rehabilitate him or even punish him, this is not done with all the intelligence and socialized procedure which we have learned to know is possible. In the recent reports of certain public departments in Chicago for the last year we read the following figures:

There were in one year 93,779 complaints of truancy in our public schools; and we still attempt to adjust them, for the most part, considering only the factor of truancy; there were 16,640 (1924 report) complaints of delinquent boys and girls at our police stations, and over 14,000 of them adjusted by the police: these are of children, and the complaints are incorrigible, larceny, stealing of automobile, burglary, assault, robbery, immorality, runaway, malicious mischief, concealed weapons. In addition to these there were in the same year, 1924, 2,707 complaints of delinquent boys and girls in our juvenile court. There were 14,331 boys and 1,294 girls, from

sixteen to twenty years of age, arrested the same year; and 48,075 boys and 4,777 girls, from twenty-one to twenty-five years of age, inclusive, arrested. The complaints were larceny; forgery; murder; rape; burglary; assault; carrying concealed weapons; as inmates and keepers of gambling houses, houses of prostitution; seduction; pandering; prostitution; and many others.¹

You have only to read the paper today to realize how we have failed in at least one city to provide public departments and officials adequately to reconstruct these young lives, and we know that our community conditions have entered more or less into all the tragedies these figures portray.

It is not easy to challenge commercial and industrial interests; to persuade the moving picture producers and theatrical managers and dance hall owners to look at their productions from the point of view of the educator and the conservation of youth. It takes great understanding to build up a friendly cooperative relationship with these men. It takes money and courage and determination to prosecute vice interests that are entrenched politically, and, one might say, socially. One must have indisputable facts and strong public support and respect before one can publicly denounce public officials and departments and institutions.

It is so much easier, not only for communities but for social workers, to organize juvenile courts and clinics and probation systems and to build institutions than it is to face fearlessly and honestly great fundamental wrongs and deficiencies and dangers in our modern life—in housing conditions, in child labor, in education, in amusements, in politics, in our economic situation; all those things which now keep many normal young people from having, in the words of Adolf Meyer, “health, happiness, efficiency, and social adaptation,” and which inevitably make many of our less privileged children dependents, delinquents, and even criminals. As social workers—or social engineers, as someone has flatteringly called us—do we recognize community influences and use the vast material we have to awaken the civic conscience in behalf of our children?

MAKING THE CHILD SAFE FOR THE COMMUNITY

*Douglas P. Falconer, Superintendent, Erie County
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There is a philosophy that formerly dominated all child protective work, and while it has been replaced to some extent, it still controls many of our organizations and is a partial factor in many others. It was clearly stated a few years ago by the then president of the American Humane Association, which lists in its affiliated membership nearly all the child protective agencies of the country: “We recognize the importance of general social work, but our people

¹ Cook County Juvenile Court, *Annual Report for 1924*, p. 19; Police Department, City of Chicago, *Annual Report, 1924*, p. 18 (table); *ibid.*, p. 61.

are not social workers. We have a special function under the law, decided by legislatures and courts, and as demonstrated by long years of practical work." This feeling, that child protective work is something set apart from other social case work, was caused by the law enforcement function of the protective agency.

One such organization received 675 complaints in 1924. In 306 instances, or nearly 50 per cent, court proceedings followed. In 150, advice or warning was given; and in 103, the investigation was closed because of insufficient evidence. To the discerning these figures tell the story. If sufficient evidence of law violation could be secured, the family was either warned or immediately prosecuted. If such evidence was not obtained, the case was closed. I believe this to be a very fair picture of much of our organized child protective work. It is police work, and not of very high order. The laws governing child neglect and abuse are broad in their scope, and have been intentionally made so by the legislatures in order to afford protection to children under a wide variety of circumstances. This makes it possible to secure evidence, technically sufficient to warrant a prosecution, in a large percentage of cases. If the societies' relations with the court are cordial, as they usually are, the percentage of convictions is remarkably high. Thus, in annual reports a gratifying showing of hundreds or thousands of children rescued from neglect and terrible conditions can be made, and all is well.

With certain types of evangelists, individual salvation is indicated by recognizable signs, such as "hitting the sawdust trail." Few religious leaders today, however, feel that individual salvation can be reduced to percentage tables. What is salvation? is to most of us too perplexing a question for such treatment. So it is with child rescue. I believe that many of these prosecutions are possible because the prosecutor does not know the story that lies behind the evidence. Have we not too blindly assumed that laying the evidence before a court almost automatically results in child protection?

I have known of a great many cases where the whole future life of parents and children has been decided by judicial opinion based upon the unsupported testimony of a child protective worker; testimony that really was hearsay in character, gained by the worker through one office interview or one home call, with absolutely no check-up on the information so obtained. It starts with the statement of one witness, it gathers prestige when repeated by a protective worker, and it assumes the finality of law when restated by the court. Probably no organization will admit that this is a fair picture of its work. The phrase "thorough investigation" has been generally adopted and widely proclaimed as the policy of nearly all children's agencies. They would warmly deny that they act without investigation; but with many such is the fact.

There are some so-called "case work agencies" employing sincere people who, when confronted with a difficult family or individual, do not know how to obtain an adequate knowledge of the facts and have no skill to interpret the facts if they were available. These workers, having sought vainly for a solution

of their difficult problem, decide that the only answer is to run to a judge. Such people are really sorry to break up a family; their hearts do bleed for them. But how pathetic, how tragic, it is for us to go on year after year, disrupting families and expanding our facilities for child care and not facing the fact that we have done nothing that in the least degree approaches the process of case work, in which we theoretically put our trust. If we believe, as we say we do, that knowledge of the facts, social, physical, mental, and spiritual, is necessary for the beginning of the case work process, and if we are convinced that there is no adequate substitute for good case work, then, in the name of the suffering humanity to whom we minister, let us begin to practice it! The phrase "adequate investigation" we have adopted, but the practice is in many places still an unclaimed orphan.

Then there is the process called supervision. A home is found which is dirty and where intemperance and child neglect exist. Evidence of law violation is easily obtainable. But we are modern in our approach, and we do not immediately seize the children through a court action. No; we warn the parents that from now on they must be sober, industrious, and kind to their children. We may even point out to them the great importance of their jobs as parents, and then we pay a series of visits to note the effect of our first warning and to give other warnings. In some cases the situation in the family improves, and then we promptly close the case, only to have it reopened later with the situation as bad as it was before. In a few instances the improvement is permanent, due, not to our warnings, but to forces within or without the family which were operating unknown to us. But many times we warn until our patience is gone; we feel it is no longer fair to the children to leave them in their neglectful homes; and we prosecute, and save some more children. In all earnestness and with no sense of exaggeration I assert that this is what is done over and over again in the name of child protection. With some modifications of language, it is what many organizations assert to be their function; it is what is meant by the quotation from the distinguished Humane Society leader with which I opened these remarks. With the growing realization in our communities of the possibilities of social case work it is not an idle prophecy to say that either our child protective organizations will wake up and socialize their work or they will find that other agencies, possibly public ones, have taken over their functions. The raising of large sums of money in our community funds is forcibly calling the public's attention to the social needs and the social machinery of their communities, and the time is not far distant when the effectiveness of our work should be, and it will be, forcibly challenged.

In general there are two tests we may apply to our child welfare work. We may compare the physical surroundings in which we place children with the environment from which we have taken them. They formerly slept four in a bed, under dirty quilts, and were used to irregular meals; they now have individual beds and good food in an institution run by our best citizens. And so our

work is good! Or we may measure our achievements by our opportunities, and compare what we have done with what we could and should have done. By this test our success is meager, and we are forced to conclude that we have not measured up. We intend to, but our own situation is so difficult. There are certain influential personalities in our communities; there are traditions; money is hard to get; people don't understand; in some other city, on some far-distant green hill, we could do more. That attitude reveals a lack of faith in our program that is worse than ignorance. Our courage and determination to achieve in our home town the things we proclaim in our out-of-town conventions must be greater.

When Abraham Lincoln was a young man working as a river pilot on the Mississippi he wore a pair of buckskin pants. The buckskin, exposed to river, rain, and sunshine, shrank, while at the same time young Lincoln's legs grew longer, until a considerable portion of his lower anatomy was uncovered. In thinking of the gap between our National Conference standards as expressed in papers and discussions and our local practice as expressed in our service to the children in our communities, I am conscious of a gap, greater, more revealing, and more embarrassing than young Lincoln's. What we need is not to know more things to do, but to do the things we already know. If the standards stated and reiterated in this conference for the last ten years were really to go into effect in all of the agencies affiliated or related to this conference there would be such a revolution in social work in this country as would make the Russian revolution seem like a tea party.

If child protective work should not consist merely of warnings and prosecutions, what should be its functions? Child protective work is one branch of social case work. It is based on the belief that problems of child neglect and abuse are complex, and that careful investigations by trained case workers are necessary to determine the facts. It is important in this work to know what the situation is, but it is more important to know *why* it is. It recognizes the family as a unit for the purposes of investigation and treatment, no matter how dramatic the behavior of any one member of the family may have been. It is based on a belief that the family has a remarkable strength and vitality which must be conserved for the welfare of the children. It appreciates the importance of understanding the individuality of the members of the family. It believes that delinquency is caused to a considerable extent by social and environmental conditions, and therefore that prosecution without understanding is more likely to do harm than good. It therefore regards prosecution as only one of a great variety of methods which a child protective society should use.

Because of these considerations, this plan calls for the united efforts of all the social forces in the community in the fight to protect children. In some families the services of a health agency are most important; in others, family social service, recreation, education, or vocational guidance. Therefore under this conception good child protective work must be closely related to the other social

work of the community and must establish channels of cooperation and call upon all social forces to the fullest extent possible.

In spite of much that has been written and said there is vast misunderstanding of the meaning of investigation, and of social case work. Many people still think of an investigation as a process of running around to a lot of people to collect face card data and other comparatively meaningless items; and social case work is conceived as a process by which we get people to behave the way they don't want to behave. In *The Art of Helping People* Karl de Schweinitz spoke of the importance of an understanding mind. That phrase gets to the heart of it. We do not consult parents, relatives, and other sources of information merely to collect social data, as a census enumerator does, but to enable us to come close to the bewildered, perplexed, and baffled folks who have been unable to adjust themselves to their environment. We who are parents know how hard it is to understand our own children, though we have more knowledge of them than anyone else. How, then, can we expect to be able to advise other parents about the care of their children unless we closely and sympathetically study both their personalities and their environment? A social worker who is always a learner is on the right road.

Why is the father's work record important? Carrying the responsibility of several mouths to feed, have you ever been unemployed? Have you tramped the weary miles, hour after hour, day after day, seeking the elusive job and finding it always beyond your grasp? If you have had this experience you will know the terrible hold it takes, stifling and deadening the finer ideals of life, until the day comes when, if no job appears, despair has you by the throat, and all your former social values have gone. Or have you had jobs and found yourself inefficient, untrained, and unable to keep steady work? You may have tried hard, but you don't quite measure up, so you are the first laid off and the last re-employed. And if you have faced this sense of defeat, has it done anything to your moral fiber, or affected your outlook on life? Or have you had a job at which you could not earn quite enough to meet the daily expenses, be as economical as you could, and have you faced the fearful specter of sickness when you just had to keep on working? And has that experience done anything to you? If you have not had these experiences you have had others, burning, trying times that have strengthened and molded your character, perhaps, or possibly killed some part of you that had seemed beautiful and vital. The purpose of an investigation is to give the worker an understanding of these decisive experiences of his client's life; not to gather legal evidence of wrongdoing, not to probe into the tender places to give needless hurt, but to bring to the distressed person an understanding mind.

Why are physical examinations and a study of a health record important? Have you ever been sick, without the means to provide for yourself and family? Have you ever struggled to keep up the daily routine when fighting a steady pain that seems ready to overpower you, only you won't let it? Have you ever

become run down, lost your appetite, become nervous and irritable, and longed for rest or a vacation, and been unable to take it? Feeling ill, have you worked as a laborer in the heat of the blast furnaces or the dust and dirt of a rag factory? If not these, then other problems of your health have faced you, and you know they have affected your whole life. One cannot know you without knowing of your health. Investigation into the health of a person is to open another channel for the approach of the understanding mind.

Why should a child protective worker seek the aid of a mental clinic? Is it in order to produce another I.Q., that mystic and much misunderstood percentage figure? Or to separate the sane from the insane, the normal from the feeble-minded? These are proper objectives, but they are not the reasons. The family that has come to our attention, as child protective workers, has been unable to live and behave as the community thinks it should. We believe that behavior is always caused; that it never just happens. And we believe that much of the cause of behavior, both good and bad, lies hidden in our mental and emotional life. We seek the services of our psychologist and psychiatrist because we know that we can get a qualitative as well as quantitative analysis which will open up another channel for the approach of the understanding mind.

Why is it important to study the effect of the various personalities of a family upon each other? Have you successfully solved the problem of living with all the members of your own family? Are there still some irritating qualities among some of them that get on your nerves? Or do you know social workers who cannot get along with their fellow staff members, and are always rushing from one petty intrigue to another, even though they are advising families how to live in peace and harmony? Or have you, fortunately, a member of your family, or a friend, who believes in you and draws out the best you have and is always an inspiration to you? If you will study your own lives you will see that a knowledge of the members of a family, their friends and relatives, and their effect upon each other opens another approach for the understanding mind.

These, my friends, define an investigation by illustration. The investigation is not an end in itself, but is a method by which one person, equipped in mind and heart, in character and humility, may closely approach and genuinely cooperate with another person in the process we call case work. There is no more difficult undertaking imaginable, and none more worth while.

The child protective worker, faced with the complexities of his task, may shirk his responsibilities by referring all his problems to a court; or he may seek to understand life as it is, with its stresses and strains, its pathetic failures and glorious successes, its cruelties and bitter disappointments. Underneath these, explaining them, if he seeks intelligently and in the right spirit, he will find the strong currents of love and hate, of passion and hunger, of ambition and lovely idealism. When he first comes to his client he may find a human soul being tossed about by these currents, bruised and in danger of annihilation, but if he has prepared well for his opportunity and really brings an understanding mind

he will help this person to control these currents, so that they may bring about, not wreckage, but a more abounding life. And this, my friends, defines case work by illustration.

We will help to make our children safe for our communities when our agencies see the tremendous difficulties and the equally tremendous opportunities of our job, and when we realize that the test of our work for children is found, not in the per capita cost, in the number of children affected, in the shining and immaculate institutions, the size and technical accuracy of case records, nor in the frequency of board meetings, but in the quality of service by which we enrich the physical, mental, and spiritual lives of our charges.

There is more to encourage us in our efforts than paper programs, however inspiring they may seem at conventions. And when the discouragements of our local situations seem to overwhelm us, it is well to remember that high standards of child protection and child care are in actual operation. While there is a great deal to be done, we have come a long way. The work of the Child Welfare League of America is being felt in many parts of the country; in fact the very existence of the League is a mark of progress of which we may well be proud.

A satisfying and increasing number of the child protective agencies are walking along new paths. Here in Cleveland the Humane Society has a department of foster home care, a department of home finding, and a department for work with unmarried mothers. In Buffalo our old Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children now has a department of foster home care, started, if you please, by the funds of an orphan asylum, a juvenile protective department, a department working with difficult older boys, and special workers dealing with delinquent girls. Recently we have abandoned our Shelter, which has been a landmark in the children's work of our community for several decades, and in spite of many doubting Thomases, we are successfully meeting the problem of temporary and emergency child care in subsidized boarding homes. A number of state-wide children's agencies have gone forward so rapidly in the last ten years as to bear little resemblance to their former selves. One of our chairmen of today has rendered remarkable service in a county-wide public agency, and the example of Westchester County has had a marked effect on public work for child welfare. The program of the American Legion, already in effect, is a noteworthy achievement, and is a clear indication of the growing power of real standards in child welfare.

These are only a few of an encouragingly large number of splendid pieces of work being done in the country. These changes are caused by a different attitude on the part of the workers. There is more recognition of the need of trained intelligence. There is infinitely less of satisfied complacency. On all sides there are boards and staffs examining their own work in a critical spirit, measuring results obtained, noting weaknesses, and rebuilding a stronger service. This is true in all parts of the field, but particularly among the institutions. It has become so common as hardly to arouse comment when an institution modifies its

program to include child placing, a careful intake job, an adequate after-care program, or perhaps some more revolutionary change. With the development of training schools for social work there is an increasing flow of trained workers joining our ranks, with the promise of greater achievements for tomorrow.

When we think of the difficulties of our own job, let us think also of these achievements, all of them dearly bought by devoted effort in the face of apparently impossible odds. If we could clearly see the weaknesses of our present work for children and at the same time fully understand the splendid services now being rendered, I am sure we would feel ourselves a part of a forward-moving group, and the discouragements of our isolated efforts would be but spurs to keep us in the front rank.

Not many months ago Mary, twelve years old, was brought to my office by a social worker. Mary had come from another state, where she had been raped at the age of nine by a relative, had spent some months in a child protective agency's shelter, had been returned to the home which had failed to provide for her in the first place, had been later placed by another children's agency with a woman who brought her to Buffalo. This woman was a cat fancier. One day a customer saw Mary locked in a cat's cage. On inquiry as to the reason, the woman said she was "no damn good," and that the customer could have her. Fortunately the customer took her, and soon Mary was in my office. She was covered with scars, where she had been burned by the cigarette stubs of this woman—a favorite form of discipline. Mary, to me, typifies the neglected child of our country. She has never had the loving care and attention which we like to think is the birthright of every child. And as she sat in my office, sizing me up and talking, she asked, "Mister, do you know Anna so and so?" mentioning a child who had recently been under our care. "Yes," I said. "Well, Mister, Anna says it's swell here! Is it swell here?" And she soberly and quite eagerly looked me in the eye. "Yes," I said, "it's swell here—would you like to stay with us?" And after a moment's further scrutiny a beautiful smile came over her scarred face, and holding her hand out to me, she said, "Yes."

My friends, in spite of the kicks and the cuffs, the disappointments and the brutalities she had met, this child had an abiding faith that somewhere a fair chance was waiting for her. She is getting it, but thousands of neglected children all over this country, with their scarred and blighted lives, are looking to the child welfare agencies, asking, "Mister, is it swell here?" May we not go home from this Conference determined to translate our conference programs into realities for these children, so that we may honestly reach out our hands and say, "Yes, Mary, it's swell here."

BOYOLOGY

*Brother Barnabas, F.S.C., Executive Secretary, International
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Nowadays we are hearing cries going forth about how terrible the present generation of our boys has become. Have we thought that we alone are to blame for whatever has happened to the present-day boy? We hear indictments on all sides against the home, the school, and the church because many of our boys are causing us adults some trouble. The fault does not lie nearly so much in the failure of home, school, and church as it does in the lack of opportunities for clean, wholesome, free-time guidance.

For generations our policy has been to consult only ourselves—the adult portion of the world—when considering ways and means of dealing with our boys. We have tried to deal with the little boy in the same merciless, inhuman, and ineffective manner in which we dealt with the hardened adult criminal if the boy caused us any trouble. Our policy was not to correct, but rather to avenge ourselves. Little, if any, effort was spent on prevention. Our jails and other penal institutions are monuments to the crass stupidity of our methods of handling the character-training of our boys. It really seems that we feel that since we have built the prisons we must hire officers and multiply laws so that we may fill them with the poor unfortunate boys whom we have failed to give opportunities to become wholesome citizens.

Today, thanks to the enlightened attitude of our socially minded students of human nature, we have come to the conclusion that the only method to decrease delinquency in our boys is to begin at the source, by preventing it. We know now that boys are won to good citizenship, not by coercive and repressive means, whereby we try to treat them as men, but by loving attention and wholesome outlets for their boundless energies, wherein they may develop the God-given powers with which every normal boy is abundantly blessed.

Within the last generation there has come to the minds of many of our outstanding citizens the conception that if boys are given guidance of an adequate nature during their free time, which really consumes the majority of their waking hours, and when they have the greatest opportunity to develop character, because it is in their free time that they are allowed to make their own decisions, the problem of delinquency will have been solved. As an answer to the call for guidance of our boys there have arisen several great boy work agencies, among the most noted of which are the Boy Scouts of America, in which movement 800,000 men and boys are working together in the cause of citizenship; the Boys' Club Federation, which deals most effectively with the underprivileged boys of our great cities; the Young Men's Christian Association; the Playground and Recreation Association of America; the Woodcraft League; the Big Brothers' Federation; and many smaller organizations. Until recently, however, boys'

work has largely been in the hands of poorly trained men. The usual qualification for a boys' worker has been some athletic ability and the fact that he was out of a job. In other words, we took the asinine attitude of intrusting the most sacred of all tasks, the character-building of our boys, to any Tom, Dick, and Harry whom we might secure at the least possible expenditure of our material resources. What was equally foolhardy was the building of all sorts of clubhouses, attached to churches, lodges, schools, and other organizations and institutions, equipping them with everything that could be found in the sporting goods catalogue and then turning the running of such buildings over to absolutely inexperienced directors. Result was chaos. Boys gathered at the buildings for awhile, made a roughhouse, probably destroyed most of the window lights and fixtures, and generally appeared to be a first-class nuisance. As a result the pastors or directors threw up their hands in horror, drove the boys out into the streets, and deserted boys' work as a hopeless task. Their method was absolutely wrong. What should always be done, when considering boys' work, is to secure well-trained, first-class men with characters, who will organize the boys in any kind of a building available. As the work grows beyond the limits of the four walls in which it was begun, it is easy enough to secure public support for more adequate quarters.

In many of our cities we have had crime commissions making so-called "studies" of delinquency. Most of them, however, have failed in diagnosing the causes of wrongdoing and in finding the cure therefor. They have recommended building more jails, reformatories, and penitentiaries, increasing our police forces, making more laws, increasing punishment, speeding up justice, and other measures too numerous to mention. If they would take the trouble to make an investigation of what has been done by boys' work agencies they would discover in an indisputable manner the exact cure for the crime situation. In at least eight of our cities experts in boys' work have made surveys to determine the darkest section as regards juvenile delinquency. In each of these cities competent, well-trained boys' workers have been secured to provide proper free-time guidance in the very worst sections through the medium of boys' clubs. After one year's functioning, juvenile delinquency in each of these sections where a boys' club had been established has been cut at least 50 per cent. I therefore challenge any city, or crime commission thereof, that really is in earnest about improving the delinquency situation, to let me furnish a boys' worker in their worst districts. At the end of a five-year period I absolutely guarantee a decrease of 75 per cent in juvenile delinquents. To do this it is not necessary to build any new buildings. There is not a city in which plenty of existing structures may not be secured. The one necessary requirement is to have skilled leadership. All else follows as a result.

In answer to the demand for leadership in boys' work the Knights of Columbus have established scholarships in a two-year postgraduate course in boy guidance at Notre Dame University. Students who attend this course are intro-

duced to all the most effective methods of boys' work, both through theoretical study and intensive practical field work. To show the dignity in which we hold the new profession of boy guidance, our students are graduated with the degree of Master of Arts. Thus boy guidance takes its place as second to no profession, be it engineering, medicine, law, or the ministry.

The Knights of Columbus are also conducting, with the cooperation of five great boy-work agencies, thirty-hour intensive courses in boyology, the purpose of which is to inform business men in regard to boys' rights and the means of satisfying these rights. Wherever the gospel of boys' rights has been preached our business and professional men have responded wholeheartedly. Many of them have been so inspired and informed that they have become better fathers and pals to their own boys, as well as better volunteer workers with other boys with whom they came in contact. The policy of the Knights of Columbus is to allow no work, be it volunteer or otherwise, with our boys, unless the worker has had at least a thirty-hour course, or its equivalent, in boy leadership training. No council of Knights of Columbus is allowed to start a circle of Columbian Squires, a junior order, unless they have at least two men who have taken a thirty-hour course in boyology or its equivalent.

In addition to the professional course at Notre Dame and the thirty-hour intensive courses, we conduct ten-day camping courses in boy leadership in several sections of the country.

In conclusion, our motto must always be, "Give the boy a chance." When we consider helping the boy, let us consult him, and not try to decide everything for him. If we are doing any kind of work with the boy, make sure that he pays some of its costs, if it be only five cents a month, to prevent him from being pauperized. Let us forget the "don'ts" and furnish the boy with countless wholesome outlets, and say to him, with cheerful voice, "Come let's." The battle cry for all of us social workers must be: "Millions for prevention, but not a cent for coercion."

II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

THE NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF DELINQUENCY

PUNISHMENT VERSUS TREATMENT

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In the three volumes comprising the *Compiled Laws* of my state (Michigan) there is a very large portion under the heading of "Crimes and the Punishment Thereof," and every other state also has a similar set of statutes. Each section under that heading in the Michigan *Compiled Laws* specifies the way in which a particular crime shall be punished; in fact, the words "shall be punished by" are used in every instance. The provision is in some instances a fine; in others, imprisonment; and in still others, both a fine and imprisonment. The maximum of the fine or of the imprisonment is always carefully specified.

The title "Crimes and the Punishment Thereof" implies that there must be punishment for a crime, and also that punishment is the only method for controlling crime. Each act and section of act providing for particular crimes carries that assumption further by being very exact in the statement as to how the crime shall be punished.

In another portion of the *Compiled Laws* there is provision for the substitution of probation for punishment in all crimes except murder and treason, if "the public good does not require that the defendant shall suffer the penalty imposed by law." This act treats of probation as an excuse from punishment. Still another portion of the *Compiled Laws* provides for the care and treatment of insane individuals indicted for crime. This group of cases is excused from punishment so long as the so-called "insanity" in any degree exists. When the "insanity" ceases to exist the crime must then be punished. Even in these statutes which exempt certain criminals from punishment there is manifest great reluctance in granting the exemption, with the greatest care shown so that no one shall escape who does not fit very precisely in the exempt group. This of course is only natural when the objective of the law is the punishment of crime.

Punishment consists of the infliction of pain, loss, or suffering upon somebody, and since this is the objective of the criminal law under which hundreds of thousands of persons are handled annually, we may ask, without too much

heterodoxy, "To what end?" "Why?" The statutes providing for the punishments do not tell us why, and when we inquire amongst legislators, friends, or acquaintances we are usually told: "To prevent the individual punished or some other individual from committing that same crime." However, when we visit the police stations, the criminal courts, the jails, and the prisons, those agencies through which the punishment takes place, we are rather quickly forced to doubt that the methods in use do prevent the individual punished or anyone else from a repetition of the crime. In every prison a startling proportion of the inmates are repeaters. In some prisons as many as 85 per cent—in most prisons well over half of the population—are individuals who have been punished by that method before. Among the so-called "petty criminal" or misdemeanor group seen in police courts, altogether too many of them are constant frequenters of the court for us to feel confidence in our present methods of punishment as effective agents in the prevention of petty crime.

A study of the literature describing the punishments meted out to offenders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries leads us to wonder why, if punishment is an effective deterrent, there should have been any crime at all in that period. So thorough and complete were the punitive methods, including a great variety of bodily tortures and death, always carried out in public places where the populace might see the suffering transgressor and thus gather the fullest of deterrance, that it is little less than amazing that there should be any crime for the writers of that day to discuss. Bowers, in his *Jefferson and Hamilton*, mentions the highwaymen in the streets of New York during Washington's administration and says:

Were we in the mood to walk to the end of the pavement on Broadway, we could regale ourselves, in the grove where the City Hall now stands, with a view of the gallows enshrined in a Chinese pagoda where the executioners competed successfully at times with the debaters in attracting the curious. There, too, stood the whipping post. In the midst of so much that was grim, little wonder that the statesmen resented the frequent ringing of funeral bells.

The newspapers of that day had much to say about crime, and citizens wrote to them offering suggestions of solutions for the crime problem. There was, even at that time, I have no doubt, much clamor for rigid enforcement of the law and many pleas for more drastic penalties. I strongly suspect that there was talk of a "crime wave," and reference was undoubtedly made very frequently to "the good old days." It appears to have been ever thus! As contrasts, in the application of punishment, are noted the severe tortures carried out in the public parks at one extreme, and at the other, a modern prison, which I chanced to visit not so long ago. It contained misdemeanants, many of whom had committed crimes for which they would have been hanged in the time of Washington. This prison was of beautiful architecture and construction; each cell had an outside window, running water, and toilet; the shower baths had sides of marble and, on the day of my visit, there were as many shower baths as there were prisoners. I dare say none of the inmates had come from a home which

afforded the comforts of this prison. Certainly this is a different kind of punishment for petty thieves and the like than was accorded them a century ago! I wish to emphasize, however, that each of these methods, the public whipping post and public gallows of Washington's day, and the almost palatial prison I visited, are punitive applications on the part of the community to the criminals who serve as its scapegoats. Attention is called also to the fact that neither method appears to have exercised any more deterrent effect than the other, because neither affects the causes. All gradations in the evolution from hardness to softness, from severity to leniency, have been tried in the field of penology, and I dare say every kind of corruption of the practice of the punitive philosophy has been tried, only to lead to the observation of the futility of it all.

The growing consciousness on the part of the public of the futility of our punitive methods in the reduction of crime has contributed in no small degree to the lethargy manifested by the public toward law enforcement. Certainly it is not possible for a community to be enthusiastically law abiding unless that community has confidence in the soundness of its laws and law enforcing agencies. Not a few of the evils in the practice of the criminal law are directly the result of the criminal law's announced purpose of punishing crime rather than treating it. The farcical picture of much of our so-called "expertism" relating to "responsibility" and "insanity" results directly from the contest which grows out of the law's purpose to punish. Every criminal trial is a contest between "shall we punish" and "shall we not." Hence, we may expect the introduction of any and all devices which may throw the pendulum more to one side or the other. We are left in total ignorance, throughout the average criminal trial, of the factors which have produced the crime, and we are left to wonder, after it is over, what has been done to prevent further crime. The tremendous sums of money expended by the state and by the defense in the present-day criminal trial is therefore the result of the punitive concept upon which the law is based. The legal fictions concerning "responsibility," "insanity," "right and wrong test," "irresistible impulse," "*mens rea*," etc. are unscientific attempts to conform to science and still retain the punitive concept. These fictions only serve to make the trial more expensive. The bargaining and trading which so frequently takes place between defendants and prosecutors—exchanges of pleas of guilty to a lesser charge on the promise from the prosecutor not to press the proper charge—could not take place if the machinery of the law did not have as its purpose the punishment of crime.

And it invariably follows that the more severe the penalty imposed by the law, the more zealous is the use of all these and many other devices to escape the penalty. An attorney who defends as many murderers in my city as any other attorney there has told me that if capital punishment is returned in Michigan he will get \$2,500 to \$3,000 for a murder trial, instead of \$500, which is his average fee now, because he will then have to use all these various devices much more frequently.

Since confinement under our present law is for the expressed purpose of punishment, and not for quarantine and treatment, some statutes in our *Compiled Laws* which were intended to be most useful in suppressing the recidivists are rendered useless. One of these provides that if a person has been sentenced to any prison in the United States for one year or more for any previous offense, he may have seven years added to the imprisonment prescribed by the law for the offense of which he stands convicted. The other provides that a person who has served two sentences of not less than a year each in any state prison shall be sentenced for life or for a term of not less than seven years in addition to the punishment prescribed for the offense of which he stands convicted. In five years' association with the largest and busiest criminal court of the state I have not known of a single instance in which an individual was sentenced under either of these statutes. There have been in that time scores of the recidivists to whom these statutes were intended to apply, but because punishment is the expressed purpose of the confinement insurmountable barriers appear to prevent their enforcement. Similar statutes for recidivist petty offenders—the prostitute, the drunkard, and the petty thief—are likewise rendered useless for the same reason.

In all fields of human endeavor there has been growing up within the last fifty years an intense interest in the causes of phenomena. Exploration into new fields and tremendous expansion of the older ones have been the natural results of the pursuit of what is called the scientific method. The analysis of a problem into its component parts, with an unwillingness to accept traditional, unproved premises, has resulted in the accomplishment of much that was thought impossible a generation ago. Some day the traditional and unproved premise that punishment is necessary for the prevention and cure of crime will be abandoned even by lawmakers. When that time arrives the heading in our *Compiled Laws* may well be "Crime and the Treatment Thereof."

Treatment is defined by Webster as "management; handling." When we investigate the crime problem and apply the same scientific method to our investigation of the problem as is employed in locating chain stores, or in the placement of advertising copy, or in the building of a bridge, we find things that are very disconcerting to the punitive theory. And we find the openings of avenues of real opportunity for the reduction of crime. But first, of course, must be a real desire on the part of the officials charged with the task to investigate. Their attitudes of mind must admit of causes and effects. As illustrating the two opposed attitudes of mind, I will mention the case of a professional man of Detroit who believed very earnestly in the most rigid infliction of severe penalties for all crimes. He most heartily disapproved of any probation or parole system. And very frequently he referred to all offenders as a "bad lot," deserving of no interest, study, investigation, or effort other than the necessary effort to hang or otherwise punish them. He often advocated to me hanging of all holdup men. Our efforts at the study of cases and of causes were ridiculed and called sentimental. Obviously, such prejudice as this would unfit him for any

part in the scientific treatment of the problem. However, it came to pass that the eighteen-year-old son of his neighbor was arrested with a party of holdup men. He then rushed to me to say, "This boy should not be sent to prison; he isn't bad, he is a victim of a bad gang; if he is sent to prison he will come out a real crook. His mother has been a widow for many years and has had to work hard, and this boy has not had the parental guidance to which he was entitled." Needless to say, my friend was at once reminded that since he saw, in the case of the only holdup man he knew, causes of the situation which might bear investigation and perhaps other than punitive methods of treatment, it might be also well for him to look, by the same method, into the cases he did not happen to have as next-door neighbors. This gentleman has acquired now a very satisfactory investigatory attitude of mind, which is not without the need of guidance, but is not hampered by his old prejudice. He has even begun to expend time and money directed at preventing the younger son of his widowed neighbor from entering a career of delinquency. One of the chief values, if not the greatest value, to a state program of treating crime, instead of punishing it, lies in the prevention which treatment affords; not only the prevention of a repetition of an offense, but prevention of the first offense, just as the treatment attitude on the part of my friend led him most directly into a real preventive effort.

Every real investigation into the problem of crime becomes rapidly a very far-reaching enterprise, and uncovers such a multiplicity of causes, both social and individual, that it becomes very quickly apparent that no system of punishment can ever operate with success against this great multiplicity of causes. In fact, no uniform system of treating all crime is going to be any more successful than a uniform system of treating all fevers would be. The treatment must, obviously, be directed at the causes and not at the effects. Any system of criminal jurisprudence which is not based upon understanding of the problem and its causes is doomed to failure. Empirical methods are as ineffectual in criminology as they are in medicine. In the medical sciences the individual patient is treated by whatever method is indicated for his case. The treatment may or may not be painful to him, and it is frequently necessary to quarantine him in one or another kind of hospital while he is undergoing treatment. If he has an incurable contagious disease he is quarantined indefinitely. Each problem in science is approached by the investigator with an open mind. He presumes nothing; he investigates and finds out all he can; he then makes his diagnosis and proceeds upon the treatment. The treatment depends upon the diagnosis, which, in turn, depends upon what the investigation has revealed. Exactly that same method is applicable to any crime situation. It is that method which prevails very largely in our juvenile courts. In Michigan the statute pertaining thereto reads: "Each judge of probate shall have jurisdiction . . . of all cases of juvenile delinquents and dependents." The precourt investigation and the court hearing in the case of juvenile delinquency lead very logically to a diagnosis, which, in turn, indicates the treatment. The competent juvenile court judge reaches his

diagnosis and order for treatment by common-sense, deductive lines of reasoning, and the whole procedure is delightfully simple and free from presumptions, antiquated fictions, and useless technical devices. We wonder why a boy of seventeen who breaks into a store and tells us all about the crime must be presumed innocent, then tried by a long, cumbersome, expensive method to find him guilty of the crime—perhaps, if the evidence does not conform to certain rules, resulting in his acquittal—while his sixteen-year-old companion in the crime is handled at much less expense by the simpler, more intelligent juvenile court procedure. The juvenile court machinery is designed for administering treatment, while the criminal court machinery is designed for administering punishment, but each deals with delinquency and crime. Crime today is more than ever before a problem of youth; the major crimes are committed, for the most part by individuals under thirty years of age. If a scientific method is applicable for the offender sixteen years, eleven months old, why not for the offender of seventeen years, or for the offender of thirty-five, or in fact, for the offender of any age?

The sharp improvement which takes place in the attitude and behavior of the offender when he is handled as an object for treatment instead of an object for punishment is always definite and is sometimes very marked, even in spite of the fact that therapeutic programs are of indefinite duration, while punitive programs have definite limitations set upon them. This change in attitude has been noted repeatedly and is illustrated by the case of a twenty-four-year-old Negress who was serving a five-year sentence for pandering. Her early history indicated a highly antisocial career, with one previous conviction and sentence for carrying concealed weapons. She was known as "bad," in capital letters. In the prison, built on conventional lines of steel and concrete, she maintained her innocence of the charge, was guarded and suspicious in attitude, and within two months of her admission to prison proceeded to terrorize the prison officials and inmates by her violent behavior. She assaulted and destroyed at every opportunity. The matron of the prison told me that the life of no one within this woman's reach was safe. No methods of prison discipline had the slightest effect on her behavior. The prison officials concluded she must be insane. Several psychiatrists examined her, but none could find evidence of mental disorder or defect. She became a more and more serious problem in the prison until the superintendent requested the state hospital for the criminal insane to take this woman for observation, and, incidentally, to keep her long enough (from three to six weeks) for the prison to build a special cell for her. I do not know just how the superintendent of the prison expected the hospital, built as it is of plaster, wood, and brick, to hold this woman whom his concrete and steel cells could not hold. However, she was transferred to the hospital, where she remained several weeks. She was handled by the hospital authorities, not with terror in their minds in anticipation of her violent tantrums, but with understanding of behavior disorders being individual problems for treatment. There

was not a single outburst on her part during her stay in the hospital, and she showed a surprising degree of cooperation as she witnessed each inmate in her ward being handled with the same understanding of the individual problem. The change in her attitude took place very suddenly, from the moment of her transfer to the hospital. Certainly no disease phenomena can account for such a change. It is the result of what may be called a therapeutic attitude toward her on the part of those about her, whereas she had always been met before with the punitive, repressive attitude, and she had always returned in like kind the attitude with which she was met. If that attitude of understanding and treatment is applicable to such extreme cases, why is it not applicable to all crime?

Is there a greater opportunity for service to mankind available to these social workers, gathered in national conference, than the opportunity to help free the public mind from the existing emotional attitude in reference to crime and delinquency, which is so obstructive to intelligent progress in crime prevention?

SOCIAL WORK AND THE LAW: FORMS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN LAW AND SOCIAL WORK

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I believe it is safe to say that most social workers, especially in the field of delinquency, regard the law as an obstacle in their path rather than an instrument for their use. Let us see whether there is any real antagonism between the aims of the social worker and of the law, and, if so, what there is to do about it.

Fundamentally the law has a single aim: to secure and maintain the peace of the community. While this is easily recognized as the objective of the criminal side of the law, where every indictment still concludes with the allegation that the criminal act charged was "contrary to the peace and dignity of the commonwealth," it is scarcely less true of the civil branch. The English poor law, which dates back to the forty-third year of Elizabeth, is only incidentally a statute of mercy. It was enacted primarily to suppress the "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars" with whom the kingdom "was exceedingly pestered." Charity is still essentially a private concern. The common law has no protective function except in the quaint provision that one who threatened another with personal violence might be bound over to keep the peace. But this is no exception to the general principle. The object of the law is not my protection, but the keeping of the peace. The first real exception was developed, not in the jurisdiction of the ordinary law courts, but in the growing power of the court of chancery, which proceeded according to conscience, not on principles of law, but of "equity." Here was developed the idea that the state as *parens patriae*

might assume the guardianship of infants whose property rights were being mismanaged or who were in danger of becoming morally depraved. It was on this principle that the poet Shelley's children were taken from him and committed to a guardian of more orthodox religious and social views.

With the recent growth of democratic sentiment the older function of the state has been enlarged to cover a wider range of social interests. The public weal was no longer restricted to the maintenance of order, but came to include such matters of general concern as public education, public health, prevention of cruelty to children, restrictions on child labor, the checking of juvenile delinquency, the provision of mothers' pensions, the institutional care and treatment of the sick, the feeble-minded, and the insane, and the sweeping prohibition, throughout a great nation, of the traffic in intoxicating liquors and of habit-forming drugs.

Now, note that many of these newer functions of the state have involved a radical change in the methods of state action. Primarily the state is force, and fundamentally its method is physical coercion. But in the new concept of the state coercion is not enough. There must be not only police and sheriffs and jailers. There must be also teachers and doctors and caretakers. Coercion still may be employed, but it is now secondary—only an adjunct to the constructive activities that have become the primary aim. The state has gone into social work, but with a prestige and a power that no private social agency can hope to command. It is not too much to hope that, with the elimination of politics and the increased recognition of the expert, the social work of the state will, in the course of time, become at least as efficient as that of the best private agencies. Whether in a longer time it will come to supersede entirely the functions now exercised by the latter is a question that we may well leave to the future. It is certainly not beyond the bounds of possibility.

So much has been offered as a necessary background on which to project the moving picture of the relation of social work to the ordinary processes of the law. As has been said before, the state is embodied force, and it operates primarily through compulsory process. Its principal defect is that, with the exceptions noted above, it continues to employ this traditional method in nearly all situations and in nearly all cases. But the method of compulsion in certain situations and in many cases is ill adapted to the social end in view. The question thus arises: To what extent has, and to what further extent may, the procedure of the law be supplemented or superseded by the more discriminating methods of social work?

In entering upon this field we can do no better than to follow the trail that has been blazed for us by Reginald Heber Smith in his *Justice and the Poor*, and by Kate Holladay Claghorn in *The Immigrants' Day in Court*. These admirable studies in the operation of the machinery of justice demonstrate beyond question that, as between the well-to-do and the poor, the latter are at a disadvantage which in many cases amounts to a practical denial of justice. The delays in-

volved in judicial administration, the court fees, and the necessity of retaining expensive counsel, which are the ordinary incidents of legal proceedings, are in numberless cases an effective barrier to the adventure of securing justice. The splendid pledge of Magna Carta, "*We will neither sell nor will we deny nor will we delay right or justice*," is still, after seven hundred years, "a vision of fulfilled desire." The task of painting this picture of the virtual denial of right and justice to the poor and of the cooperation of the lawyer and the social worker in overcoming the handicap and making good the proud boast of our judicial system that "the rich and the poor are equal before the law" will be adequately performed by Mr. Bradway, my colleague on this occasion.

Let me turn, then, to that phase of the question which is covered by the phrase, "the administration of criminal justice." Here the problem is not the relatively simple one of removing obstacles to the equal application of the law, but the more difficult one of altering the concepts on which the law proceeds. These concepts may be said to be three in number. The first is that the delinquent is a wilful and shameless violator of the law; the second, that his violation, in and of itself, demands punishment; the third, that such punishment of the wrongdoer is the most effective means of protecting society against similar acts of violation.

I venture to assert that the social worker takes issue with each and every one of these fundamental concepts of what we are pleased to term criminal justice. He or she regards the delinquent as an individual member of the human family who, whether through mental or physical defect or through the conditions of his upbringing, has made a failure in his adjustment to the complex conditions of social life. He has earned, not punishment, but understanding. Indeed, society, in many instances, may require his temporary or permanent segregation, but it is served best by a course of treatment which, in many other cases, may restore him to the heritage of useful living which previously had been denied him.

Holding such views as these, so widely at variance with those that prevail in the administration of the law, what can the social worker do to make them prevail?

I am putting this question as it might have presented itself in the first year of the century that now is, when the fact is that it is already by way of being answered. In the quarter-century that has since passed, the social worker, as probation officer, as psychiatrist, as social investigator, has gained a secure footing in the courts that deal with the delinquent.

The juvenile court is, of course, his great achievement, and this has been followed by morals or women's courts and by domestic relations or family courts, in all of which, sometimes only to a slight, but upon the whole to an increasing extent, the methods of mental and social investigation are being employed and the disposition of the case made to depend on the results of such examination.

If, in the ordinary courts of criminal jurisdiction, these methods still for the most part are regarded as dangerous innovations, we have the notable example of the recorder's court of Detroit and of other courts in many American cities where individual judges, men of light and leading, have adopted similar methods. Let me give you one or two illustrations out of my own experience. Some five years ago I was invited to sit in at a weekly conference which was held by a judge of criminal jurisdiction in an eastern city. Monday was "sentence day," on which the judge in question was accustomed to make final disposition of all the cases that had resulted in conviction of the offender during the preceding week. The conference took place in the judge's chambers and continued for an hour or more before the opening of the court. On the occasion when I was present there were about a dozen cases to be disposed of. The others in attendance were the chief probation officer, a woman of the highest intelligence and professional standing, two assistant probation officers, one a man, the other a woman, and an excellent psychiatrist. There were several other people in an ante-room who were called in when the cases in which they were interested were under consideration. One of these was the wife of a man whose case was up for disposition.

Written reports on the several cases had previously been submitted to the judge and had apparently been read carefully by him. The cases were taken up one by one and submitted to the group of advisers for their opinion. In every instance the question first asked was: "Is this a case that can be handled by our probation service?" If probation was not advised, the place and the term of imprisonment were discussed. From the beginning I was made to feel myself a member of the judicial group and was encouraged to express my opinion. In only one of the cases was there any difference of opinion, that of the man whose wife was waiting outside. So she was called in and the case decided with her help. The husband was a chronic alcoholic who, while under the influence of liquor, had committed an atrocious assault. The wife had come to beg for a suspended sentence, but was led to agree that the safety of the community demanded a prison sentence.

About two years ago I found myself sitting beside the chief justice of a criminal court in a great mid-western city, at a judicial luncheon. The judge, a rather old-fashioned jurist, told me of the recent development of his court, and asked me what I thought of the probation office and psychiatric clinic that were the principal features of the development. I answered honestly but cautiously that I should suppose that these new agencies would furnish the court with information of great value with respect to the individuals brought up for sentence. His reply was, "That's just the trouble. They give the court too much information. They tie the thing up so we don't know what to do." Then he told me of a report that had been handed up to him that morning. It concerned the case of a young bandit who had been convicted a week before of robbery with a gun. The psychiatrist's report, after a lot of technical language about the culprit,

stated that he was unfit for commitment either to the state prison or the reformatory. In either place he would be a seriously disturbing influence, and neither institution had proper facilities for taking care of him nor of giving the treatment that his condition called for. The chief probation officer joined with the psychiatrist in the further opinion that the case was an unfit one for probation. The man would be sure to make further trouble. "Now, what's the court to do when it gets a report like that?" said the judge.

We must sympathize with the puzzled jurist who, as a matter of hard fact, had no alternative but to release the malefactor or to send him to prison. But the more socially minded judge previously described was in precisely the same predicament. Neither of them had been provided with institutions of a type suitable for the segregation and treatment of offenders whose social maladjustment was rooted in alcoholism, mental defect, insanity, or some other psychosis.

You may say that this doesn't carry us very far toward our goal. But you must admit that we are on our way. Give us another quarter-century and I venture to say that there will be few courts of criminal jurisdiction, in our cities at least, that will not have adapted their procedure to the methods of study, understanding, and treatment of the delinquent. May I also venture the prediction that this treatment will not include the gallows nor the electric chair, nor any arbitrarily imposed sentences to a definite term of imprisonment?

Let me, at this stage, offer our tribute of admiration and gratitude to the psychiatrist for his immense contribution to this process of transformation in judicial procedure. Without him the task would, indeed, have been an impossible one. To the research of the ordinary social worker he has contributed his convincing interpretation of the subjective and external factors that determine the conduct of the individual and, in addition, has furnished new solutions of the problem of treatment. Under his influence and guidance the new types of institutions above indicated are being provided for the custody and care of those who are unfit for a free life in society, and he can be depended on to impart a therapeutic quality, which mere humanitarianism has been unable to contribute, to what we now call prison life.

Heretofore the principal contact of the social worker with the process of criminal justice has been as social investigator and probation officer. His study of the delinquent has had no aim but to determine whether the case was or was not a suitable one for probation. Aided now by the diagnosis and prognosis of the psychiatrist, we may look forward confidently not only to a more trustworthy determination of this question, but, in addition, to a greatly enlarged measure of success in the adjustment of the individual to the social environment. But the most valuable result of this continued effort certainly will be the gradual education of the judge as to the real nature of delinquency and the superior desirability of a therapeutic treatment of the delinquent. What this all comes to is that the attitude and method of the best of our juvenile courts will be extended to all our courts of criminal jurisdiction.

In the meantime the various agencies of criminal justice, the police, the public prosecutor, and the court, accurately reflecting the sentiments of the community at large, are concerned far more about crime than about the fate of the criminal. Let us leave no doubt in their minds of our sympathy with this attitude. Their abhorrence of crime and their determination to put it down are ours also. If at times we have criticized their methods, this has been due to no sentimental feeling for the criminal, but to our doubts as to the efficiency or the necessity of the methods commonly employed in dealing with him. Frankly, we do not believe that civilization can be advanced by a slump into barbarism. But we do believe and insist that, so far as may be possible, every criminal act shall be followed by the prompt apprehension of the guilty party, and that he shall be brought without unnecessary delay to the bar of justice and there dealt with in such a way that he shall be no longer a menace to the peace and order of the community.

This being the case, why may not the social worker come into active cooperation with the civic organizations and the legal agencies that have these ends in view, such as the National Crime Commission, the local associations for criminal justice, the American Law Institute, bringing his own peculiar contribution to the solution of the problem. The aims of these organizations are altogether praiseworthy: to increase the efficiency of the police, to cleanse the office of the public prosecutor of political corruption, to raise the standard of the judicial office, to modernize and simplify our archaic legal procedure, and to give consistency and uniformity to the criminal law. If the methods which they propose are, from our point of view, defective, it is for us to suggest such improvements as our long and intimate study of social conditions has convinced us are necessary or desirable.

This, in itself, will be no mean achievement, but it is not enough. It is well to improve, or, as we are in the habit of saying, to "socialize," the court; but it is better in many cases to sidetrack the judicial process entirely. Studies of our prison population have established the fact that a very large percentage of those who have run the gauntlet of the criminal courts, possibly as high as 30 to 40 per cent, are mentally unfit to face the ordeal of a trial or to meet the ordinary responsibilities of life. The commonwealth of Massachusetts has pointed the way to the elimination of this class from the grist of the judicial mill by a routine examination, before trial, of certain classes of persons indicted for felonious crime. Those found to be mentally diseased thereupon are committed to state hospitals for the insane without the expense and barbarity of a trial. A determined effort on the part of our psychiatrists and other social workers would doubtless soon result in the enactment of similar laws of even wider scope in all of our states.

Thus far we have found the law sufficiently flexible to accommodate its methods, however tardily and imperfectly, to the newer conceptions of conduct disclosed by the researches of the psychiatrist and the social worker. This, in-

deed, is the secret of its growth: its capacity to adjust itself to the new situations of a changing social order. But the process has been, and continues to be, a slow one. Sir Edward V. Dicey, the distinguished English writer on jurisprudence, declares that the law lags from one to two generations behind public opinion. The developments to which I have referred amount, in fact, to little more than a moderate enlargement of the discretion of the court in disposing of the culprit after conviction. None of the changes so far effected have involved anything like a fundamental reconstruction in the concepts, the aims, or the methods of the law. It is still, essentially, what it has always been: a fixed body of principles elaborated and applied by a process of logical reasoning peculiar to itself; "not," as Lord Coke expressed it, "by the ordinary reason, however excellent, but by the artificial reason and judgment of the law." So powerful has this tradition proved to be that in most, if not all, of our juvenile courts the judge still feels himself bound to decide the question of the guilt or innocence of the child who comes before him charged with juvenile delinquency.

It seems almost sacrilegious to ask, Must this always be so? May not the law itself become socialized? It is, after all, a man-made thing, and by man it can be remade. Let me assure you that there are signs, increasing, hopeful signs, of a coming transformation in the spirit and methods of our legal system. The inflexibility of the law, its frequent detachment from reality, its lofty indifference to the human nature on which it operates—like Tennyson's Nature:

So careful of the type it seems,
So careless of the single life

—these characteristics of our legal system have long been the subject of criticism by the public. Now, for the first time in modern history, they have become a matter of serious concern to the legal profession. The leaders of the revolt (if revolt is not too strong a term) include such eminent jurists and legal thinkers as Justice Holmes, Justice Brandeis, and Justice Stone of the Supreme Court of the United States, Judge Cardozo of the New York Court of Appeals, and Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School. The *Yale Law Journal* has recently published a penetrating attack on methods of legal thinking, by John Dewey. The Harvard Law School is about to enter on a comprehensive study of the relations of the law to the social conditions with which it is supposed to deal. The Columbia Law School is actually undertaking a complete reconstruction of its methods of legal education based on the study, by its faculty and students, of the economic and social relationships of the community regarded as a going concern and of the human nature whose interplay determines the character of those relationships. In such a study the validity of the legal assumptions previously mentioned, as to the responsibility of the criminal and the social adequacy of the system of legal punishments, will be tested by their results.

The importance of this new development in legal education cannot be missed by anyone who reflects that the law student of today will be the judge of twenty

years hence. The late distinguished professor of Legal History in Cambridge, England, Frederick W. Maitland, once wrote, "Law schools make tough law"—a true saying. But the time seems to be at hand when the law schools will make a more flexible law, a law which will be continually renewed by the new knowledge of each succeeding generation. Here, then, is a unique opportunity for the social worker. He, and he only, knows or can easily ascertain, the facts which the research of these legal students of the social problem is aimed to disclose. He, better than anyone else, can contribute to the sound interpretation of these facts. He finds himself at once a partner with the best minds in the legal profession in the splendid enterprise of socializing the law.

But to play this part effectively, as well as to make his contribution to the more immediate reforms projected by the crime commissions and various agencies of the bar, the social worker must know something of the law and of legal procedure. How else can he organize his material so as to make it of use either as material for teaching in the law schools or for securing desired legislation? For this reason it seems to me indispensable that every school for the training of the social worker shall provide adequate courses in these subjects.

As the social worker believes in treatment rather than punishment, so, like the wise physician, he will prefer the certainties of prevention to the hazards of treatment. Except in the field of social legislation the law has been slow in turning itself to preventive measures. But in the institution of the policewoman it has opened a new range of useful cooperation on the part of the social worker. Here there is a great opportunity for genuine preventive work in delinquency which we cannot neglect. Of all the agencies of crime repression, the police are the first to meet the onset of actual delinquency. They need go only a step farther to anticipate and prevent the overt act. After the social worker as policewoman we may well find the social worker as policeman, protecting and conserving the human values that are now going to waste before his eyes.

I trust that I shall not appear to be going beyond the scope of my commission if I suggest that far the most effective form of cooperation of the social worker with the state is in the support of all legal efforts whose aim is the prevention of misery, vice, and crime. As has been pointed out above, these efforts are an increasing factor in the function of government in our time. Every statute which aims to make the world safer for those who must find their way through its mazes should command our allegiance, and of all of these that appeal for our support, the most important, because the most far-reaching, is the prohibition law. I confess that I have been surprised at the indifference of many social workers to the widespread violation of this law and to the resulting contempt for all law. There are, indeed, many of our number, as there are many more in the larger community, who do not believe in the principle of the legal suppression of the liquor traffic, or who are skeptical as to its beneficial effects. But these are, I believe, a small minority. Most of us believe that the law in question, however inadequately enforced, has already produced substantial results

in the improvement of living conditions and in the reduction of vice and delinquency. But, whether this be true or not, no one doubts that the strict enforcement, or better still, the general observance, of the law would be of incalculable value in these respects. I am not impressed by doubts as to whether such a result is possible. The social worker who doubts is damned. It is not by our fears, but by our faith, that we move mountains. Let us go forward, trusting to the invisible forces that make for a better world.

SOCIAL WORK AND THE LAW: LEGAL AID

John S. Bradway, Secretary, National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, Philadelphia

Three years ago your program contained two papers on legal aid and social work. You were told that legal aid was an orphan being introduced to one of its foster parents, social work, so that it might receive suitable parental care.

In 1923 we said that legal aid work was important to social work because it was preventive. It kept people from needing social care. If everybody received his legal rights there would be fewer people requiring actual relief such as your relief agencies give. If everybody received wages when due, had adequate knowledge about laws relating to domestic problems, could obtain redress as far as the law allows in every case, fewer people would require food, shelter, and clothing from your already overtaxed resources.

The greeting three years ago between the foster parent and the orphan was not overwhelming in the intensity of its affection. The foster parent sat and gazed suspiciously at the newcomer. The orphan retained its own ideas about the foster parent. Since then, in spite of obvious still-existing differences in point of view, there has been a growth of understanding. We are closer together than we were three years ago. This is an accounting to you of the way in which we are endeavoring to find a basis for mutual respect. If it contains few figures, we must realize we are considering a growth that cannot be measured by rule. You cannot determine the worth of a child by its weight or height alone, nor by the color of its hair or eyes. Many of you have insisted that I take into consideration the mental, moral, and spiritual element in legal aid clients. I am now asking you to consider something of the same sort with the work in hand. In formal legal fashion I indite my statement of account as counsel representing those who are engaged in the work.

In the Court of Public Opinion: *First triennial account in the matter of the development of relations between legal aid work and social work.*

The accountants charge themselves with the following: one group of social workers; one group of lawyers; one body of differences of opinion, among which appeared the idea that lawyers were perhaps morons, or at least a definitely

backward group, and social workers, in the opinion of the conservative element at the bar, had tendencies akin to bolshevism; one set of about sixty legal aid organizations, of which perhaps one-third had a real relationship with social agencies, and which had in that year handled 149,342 cases, collected for their clients \$497,750, and expended for operation expenses, \$331,326.

This we had to start with, plus one other—high hopes. When we talked to you in Washington we believed that legal aid work would sell itself to you if we gave it a chance. During the ensuing years there have been profound developments. The tangible evidences of our contacts have increased. The harsh point of view on both sides has been softened. There are now several joint meeting places for us. In 1926 your color, in the eyes of our most legalistic members, has faded to pink, and, in some exceptional cases, has vanished. I hope and believe that some of you think of us now as having advanced to high-grade morons.

Turning now to the specific developments, we find that the growth has been of two sorts, a physical growth and a growth in the theory of relationship.

Taking up the specific development of a physical character, we find that there are meeting places where we can exchange experiences on a national, state, and local basis. Nationally we have made progress with the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, with the National Social Work Council, and with the National Probation Association. The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work appointed a committee on legal work in 1925. This committee has held two meetings with the Committee on Relation with Social Work of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations. At the meetings in 1925 we considered such matters as the following: first, the use of the confidential exchange by legal aid societies; second, the development of committees on legal aid work of state conferences of social welfare, to cooperate with similar committees of the state bar associations; third, Should legal aid societies have social workers on their advisory boards? fourth, What should a legal aid organization do with a case involving social as well as legal problems?

At the meeting in 1926 we considered the following additional matters: first, report on courses on legal aid law being given in schools of social work; second, Should salaries of legal aid workers be included in the salary classifications of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work? third, What is the responsibility of the legal aid in handling cases in so-called "socialized" courts, such as juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations? fourth, Have legal aid organizations any right to ask family organizations to assist in the preparation of cases when the family organizations are not already familiar with the cases?

The National Association of Legal Aid Organizations in 1925 became a member of the National Social Work Council. Our delegates have been in attendance at most of these meetings. Our Committee on Domestic Relations Courts has been in touch with the National Probation Association and has urged a model law for the establishment of such courts.

But while progress has been made nationally in this way, it has been surpassed by the development that has taken place between legal aid work and the bar. The American Bar Association has a standing committee on legal aid work which is actually engaged in studying mutual problems from the point of view of lawyers. Equally pronounced has been the state-wide development.

The Pennsylvania Conference of Social Welfare has a committee on legal aid work, appointed in 1925 and continued in 1926. The committee held a round table discussion in 1926, in which each member of the committee discussed one of the fundamental problems of legal aid work, such as the relation between legal aid work and social work, the value of a legal aid organization, financing legal aid work, the legal aid society as general counsel for all social agencies.

The family social work societies of the state of Illinois have a group which amounts to a committee. This group in 1923 promulgated the famous Illinois plan for establishing legal aid work in smaller communities. A copy of this plan is as follows:

1. The family social work societies to furnish the Illinois State Bar Association with a list of the cities in Illinois having family social work societies and name of local secretary or manager of each.
2. The Illinois State Bar Association to get in touch with local bar association in the cities where there are organizations of family social work societies with secretaries or managers and to invite such local bar associations to cooperate in furnishing of legal aid.
3. The local bar associations to furnish to the secretaries or managers of the family social work societies a list of their own members who will contribute their services without charge on properly signed orders from the family social work societies.
4. The local bar associations to appoint a committee of one or more members of the bar to act jointly with the local family social work society's secretary or manager in determining the general policies to be followed in local legal aid work.
5. The Illinois State Bar Association to furnish proper order blanks to be used by the family social work societies.
6. The member of the bar to make a notation on the report blank of the advice given or action taken, and upon completion of the service, to mail it to the local family social work society's secretary or manager from whom the case came.
7. The secretaries of the various family social work societies will issue such orders only on such members of the bar whose names have been furnished by the local bar association, and such orders to be issued in rotation as such names appear upon the furnished lists.
8. The joint committee before mentioned to determine what case or class of cases may be assigned, with the understanding that a small fee will be charged.
9. The secretaries of the family social work societies will make a report to the state association of intercity secretaries of family social work societies, who will transmit a summary to the Illinois State Bar Association not later than May 1 of each year, beginning in 1922.

In Michigan in 1923 the state conference listened to an address on legal aid work. In Ohio in 1925 the Legal Aid Committee of the Ohio State Bar Association communicated with the family welfare societies of the state to determine the extent of legal aid need as a preliminary to establishing organizations. The Tennessee and Connecticut state conferences on social welfare in 1926 had a speaker on legal aid work.

Yet while state-wide development has been made, it is small when compared

with the progress in the relationship between state bar associations and legal aid work. The state bar associations in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and California have now legal aid committees encouraging the development of the work. Without malice, yet with considerable pride as a lawyer, I point to this progress. It indicates that the legal profession as a profession is advancing in this field faster than the social agencies have done. I feel sure we will more than keep abreast of you in this study.

In the local field social agencies and legal aid organizations cooperate more than in the past. There are at least three ways in which the cooperation has developed in local societies: encouragement of legal aid work by social agencies; a more extended recognition of social problems by legal aid societies; a greater understanding of the value of legal aid by social agencies.

The encouragement of legal aid work is best illustrated by the Illinois plan recited above. The best illustration of the growth of the understanding of the social problems in cases arising in a legal aid society is indicated by the study now being made in the New York Legal Aid Society to determine how many of its cases involve social problems. This study is being made in cooperation with the Russell Sage Foundation. The need for social agencies to cooperate in handling cases is best illustrated by a legal aid case I handled some years ago.

A woman with seven children had her husband arrested because he was living with another woman. After he was in jail he was unable to earn, and the family funds were not increased. The wife came to me and asked me to help get her husband out. I talked to the man in his cell. He was penitent and said he had learned his lesson and would live a proper life thereafter. He convinced me that he would do better. I took him to the judge, who was also convinced, and the man was liberated. He went immediately to the pawnshop, secured a revolver, went to the home of the woman with whom he had been living, shot and killed her, and then turned the revolver on himself. You can see the social implications in the case. How much better if there had been a method of contact with a social agency to take over building up the broken home. It has been a matter of concern with me not to repeat a mistake of that sort.

To emphasize this situation, it is well to consider a case on the other side. A social worker recently told me of the following experience: A woman came to him telling him her husband had been badly injured in an automobile accident. The woman wanted to know what to do. The social worker, not realizing the legal elements in the case, went to the phone and called up the insurance company which represented the owner of the automobile. He asked the insurance company to be liberal in its settlement. The insurance company agreed to be liberal, and sent a man around who signed up the injured man upon payment of \$300. It developed that the man was incapacitated for life, and that \$10,000 would have been nearer the amount due him, and probably collectible for him, if suit at law had been instituted.

To provide against a repetition of such cases the Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work and the Graduate School of Social Administration of the University of Chicago have this year offered courses in legal aid law. These courses have been well attended. They are not designed to turn out lawyers, but to show the social workers how important are these contacts with the law.

The other phase of development has been along the lines of theory. We have set out to discover the limits of the legal social field and to see to it that no case arising therein calling for help shall fail to receive adequate attention. In a way we are setting limits to the field of social work. The importance of the matter is set out in the preface to the record of the proceedings at the Philadelphia conference in these words:

The relationship between social service work and legal aid work and the relative significance of the different concepts which underlie these two branches of public welfare work present what is perhaps the most important, and what is certainly the most interesting, question that now confronts us.

It is reasonably clear that sooner or later the legal aid societies will be forced to find the correct answer to these questions. The issues are perhaps the most dangerous they have ever faced. A decision, if proved by time to be wrong, may destroy public confidence in their work, or, on the other hand, deter the poor from freely consulting them. It is obviously of vital importance that every effort be made to discover the true answers to this difficulty.

We began with the theory that legal aid work was obtaining legal justice and that social work was obtaining social justice, and that there was no contact between them. Then facts forced us out of that position and we came to the conclusion that certain types of cases handled by legal aid organizations were purely legal problems, involving no social element whatever. These we listed as cases presumably not needing more than legal justice: estate of deceased persons, employment agencies, insurance, landlord and tenant, lawyer's misconduct, personal property, seaman's cases, torts in general, personal injuries, workmen's compensation, contract, debt, and money claims. Another group we said were of a social nature, and these we listed as cases presumably needing more than legal justice: bastardy, children's cases, criminal cases, insanity. A third group which we said was doubtful and might or might not contain social problems consisted of cases of bankruptcy, domestic relations, loan sharks, advice, miscellaneous.

Facts again drove us from that position and we came to the conclusion that not the case but the client should be the basis of our study. It became clear that any person coming to our office might have a legal problem. In addition, he might have a social problem, which, in turn, might be related or unrelated to the legal problem. We had admitted all along our duty to handle the legal problem. We now began to realize that particularly where the social problem was related to the legal problem we should try to take steps to set the whole matter right. Our own part we can usually handle, but the social problem we believe should be placed on the doorstep of the proper social agency.

Having convinced ourselves of this we went further to discover how many

of our clients presented actual social problems as well as legal problems. We found by a careful study of a large number of cases that an average of 50 per cent of the cases which came to us were cases of people also known to social agencies; that the other 50 per cent apparently were not so known. So we came to the conclusion that half of our work, at least, was with the same group of people in the community who form the raw material of social work. The other 50 per cent may come from a group on the next step higher up, economically speaking.

Our next inquiry was as to whether we were securing from social agencies all the cases involving legal matters which come to them. A preliminary study on this point causes us to believe that the social worker in many cases did not recognize a legal problem when she saw it. In return, some courageous mortal suggested that legal aid workers did not recognize social problems when they saw them. It was to work out a solution at least to a part of this problem that we determined, in conjunction with the schools of social work, to give courses in legal aid law. We believe that we can instruct the student social workers in certain elements of the law so that they will recognize a legal problem when they see one and will turn it over to a legal aid society to be handled. A correlative proposition is already an established practice in the law schools of Harvard, Northwestern, and Minnesota universities, where legal clinics are regularly held.

But at last we have passed into a further stage. We know that the future holds much in the greater exploration of this whole legal-social field. We are turning our eyes toward a final comprehensive attack upon the problem.

On the one hand are ranged the legal profession with its background of legalistic thinking, the law with its precedents and established methods of development, the courts with their procedure for handling cases. On the other hand is the group of social workers with a very different point of view, trying perhaps to readjust the socially inadequate, perhaps to readjust social organization and procedure in the interest of human welfare according to scientific standards. In between come the legal aid groups, in a field partially but not entirely covered by either the bar or social worker. Our contacts with the bar are well established and are growing year by year. Our contacts with social agencies are necessary to a complete mastery of this field. The nature of those contacts in the past and present we have discussed. There remains to say a word about the lines along which our contacts should proceed in the future. We have three major problems: first, to determine what is our mutual goal in relation both to law and to social work; second, to remove any stumbling-blocks of misunderstanding as to our work; third, to take up and consider in detail the specific tasks which confront us both.

We believe that the mutual goal for us both is to "examine the limits of the legal-social field and to see to it that safeguards are provided, so that no case arising anywhere within the jurisdiction of either group fails to receive an ade-

quate remedy. We believe that the stumbling-blocks of misunderstanding, professional bias, and certain innate provincialisms on both sides must be removed. We believe that the specific tasks that confront us may be listed under the following headings: first, the problem of establishing legal aid machinery wherever it is needed; second, the problem of coordinating it with existing legal and social institutions, so that it may function completely yet without overlapping; third, the problem of a constantly growing personnel to handle the work, which must be drawn from lawyers, social workers, and other groups in the community, and trained adequately.

All this means a fascinating study of the philosophy of the law, of social work, and of legal aid work in relation to each other. The prospect of working in such a field is fascinating indeed. If one will but start without prejudices and work honestly and earnestly toward a full understanding of the facts and the deductions to be drawn therefrom there is nothing in it impossible of achievement. But we must pave the way. We may make this study only with adequate machinery for the purpose. If we have not the vision to establish such machinery we can go but a little way along the road.

In conclusion, let me urge upon you the value of providing a means of study of this problem. May I suggest a round table discussion each year at the meeting of the National Conference. Then those of us who are engaged in making studies may bring these studies, with our hopes and fears, an to open forum. Before a critical, intelligent group we may discuss and weigh the merits of each of our propositions. We may rub off the corners and polish up our points of view. May I urge that this meeting refer to the proper officers of the National Conference its conviction that a study of legal-social relations be made, and that it may be made through such a round table meeting. The ultimate consequences we may only guess at. But it is inspiring to think that we can thus jointly inaugurate an investigation into a field which is so closely related to the work that both of us do.

THE DELINQUENT ADOLESCENT: WHAT THE INSTITUTION CAN DO FOR HIM

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I think it has been conclusively demonstrated many times over that the most difficult and perplexing problem concerning human society is the proper training, education, and assimilation of the adolescent. Through centuries of practice society has learned a great deal about the process, and so far as that great middle group known as "average" is concerned, society has quite a body of pretty accurate information and is fairly well-defined technique for accomplishing with average success satisfactory training. The majority of people do

manage to acquire a fairly adequate preparation for life. They succeed in making self-adjustments, taking up their chosen spheres of activity, usually becoming helpful to others to a greater or less degree, assuming their proportioned amount of community and civic responsibility, and, in turn, rearing their own children in a fairly acceptable manner. The problem is not with this successful two-thirds, but with the unadjusted, and in too many cases unadjustable, one-third which is scattered at either side of the big group. It is out of this latter group that our institution population is, in the main, drawn, and it is to the manner in which the institutions attempt to meet the problem of adjustment that this paper means to direct attention. Let us first consider how society has progressed in its understanding of the problem.

Institutional care for people is a relatively modern idea. The juvenile institutions are the outgrowths of the prisons; the prison system in this country is only a little over a century old. Our first juvenile institutions were created primarily to prevent the youth under twenty-one going to prison. The juvenile institutions were closely modeled after the prisons, both in type of construction and in methods of discipline and control; they developed many of the same errors and created for themselves the same problems which had grown up in the prison field, namely, that of housing in the same institution youth of all ages, so that the very young boys were subjected to just as much contamination as were the older adolescents in the prison population. A repressive, unintelligent plan of discipline and labor killed initiative and fostered slyness, deceit, and laziness. The application of the prison types of punishments to the adolescent offender developed defiance, sullenness, and a contempt for authority. We did not understand in those days the significance that emotional and mental instability play in the behavior problems presented by individuals. We had not grasped the fact that the mind may reach its full development some years before the body ceases to grow. The adolescent of eighteen or twenty looked like a man, and we demanded a corresponding degree of conduct, and placed upon him the full responsibility of measuring up to our imposed ideal. Rules and regulations were exacting and rigid, and still are, demanding a higher standard of conduct and a type of response rarely attained by the best of people at large. We still seek to force, rather than to persuade, the delinquent adolescent to adopt these desirable standards.

However, we do progress. Now we have the conception that the older and younger adolescents should be separated, that the methods of discipline should be ameliorated and made more constructive; that trades should be taught, not merely followed; that training, as well as discipline and punishment, is desirable. But practically all of our improvement has been on the physical side, the plant. Yes, we have improved instruction, both in kind and quantity; we have improved personnel; but we do not seem to have quite grasped the idea that the thing we need to understand is the individual himself, and generally speaking, little advancement has been made in this direction.

As a rule we have not made a study of the problems to be met before planning and constructing our institution. The legislature and a board or commission decide that a reformatory for adolescent offenders is needed; that it shall be large enough to care for a certain population; that it shall be built after a certain plan, representing a school of thought or opinion; whether it shall consist of cells, with workshops and agricultural facilities; whether it shall be on the cottage plan; whether there shall be dormitories or single rooms; or whether it shall be a combination of these plans. It is decided that there shall be a certain type of service for the physical care of the population, that is, a central kitchen and dining-room, or a central kitchen with several dining-rooms, and in a very general way these major problems of caring for the population are decided and the institution built and equipped accordingly. This kind of procedure has kept us from emerging into a better and broader field of endeavor, because the management of the institution and the traditions which it shall establish are almost certain to be fixed beyond alteration by the conceptions represented in the construction of the plant.

The proper way to approach the building and equipment of an institution is just the reverse of the process usually followed. In place of first appointing a committee to visit existing institutions for ideas, there should be appointed a very carefully selected committee to study the type of individuals it is intended to care for, and the whole process of reception, classification, training, control, and release should be broadly and scientifically conceived and planned before any move is made to build and equip a plant. It will be contended by many that the former process may result in just as good after-care as the latter; it may be pointed out that, having all of equipment, its use and the general program of training will go forward. This is an error. The creation of a big public building is always regarded as a monument by the people concerned with the construction. Great personal pride is developed on the part of those immediately concerned. The psychological influence of this factor is not to be discounted. A deep interest and pride in plant and equipment which has been built up by the activities of the group of promoters over a period, possibly, of several years is not easily dispelled. It almost universally follows that the people selected to carry out the building and equipment plans carry over into the administration. They become members of the board; possibly, quite unconsciously, their major interest and pride is in the institution as a plant rather than in the refinement that may be later worked out in the program of care.

But since we have a lot of old and badly constructed institutions which we must continue to use we must plan so to utilize them as to result in the best possible advantages to our wards. I shall be regarded as cynical when I say that very few superintendents or wardens know how to use the plant and equipment at their disposal to the best advantage of their wards. We find a young man with gifted intelligence washing dishes and scrubbing floors, and a low-grade moron trying to learn the printing trade or assigned to the machine shop. Neither can

properly adjust himself. The result is poor work, bad discipline, and lost opportunity for both the institution and the wards.

But what may an institution, even an old, badly planned, and poorly equipped institution, do for the unadjusted adolescent? Two things are required and are equally fundamental: First, there must be secured a careful and scientific job analysis of every assignment to work and training which the plant offers. This means that the psychologist must be a very important factor in making the analysis, for it is important that the minimum mental ability required to succeed at any given assignment be determined. Second, the most careful consideration must be given to the reception, study, and assignment of wards.

We may assume that our job is to start with the individual as we find him, and in the course of our studies we will secure and utilize all possible information which may have been gleaned by other agencies prior to the boy's coming to us. When the offender is received at the institution he should be delivered to an individual whose function it is to conduct an interview with as great a degree of comfortable informality as possible. The offender is not to be subjected to a third-degree examination for the purpose of securing his record, nor at this moment should there be any attempt made to take his record; moreover, the individual detailed to conduct the interview should be one whose whole duty in the institution frees him from the taint of disciplinary control. He is, in other words, to establish himself in the very first hour as a friendly adviser and counselor for the offender; his sole desire—he representing the viewpoint of the management—is to find out from the offender what his greatest difficulties probably are and what his best desires may lead to. There should be no misconception about this interview. It is not a question of five minutes or ten minutes; it is a question of establishing a relationship, and in doing this, time should not be a pressing factor. This interview must be free from every tinge of sentimentality. It should be an intensely practical interview, because the young offender comes into the situation with his mind quite firmly fixed on the subject of friends and enemies; he is not likely to regard this official as a friend; he is going to be very reserved and guarded, and will receive with a good deal of suspicion, possibly, any overtures which appear to him to be a veiled attempt to pry into his past or to bid for his confidence.

Following this interview the record clerk should be sent for, and the questions which it is necessary for the boy to answer personally to the record clerk should be given at this time, in the presence of the friendly adviser. I know that many of my colleagues will say this is sentimentality. I am so thoroughly familiar with the machinery of the prison and the reformatory that I know just what the record clerk looks like, and what the record clerk's office looks like, and the dead level of indifference that exists between the offender and the record clerk, separated by an iron wicket, and the offender standing beside a guard while the clerk, his eyes intent on the blank form before him, records the dis-

agreeable facts required. This is strictly a police method of making a record. We must have this information, but we are not any longer interested in police methods with this boy; he has been through this before he came to us. Our major interest now must be to understand the boy. My reasons for wishing the record to be secured in the presence of the friendly counselor is that the boy shall not feel the arm of the law still stretching out in plans for recapture, identification, and that sort of thing, as is the case if the work is done in the record office. We want the friendly attitude established by the initial interview to carry over a little farther into the administrative field and thus help to establish in the mind of the boy, and in no mean degree in the mind of the record clerk, the importance of the human elements. The record clerk himself, in most institutions, needs a great deal of humanizing. He rarely regards his work as in any way connected with the offender. He has no vital interest except in statistics. The plan suggested will tend to put some humanity into the statistics; and when the record clerk, at any time after the initial entry is made, has occasion to go through the boy's record, he will have in his mind's eye a picture of the boy, the friendly counselor, and himself on the day the record was made. It may be argued that this is unimportant, because after all the record clerk merely keeps a record, does not enter into the training of the boy, does not direct any of his activities, nor come in contact with him: true, but he comes in contact with a great many officers, and if we can change by even a little the point of view of every officer in the place, the institution gradually grows out of its old prison shell toward its new conception of a true reformatory agency.

The next crucial step is quarantine. Just the term itself is unpleasant, and the conditions under which it is usually carried out are desolate and more or less forbidding. I know superintendents and wardens who are quite firm in their conviction that quarantine is a period during which the new arrival should be made to realize the rigors of discipline. The quarters for carrying out quarantine, as a rule, are isolated, as they should be. The furnishings are very meager, with practically no provisions for recreation, regular work, reading, or anything else except the application of the routine of the institution. By this practice the institution loses a golden opportunity. The group in quarantine is usually small. They have not yet been mingled with the general population; they have a great deal of prejudice and a great deal of misinformation. I would use the quarantine period in adjusting the individual to his new environment, in giving careful instruction in the rules and regulations, pointing out the necessities and advantages. Nothing can be made to pay the management greater dividends than the time of a wise adviser, probably the same one who conducted the first interview, with the quarantine group an hour or two morning and afternoon. I would have virtually a school of civics with the quarantine group, and in place of trying to impress the group with the rigidity of the discipline and the dire results which are sure to befall them for their failures or infractions, I would make a great effort to show them how they may live with the greatest degree of freedom and

the greatest assumption of individuality by understanding and obeying the rules. I would try to make them understand that the rules and regulations are not primarily for the purposes of punishment, but rather for the purposes of protection against punishment. I would try to make them understand the direct relation existing between the necessity for rules and regulations inside and for laws and ordinances outside; in fine, I would conduct a school in social ethics and civics.

But during all this period the boy should be having other experiences. There are all the routine examinations that the institution ought to give. The physician gives a thorough, painstaking examination—not the usual line examination which is concluded for each individual within the space of a few moments, where practically all of the blank spaces of the medical card are filled in with the word “negative,” or “normal”; the physician must know that at the conclusion of his examination he is to make a recommendation to be used later in forming a program for the boy; that his professional knowledge and standing are at stake, and that he can’t afford to be indifferent. The principal of the school will interview the offender; not only does he give the achievement tests, by which pretty accurate knowledge of his educational history is secured, but he visits at considerable length with the boy about his whole educational past; he learns a great deal about the home, the outside associations, the type of community, the spare-time activities and interests, and possibly a great deal about some special interests in the boy’s life. The report of the school teacher is most important. The psychiatric and psychological examinations are of great value. Here, too, care must be taken to get at the individual. A psychological test, perfectly conducted from the scientific standpoint, may be practically useless if there is nothing put into the test except science. But if the examiner really knows something about the adolescent and can conduct the test in a manner to elicit interest and cooperation which results in the subject putting forth his best efforts, and will take time to give a sufficient number of different kinds of tests, the psychological work becomes most important. The real picture of the boy is found in the personality traits, reactions to various suggestions, the impression gained by the examiner from the boy’s stories of his experiences; all these throw bright side lights on his character, temperament, and personality, and any amount of time necessary to secure this kind of information should be expended in the effort, because the only sensible object that we can possibly have in conducting any of these studies is to enable us better to understand the individual; the more time we take in trying to understand him in the beginning, the less time we shall lose by solitary confinement, loss of privileges, and other disciplinary measures later. Then comes the matter of the social history, all we can possibly gather concerning heredity and environment, record on probation, if any, the court record, and many other things. All of these examinations and inquiries will be going forward simultaneously, and at the end of three or four weeks we shall be in possession of a body of information accompanied by well

thought out recommendations from a group of people all seriously concerned with offering the best possible program to the boy.

This brings us down to the subject of classification. I could spend a great deal of time talking to you about classification, but I am not going to. I am going to let the term define itself in your minds. What I have already given is the main part of classification; it is the preparation. Classification is simply an administrative device to carry into action the recommendations made by the people conducting the studies. This group of people collectively we call the classification committee. At a certain time of the week the group meets. Everybody is provided with complete summaries of all examinations made upon the boy. Everybody's recommendations about the boy accompany the summary. Recommendations often conflict, but here is the opportunity for the group, face to face, to reconsider, talk it out, and decide upon the best possible program for the offender. This step is no more important than the next one, which requires that the boy himself shall appear before the committee. This must be very informal. It is not to be regarded, either by the committee or by the boy, as an inquiry; rather is the boy made to feel, through the informality and the kindly interest, that this group of people, all of whom he has met before, are sincerely interested in doing the very greatest service for him; so the plan is talked over with him so far as it is considered wise and prudent; and again, so far as it is considered wise and practicable, the boy's wishes concerning school and trade training are carried out. The particular officer whom it is thought by temperament, patience, good judgment, and tact is probably best suited to develop this particular individual is selected, and the boy is moved from quarantine into his regular assignment in the institution. One of the most important steps now in the whole process remains to be taken. It is to set a date for the reclassification of this boy. The job is only half done. Since all of the people concerned in the classification are human, probably everyone has some degree of error in fact or judgment in his reports and recommendations for the boy. After the boy has worked out on his assignment for a period of time, varying all the way from a week or two to a month or two, he is called before the committee, each examiner in the meantime having had a new interview with the boy, bringing his impressions and judgment down to date. And this process goes on just as long and as often as seems desirable or necessary in order to aid the boy in making the most complete adjustment possible.

But important as is the individual study and classification, it becomes a waste of time and effort unless the administration of the institution is carried out with sufficient skill to allow each boy's program to function effectively. The maladjustment by unwise or thoughtlessly made assignments is responsible for most of the discipline problems arising. The adolescent delinquent represents a highly specialized type of difficulty. Coupled with the question of his mental deviation we have a highly developed, antisocial, gang spirit, fed upon the adoration of the members of the gang; there is almost a complete absence of self-con-

trol when selfish desire or opportunity to show off present themselves; the attitude toward work is one of scorn; the attitude toward authority is one of contempt, insolence, and defiance; the attitude toward the finer and better things of life is one of indifference. As a type, the adolescent delinquent is turbulent, often petulant, daring, defiant, but possessed of a superabundance of energy which has found outlet through lawless and undesirable channels, and which meets any attempt at repression with a spirit of rebellion and stubbornness. Therefore the question of discipline and the combination of discipline and work become very difficult and very technical, and yet this grave responsibility is distributed among scores of officials and instructors, each one necessarily being given a great degree of freedom for the exercise of the powers vested in him.

An institution population must be under constant and almost perfect control. Concerning this point there can be no argument. The argument starts when we attempt to define what we mean by perfect control. To some minds perfect control is perfect military discipline; anything less is bad discipline. Everything must move with precision, and everything must move in exact routine. The slightest break in the precision of the routine results in an upset in the institution. Under this kind of management, the classification plan is of little use, because the system can make no allowance for maladjustment. If the boy for any reason fails to turn out the right kind or the required amount of work he is punished. His inability to do the work well or to control himself is not recognized by the officer. Usually every failure on the part of the offender is regarded as wilful and as having been committed with deliberate motive; in other words, neither the system nor the officer can make any allowance for the adjustment of the population; the system is a fixed quantity, and every individual must conform to it. This type of institution management and discipline ruins the chances of the majority.

Another type of management will say that the more nearly naturally the population acts the better, as long as such action is entirely free from any traces of rowdyism, and will instantly respond to signals. They do not want a rigid military line of march. They want a natural, orderly line of march. They do not want a silent dining-room. They want a natural, busy atmosphere, but must be able to secure silence on a given signal. They do not want silent workshops, nor do they want malingering, excessive talking, or foolishness. They adopt for their standards a well-run business outside. It takes a vastly higher type of management to maintain this kind of discipline, but the number of individual adjustments secured is far greater.

The various examining services of the institution maintained for the study and assignment of the wards must be used constantly for the study of the disciplinary problems. The institution always has a considerable number of individuals who display stubbornness, indifference, carelessness, and other traits which are extremely annoying to the officer and tend to demoralize and lead astray other weak characters who need only a little leadership to become most

troublesome factors in the population. Perhaps more unintentional injustice has been done in the name of discipline, through the lack of proper understanding of these types, than from any other cause. The officer charged with the control of the group is likely to regard these manifestations of disorder as deliberate and wilful. He instinctively feels that his reputation as an officer and the authority vested in him are at once challenged by these attitudes, and that it is incumbent upon him to assert his authority against these individuals for the purpose of example, deterrence, and the maintenance of self-respect. Here we have a combination of factors which constitute a situation calling for the finest discrimination and very careful, mature judgment. The situation is made more acute by every display of authority and of force. Even well-adjusted individuals in the group instinctively feel, without being able to analyze or define their reasons, that an injustice is being done in the name of discipline and through the power of vested authority. I wish in some way, by processes of training or of reasoning, we could bring officials to realize that these outbursts of temper, stubbornness, and insolence are never to be regarded as insults, but rather as important symptoms of the disorders we are trying to correct in the individual. Rather than being reasons for severe resentment and punishment, they represent most urgent reasons for more and better psychiatric study and further reclassification.

I wish to repeat that discipline is the most technical and highly scientific aspect of institution management, and it is a pity that under our system this highly technical piece of administration is distributed throughout so large a number of people, the majority of whom are in no wise, either by training, temperament, or personality, fitted to exercise it.

But even when adjustments are well established we cannot drop the case; we must always have in mind from the beginning of classification that the ward must return to society. He shall not be released on the mere passage of time; that isn't fair to the individual or to society. The classification committee has given the ward a program to be worked out, and if, in working it out, he has succeeded in gaining control of himself—if he has succeeded in standardizing his conduct and has acquired habits of industry and good workmanship to a degree that will make him a successful member of his family and of his community—he shall go home. Any other basis of release is faulty.

I realize that many of you may have many questions in mind. You are ready to ask how these plans apply to the wards with the gifted intelligence, and also to those with very dull minds? How can a low-grade moron standardize his conduct? How can a high-grade imbecile be taught satisfactory habits of industry? The answer is that every boy's program, if properly planned, has aimed at fitting the boy for some specific type of work for which he has, by nature or training, or both, an ability and an aptitude, a type of work fitted to his mentality and personality and that may be found and marketed by him in the kind of community he will naturally return to. If the boy cannot benefit by

any program of training to a degree to allow him to adjust socially and industrially he should not be released. In these cases the recommendation should be: "To a colony or institution for custodial care." Every activity of the institution can be made highly educational. The failure of institutions generally is that they have regarded the shop and farm work, and a small part of domestic work—the laundry, kitchen, bakery—as the only parts of the institution routine which offer vocational training. As a matter of fact, well directed, skilfully done janitor work is as high a type of vocational training for certain types of mind as is carpentry and machine work for other types. There is just as great a demand for good janitors as there is for good painters, and they are just as necessary to our comfort, and have just as important a place in our present scheme of living, as painters. But without job analyses and classification these homely tasks cannot be raised to the dignity of vocational training; they remain just the dirty punishment jobs of the general institutional upkeep.

Finally, the institution has a splendid opportunity to socialize this very anti-social group. It is as important to put experts on the program of recreation, entertainment, athletics, and general play as it is to have experts in the hospital and schoolroom. Club work of many varieties should be carried out. Home theatricals and dramatics, orchestras, glee clubs, debating clubs—the program should be rich in all these factors, thus training the wards how to use their spare time pleasantly. It were idle to give them extensive training in industry, with a view to helping them earn their living, and send them out paupers with reference to their idle hours. Sound character, a healthy outlook, and some religious convictions are not easily established through hard work and sharp discipline alone. Proper studies and skilful administration will allow the institution to help every adolescent to realize his fullest opportunity.

III. HEALTH

THE HOSPITAL AS A HEALTH CENTER

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The modern hospital is by no means the least interesting of the marvelous institutions of modern times. Originally merely a house of refuge for the destitute, and especially when sick, a hospital now not only offers to rich as well as to poor the best there is in medicine and surgery, but also serves as a great health center for the community at large. This is rather a surprise to the physicians of the past generation, but the modern hospital, like all other successful institutions, soon outgrew its original form and found itself confronted by unescapable and unexpected duties and responsibilities which might seem foreign to, or even irreconcilable with, the former idea of a hospital.

Not more than twenty-five years ago a hospital's doors stood open to anyone who needed medical care. The professional staffs considered themselves responsible for the patient only while he was their guest; whence he came and whither he went was, they felt, no concern of theirs. It was even their boast that patients returned for treatment for the same condition six, ten, and—as in the case of one poor woman with mitral stenosis—even twenty-six times. Then, in 1901, came the development of environmental medicine. That is, we began to teach the students to ascertain and evaluate as many as possible of the factors which aided in the production of each patient's condition, in order better to understand the problems which his case presented. Four years later came the splendid development of hospital social service, a movement which frankly recognized our responsibility that our professional service for the patient be not easily lost. After that hospital staffs ceased to boast that women with mitral stenosis returned even twenty-six times for treatment; they realized that such a record was in itself evidence of their failure to help that woman. Now, with the aid of a social service department, such cases probably would come to the ward but once or twice, since social workers would follow her to her home, would effect some reorganization of her life, would arrange treatment in an out-patient department, and, as a result, would aid her to live a much longer and more useful life. The man with aortic insufficiency is no longer forced by the circumstances of his life to return to the forge; and for the man with chronic lead poisoning now is found a less dangerous occupation. We remember so well that little foreign baby brought to the ward with gastro-intestinal troubles and sent home well; brought back again in a few weeks with the same trouble, and again relieved;

and brought back after a few weeks for the third time in a similar condition. It was then that the trustees of that hospital, business men and lawyers, none of them doctors, took a firm stand against such charity, stating that they did not feel morally justified in spending the trust funds under their care for expensive professional service which, even before it had been begun, we knew would quite certainly be wasted. If, said they, the food bought for the patients were wasted, if carelessness were proved in their salary roll, their critics would be unsparing. What, after all, was the essential difference between such waste and the waste of professional service? The result was that a nurse followed that baby to his home and taught the mother how to keep him well. Then it was that that hospital became a health center. The superintendent of a hospital for the insane in New York State found that his budget was too small with which to care for his ever increasing number of patients, and so, since he could not obtain a larger appropriation, he trained two nurses to follow to their homes the patients discharged well after an attack of manic depressive insanity in order to advise them, to organize their lives more carefully, and so to prevent a recurrence of their trouble. In this way, that is, by making that hospital a health center, he reduced the population of the hospital.

The next step in the evolution of the modern hospital is logically unescapable. That is, since a hospital thus well organized can serve the community as health center, since it is, in fact, the only institution which can serve the public helpfully in this capacity, then it is the hospital's duty to render this service whether its staff desires to or not. One of the first of these new activities was the examination of the other members of a patient's family in order to prevent the development of other similar cases. Another activity was the formation, in connection with the hospital, of classes of patients with very slight grades of one disease, as tuberculosis, "nervousness," etc., or with no definite troubles at all, in order that they might receive definite instruction in the methods of preventing a further development of their conditions and also of increasing the quality of their health in general. Then followed better out-patient departments, the organization of district nurses, of school nurses, dispensaries in community centers, campaigns of education, the development of summer camps, etc. Today the treatment of a patient in a hospital ward has far greater significance than the treatment of that patient, fine though that may be. In that ward the doctors, nurses, dietitians, and social workers of the future receive their training, and while the future career of each will be directed to the care of the sick, yet the greatest contribution of each will be the education of the community in matters of disease prevention and especially in methods of increasing physical efficiency; and all will be powerful forces in shaping public opinion in the interest of health. In short, the care of each patient is the least of the hospital's service, for treat one patient well, and you have treated one patient well, but show a doctor, a nurse, or a social worker how to treat that patient well, and you shall have helped all the future patients that student shall treat, and you shall have

strengthened his future influence in the cause of health in the community in which he later practices.

First, we feel that all nurses and medical social workers while engaged in any practical medical work should be more closely related to a responsible hospital staff organization. In reply to the question which doubtless now is on the lips of many: whether, granting such desired relationship is not possible, the nurse or social worker should stop her work, we would express the opinion that she should so proceed, but that the technical medical aspects of the work be greatly curtailed. There will be plenty of splendid social work to keep her more than busy. Unfortunately, one of the great temptations of each of us is to essay professional work a little beyond our depth. This is a dangerous sport. As we shall endeavor to show later, the great danger of American medicine today is the practical application of so much popular medicine by those who, whether doctors, nurses, or neither, are eager to do good, yet have not the training to attempt their problems without supervision.

Among the activities as health center which each modern hospital now accepts as unescapable moral obligations is the prenatal clinic, a most profitable health venture which prepares the mother to withstand her approaching ordeal with as much safety as possible, and gives the expected infant a better chance for a normal birth and for a healthy life; classes where mothers receive instruction and advice; child welfare clinics; classes for nervous patients, where the neurasthenic and psychasthenic may receive encouragement, and the incipient insane may be helped to recover without danger of commitment, etc. Thus it is that the modern hospital has indeed become a health center.

Thus far we all may agree. Concerning the details of the program we may not all agree. For illustration, we draw a sharp distinction between social workers assigned to medical cases, and medical social workers. The former group is composed of women more or less well trained in social work who are assigned duties in connection with medical cases, but who, in general, are more responsible to the head of the department of social service, and through her to the administration of the hospital, than to any physician. The medical social worker, on the other hand, is first of all well trained in social work, but one who belongs to a professional team and who is responsible to the professional head of the hospital staff. On this professional team she has her part to play just as have the bacteriologist, the Roentgenologist, the serologist, the physical therapist, and others. Like them, she has her professional rank and title. Her part in diagnosis and therapy is carefully mapped out for her, and her reports are not a unit, but a definite part of one case report. Such a medical social worker must, of course, depend on the department of social service for much of her assistance, but it is for her to dictate very definitely just what help she needs.

Second, we would urge that each patient, whatever his illness and whether real or incipient, should be actually registered in one of the major departments of a general hospital and, personally known, should be under the responsible

care of the head of that department or of his responsible representatives and never remain a patient of a nursing, social service, or therapeutic department. That is, that each nurse or social worker should be directly responsible to the professional head of the department for each patient directly or indirectly receiving any aid from that hospital, and that in each case the professional department involved should be the one which would assume full responsibility for the life or sanity of the patient were his condition to become serious. This, we hold, is a great weakness of the modern American hospital. Our love of organization in business has spread to hospitals and has developed a fallacious idea of hospital or departmental responsibility. There is no such responsibility. Some fully responsible person should direct. Such duties he cannot delegate honorably to others.

In order to illustrate the strategic importance of a large general hospital as the best health center the advantages and disadvantages of other medical agencies which now also serve as centers may be reviewed. One of these is the dispensary. By this we do not mean an out-patient department of a hospital, but an ambulatory clinic not organically connected with any hospital. While these, especially if connected with teaching institutions, may give splendid service in the care of patients not requiring hospitalization, since their responsibilities for the patients are so seldom brought to the testing point and they have such difficulty in following and controlling their patients, yet their staffs seldom develop the professional quality of hospitals or of hospital out-patient departments, and tend to superficial routine work. A good illustration of this danger would be a contrast between the work of one of the so-called "child guidance clinics" and the average dispensary nervous and mental clinic. Neither of these is a hospital department, but the child guidance clinic is a professional unit in itself. The dispensary clinic is usually conducted by a psychiatrist and one social worker who acts also as secretary and stenographer, usually sees four or five new cases in one afternoon, and is happy in its work. A properly organized child guidance clinic, on the other hand, consists of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, three social workers, a secretary and a stenographer—seven persons—all on full-time service, all working at least six hours a day and five days a week, and yet unable properly to care for more than six new cases each week. Yet the influence of such work spreads much farther than their consultation rooms and the homes of these six children.

Another group of health centers which have increased so rapidly during the past two decades are the local branches of those national organizations, with a membership drawn chiefly from the laity, which interest themselves in special health problems such as mental hygiene, the control of cancer, child welfare, the antituberculosis movement, etc. These are one of the most astonishing developments of modern medicine and promise miracles for the health of our future people. Their development, as rapid but as normal as possible, should receive our earliest cooperation. As matters stand today, however, one result of

their mushroom growth is considerable lack of coordination with other medical movements and especially with the most important of all, the modern general hospital. The greatest value of these organizations is their potential power to bring to an end the problems which they attack. Provide abundant relief for the tuberculous, for those with cancer, for the incipient mental, etc., and theoretically you will not at all have solved the problem of cancer, of tuberculosis, of insanity, etc. But collect, concentrate, and direct into one channel by means of a lay organization much of that interest in, and fear concerning, these diseases which exist in the minds of the laity, but now in scattered ineffectual form, and you will have organized a tremendous power for education, and therefore for future reform. Such organizations, however, should keep professionally sound, that is, keep close to the well-organized general hospitals, and not branch off on their own responsibility publishing the special propaganda of a separate medicine. These organizations tend to establish a dogma of belief and a routine for practice which, although correct at the hour of its adoption, soon is no longer safe. For illustration, the influence of hospitals and sanatoria for tuberculosis patients has led to an undue emphasis on the importance in the diagnosis of active tuberculosis of the examination of sputum and of the Roentgenological examination of the chest. These tests are important when skilfully used. Again, the present almost reverence for the Wassermann test in the diagnosis of syphilis is due in great degree to lay influence, yet is quite without justification. The Wassermann test is useful when wisely applied. A still better illustration is the emphasis placed by the laity on the so-called Binet-Simon psychometric tests for the detection of feeble-mindedness and, as a result, the fear of the so-called moron group as the chief disturbers of the social peace. These tests are very valuable in the hands of the man who can use them as tools wisely, but that is all. In the hands of amateurs they have done far more harm than good. The influence of lay organizations has spread a tremendous amount of faddism concerning infant feeding; it was laymen who proposed that man has a right to expect to live to be 150 years old, while as a matter of fact even with preventive medicine man seems to have difficulty in maintaining his present latter limit. All of this represents medicine (at basis perfectly good medicine), but when isolated from the current of medical thought it soon becomes a danger. Such ideas become more and more exaggerated, more and more bizarre, and in the end tend to discredit medicine.

Next we have those social organizations which are not primarily medical but which nevertheless provide medical relief—the charity organization societies for the improvement of the condition of the poor, various homes for unfortunates, etc. These have an apparently irresistible tendency to organize their own medical centers, centers which are, as a rule, poorly manned and cheaply supported. Laymen decide how much they should cost, which doctors should be employed, what these doctors should do and what they should not do. Such work becoming more and more of a cheap showy routine and yet one which

often is very pleasing to its sponsors. Medical men working under such difficulties can scarcely avoid finding in medical practice exactly that which each social movement would seem to call for. At least they can make no pretense at conducting impersonal, unbiased, accurate examinations and treatments. When we remember how difficult it is, even in well-arranged hospitals, to keep on steady keel, we must not expect too much of those less fortunate. Our own records of short-circuiting bowel operations, suspensions, subtotal thyroidectomies, vaccine treatments, etc., should keep us humble.

Then finally should be mentioned various religious organizations which usually have a peculiar urge to enter the medical field. The medical activities of organizations have been generally unsuccessful and have reflected considerable loss of reputation, not to themselves, but to medicine. We should, however, study this problem carefully, since the logical evolution of modern medicine leads us, if we wish to live up to the best there is in medicine, definitely to the point of controlling the religious life of our patients, whether we enjoy that prospect or not. As it is now the medicine adapted to religious causes is "made to order" to suit the philosophy behind the religious movement to which it is made subordinate, and while it may "look good," yet it seldom is accurate or even honest.

The best reason why the well-equipped teaching hospitals only should serve as health centers can best be stated by saying that medical knowledge is a stream which, like a river, flows steadily on. It is not the same stream in any two successive years, since new truth is ever flowing up and each new truth shifts the relations between all the other elements of knowledge. It is difficult enough for the staff man of a teaching general hospital to keep his head above water in this rapidly flowing current; how very easy, therefore, must it be for medical men connected with various semimedical organizations to furnish medical service which is not up to date, which is lacking in proper balance, and which is faddy and generally ineffectual. We do not, by this figure of speech, suggest that medical knowledge is continuously proving itself wrong. Not at all. Nevertheless each truth is incomplete and the evaluation of each will depend on all the rest of knowledge. Like two automobile models which, if but one year different, seem similar, but if ten apart, quite different, and yet each was the best to date, so truth is in evolution. Each year the problems are those of emphasis and of selection between choices apparently desirable.

Second, our hospitals are best able to furnish efficient, well-balanced service, that is, to organize for the individual man efficient team play between specialists as well as between social organizations.

Medicine is still in the analytic stage; it has as yet developed more of these general philosophies which social and religious service demand and which they will create if we refuse them one. There is as yet little justification for standardized procedures or for routine practices, and social service centers will quickly formulate these if allowed. In medicine we are still dealing less with disease en-

tities and more with individual cases, each a new research problem. No suit of clothes will fit two men equally well, and the better the tailor the more minute will the alterations be in order that the suit may be a perfect fit for one man. So it is in medicine: routine work is in itself a confession of inaccurate work. We must work out each problem as new, follow the evidence, and be willing to treat a headache by medicine, by glasses, by surgery, by physical therapy, by a new job, or by prayer if any one of these is what the accurate study of the case indicates. If therapy is so difficult, how much more difficult must be the application of medical science when applied to health?

If, therefore, medicine is to render to humanity its highest service, that is by furthering the good health of the community (and this is also its most difficult problem), its safest course is to apply to this cause its best forces, those of our general teaching hospitals. These best can serve as the controlling centers of all those medical activities which can convey to the public the best applications of scientific medicine.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AN IDEAL ARRANGEMENT FOR FEDERAL HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Lee K. Frankel, New York, and James A. Tobey, Washington

Public health, like any other social science, can attain its highest development only by means of unified leadership. Since public health is unquestionably a function of government, it seems logical that this leadership should be exercised by government and so utilized that the whole public health movement would be welded into a homogeneous whole, thereby promoting and enhancing the vitality of the nation.

Public health is today in a flourishing condition, but in spite of much talk and many efforts at coordination, nothing of epoch-making importance has as yet been accomplished. To be sure, there are many exceptionally able individual leaders in the field of public health, who are working in harmonious relations. In the voluntary field, the National Health Council, now over six years old, has had a beneficial effect in promoting teamwork and cooperation among its fourteen members, all agencies interested in various phases of the national health field. The Council has not, however, attempted to assume any real leadership, and its accomplishments have been in the way of creating better understanding and comradeship among its member agencies with prevention of duplication, perhaps, but no central direction of united efforts against universal disease enemies.

This matter of the national voluntary health agencies is mentioned in connection with the subject at hand because it is an integral part of the whole movement for the correlation of federal health activities. If there were today in existence a single powerful national public health association, with the combined

resources of the three largest existing independent national health societies, the influence which such a great organization could mobilize in support of a unified federal health service would do much to assure its success. Once such coordination was secured and a central leadership developed, there should be maintained the closest relationship between official and extra-governmental health agencies, the latter being the true supplements to the former, instead, as is now often the case, pointing the way and sometimes letting the government catch up as best it can.

In considering the actual methods requisite to achieve an ideal arrangement for the health activities of the national government, a basic proposition is that public health is a unit. It is, furthermore, generally a more important unit than any other single subject which may have health implications. Thus, the protection and promotion of the health of children, farmers, workers, mothers, city people, rural dwellers, immigrants, Indians, or any other class, group, or type of person is all part of the one big problem and cannot be separated entirely from it. Public health cannot be divided into age groups, or economic levels, or geographical or racial distinctions. It is the same problem in one of its ramifications, whether found in the home, school, factory, farm, or institution.

Starting with the proposition, then, that public health is a unit, it would logically seem to follow that all bureaus or activities of the national government which are carrying on health work should be brought together under central direction. As a matter of fact, more than one-third of the hundred or more major administrative units of the national government are concerned directly or indirectly with some phase of public health. There is no one bureau in the entire government which now deals solely with public health. Even that bureau which bears the name of Public Health Service devotes a large part of its energies to the administration of medical relief, which is curative and not preventive medicine or public health work in any sense of the word. Of all the bureaus and divisions concerned with public health there are, of course, only some eight which are concerned with the subject in a major way. With as many more the public health activity is important, but subordinate to the general scope of the bureau, as in the Bureau of Mines, where the promotion of the health and safety of miners is only one aspect of the entire mining problem with its many technical features.

Obviously, it would not be ideal to attempt to bring together thirty or forty bureaus or divisions merely because each had some sort of an interest in the public health. What can be done, however, is to assemble certain of the more important federal health agencies under the direction of a single executive, and from this central federal health agency detail experienced scientists to supervise or cooperate in the activities of other bureaus where it is essential that units other than public health services should take up health problems. This system is already provided for by law to a limited extent. For example, the chief surgeon of the United States Bureau of Mines of the Department of Commerce is

detailed from the commissioned corps of the Public Health Service of the Treasury Department.

This system of contract service whereby one government agency, which has the trained personnel and equipment, undertakes to operate in its own field on behalf of another bureau which is perhaps only interested casually in the specialty, as public health, also solves the problem or the objection which may arise, that there may be other units as important as health. Thus, the Indian is said to be a unit, and his entire social, economic, educational, and hygienic problems are so interrelated that they must all be administered by a single agency. The Indian Medical Service, comprising some two hundred physicians, has not been noted for its efficiency in the past. This service should be attached to a central federal health agency for purposes of selection, training, and scientific direction, and then detailed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for purposes of administrative direction. This procedure would be somewhat analogous to that already in effect by which the Public Health Service details officers to the commissioner of immigration in order to make the medical examinations of aliens. As a matter of fact, the Secretary of the Interior has recently requested the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service to assist in the reorganization of the Indian Medical Service.

When a central federal health agency is mentioned, the question at once arises as to whether the ideal would be a secretary of health in the cabinet. Fifteen years ago there was a determined agitation for a national bureau of health with such a secretary. While most of the great nations of the world, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, and others have established ministries of health, a department of health with a secretary in the president's cabinet is still only an ideal in the United States. Health yields in importance to no other branch of government, but its administration can be taken care of adequately without the necessity of having a place in the cabinet. Public health is a technical subject. Under the prevailing system of selecting cabinet officials it is at least questionable whether a sanitarian would be chosen for such a secretaryship, if there were one, and it is certain that there would be changes at fairly frequent intervals. All things considered, a new department is not necessary, and it might be further remarked as a very practical matter that Congress has shown much reluctance even to consider increasing the number of cabinet officers. Thus such a well-supported movement as that for a department of education has so far been unsuccessful.

While a secretary is not essential, an assistant secretary for public health would be desirable. It does not matter particularly in what department the federal central health agency is placed. At present, some kind of health work is done in all ten of the departments, as well as by a number of the independent establishments. The chief health bureau is the Public Health Service, which, for historical reasons only, is in the Treasury Department. Another important health agency, the Children's Bureau, is in the Department of Labor, while the

enforcement of the federal food and drugs act comes under the Bureau of Chemistry in the Department of Agriculture. Vital Statistics, the bookkeeping of public health, are collected and compiled in the Department of Commerce by the Bureau of the Census. School hygiene is in the Interior Department and nutritional research in the Department of Agriculture. The most significant problem is to assemble certain of the bureaus and activities; where they are to go is secondary.

To be specific, an ideal arrangement of federal health activities would consist of an assistant secretary for public health in any appropriate department and the nucleus for the central federal health arrangement would obviously be the Public Health Service. To it should be transferred the Division of Vital Statistics from the Department of Commerce; St. Elizabeth's Hospital, the government hospital for the insane, from the Department of the Interior; certain nutritional research now performed by the Bureau of Chemistry and the Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture; and the medical division of the Office of Indian Affairs in the manner already outlined. The Children's Bureau should likewise come under the jurisdiction of the assistant secretary for health.

Scientific personnel should be detailed from this central public health agency to the Division of School Hygiene of the Bureau of Education (Interior Department); Bureau of Labor Statistics (Labor Department); and to the Bureau of Animal Industry, Bureau of Dairying, and the Extension Service (all in the Department of Agriculture); in addition to the details already authorized by law, which include the Bureau of Mines, Consular Service of the State Department, Bureau of Immigration, Coast Guard, Bureau of Chemistry, and the Alaska Division of the Bureau of Education, these details being made by the Public Health Service.

The problem of personnel would be an important one in an ideal arrangement. At present the Public Health Service has a corps of between two and three hundred commissioned medical officers and a much larger group of non-commissioned scientists, including physicians, sanitary engineers, dentists, chemists, and other sanitarians. There is no commissioned personnel in any of the other bureaus which should be brought together to form the central federal health agency. The status of the entire personnel should be equalized. The commissioned corps of the Public Health Service is not the best model, as it is a distinctly military system, though the bureau is essentially a civil one. Instead, the recent system adopted for the Foreign Service of the State Department, setting up grades and making promotions and advances a matter of merit and service, and establishing a career basis for the foreign department, would be an excellent model. The medical corps of the Public Health Service was founded in 1870, while the corps of the Foreign Service was created in 1923, and the latter is said to have taken many of its features from the former. Be that as it may, it also managed to omit some of the undesirable ones. Putting the entire person-

nel of a central federal health agency on some such basis as this would provide the best system for efficient operation.

This arrangement as outlined is the ideal one. It is also probably practical, though it may have to be attained gradually. Thus, there is now pending before Congress a bill (HR. 10125), known as the Parker bill, which would authorize the president to transfer by executive order any executive agency engaged in public health work to the Public Health Service, and also order the assignment of scientific personnel from the Service to other bureaus which might be doing health work. This measure specifically exempts the Army, Navy, and Veterans' Bureau from such transfer. The Surgeon General would likewise be authorized to send officers to educational and other institutions for scientific purposes. The bill, furthermore, would provide for giving a commissioned status to sanitary engineers, dentists, and other scientists in the Public Health Service, so that they would be on a par with medical officers and enjoy all of the same privileges. The measure was drafted in consultation with the Surgeon General and has been agreed upon as sound by representatives of the leading health organizations, and considerable effort has been made to secure its favorable consideration. It is reported, however, that the Parker bill has failed to receive the approval of the Director of the Budget, though it is difficult to see any legitimate reason why he should not sanction the bill. If it had secured his approval, it might be a law today, as it was introduced on March 8, and is known to be favorably considered by Congress generally.

Sooner or later public health will attain to its proper position in government and will be accorded the same recognition which has been given to other branches of government which are no more important. The ideal which we have outlined is not very far away. Unlike some ideals, it is also, we believe, a practical scheme. When it has been achieved, the opportunities for improving our national vitality will be immeasurably enhanced.

FEDERAL SUBSIDIES TO THE STATES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HEALTH

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The United States at the present moment is once more approaching the crest of a wave of pronounced individualism. Our insistent demands for personal liberty, states' rights, and national isolation are significant symptoms of an American individualism which expresses itself in no uncertain manner. We are becoming daily more engrossed in our own creature comforts and stimulations. The well-being of our neighbors at home or abroad is of secondary consideration. This is exemplified by the present disregard for law and order; by

the self-sufficiency of the bootlegger and his well-to-do customer, and by a moral supineness on the part of the so-called "best people" as to possible outcomes.

Nationally our individualism is exhibited in attempts of a number of the states to thwart ratification of the Child Labor amendment, to restore alcohol to a respectable place in society, and to erect such barriers to our entrance into the World Court as to restrict its usefulness. The withdrawal of adequate support from our missionary endeavors and the increasing difficulty of raising the full quota for our community chests throughout the country also indicate the trend of the times. These phases of reaction, however, cannot be regarded as permanent. The modern world is so closely knit and interdependent that we are forced to take an interest in our neighbors if for no other reason than that of self-preservation.

Federal subsidies themselves are a confession of the weakness of state self-sufficiency. They have been in vogue since the beginning of our government and are today more firmly entrenched than ever before. Our history records that while the federal government from its inception has allowed considerable latitude to the states and guaranteed them certain privileges under the Constitution, it has nevertheless taken definite steps to establish supervision over many matters having to do with the common defense and the general welfare. The methods employed to secure this supervision have been made possible through the taxing power of Congress and a broad interpretation of what constitutes general welfare. The operation of choice was the painless device of federal grants-in-aid to the states. From small beginnings and in an unobtrusive manner the system of federal subsidies has gradually expanded until the central government has gained a considerable amount of supervision over certain state funds for designated purposes.

The Supreme Court of the United States has made no definite pronouncement as to what specific measures should fall under the welfare clause of the Constitution. The nearest approach to such a decision was in the case of the Sheppard-Towner Act for the Promotion of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy, when the Court decided that the test cases brought before it were not judicable, leaving the constitutional issues involved still undecided. The Supreme Court has scrupulously avoided poaching upon the preserves of Congress as to its spending power or the right to designate the purposes for which funds should be spent for the general welfare. For enlightenment along this line we must go to the precedents set by Congress in its welfare legislation and to the opinions of the presidents as set forth in state papers. A careful study of these reveals that, on the whole, the principles underlying federal grants-in-aid for education, protection, and health have never seriously been threatened. On the contrary, there has been an ever widening extension of such federal grants to the states for education, good roads, social betterment, and agricultural improvement.

The federal Constitution makes no specific provisions for the public health.

This has been left almost entirely to the states, as a part of their police power. As Tobey says, "the control of the public health is therefore primarily a state matter, but many of the clauses of the federal Constitution affect the way in which this power may be exercised."¹ Legislation affecting the public health has been passed by Congress under the blanket of the welfare clause of the Constitution and made effective through federal grants-in-aid. Practically all of the state measures dependent upon federal subsidies are more or less related to the public health, e.g., state education, vocational rehabilitation, agricultural extension, control of venereal disease, hygiene of maternity and infancy, etc. Even if some of the measures do not appear to bear directly upon the public health, their social, economic, and industrial implications force us to consider them as closely correlated with health.

The extension of federal subsidies as a means of guiding the states in their welfare legislation has, in fact, been inevitable. This has arisen mainly out of the blindness, inability, or unwillingness of some of the states to make provisions for welfare measures which have been demonstrated in the more progressive states to be of value for all the people. We have in this country, as Corwin well states, "a federal system with a national government at its center."² We cannot long preserve a *United States* unless the benefits—social, economic, educational and health—enjoyed by the few are gradually extended to the many. The United States, therefore, cannot tolerate with impunity conditions in any of the states which foster illiteracy, violence, immorality, or enfeebled health. While making due allowance for local peculiarities, certain minimum standards must obtain, and these the federal government has undertaken to secure through the system of grants-in-aid to the states.

The state is a complex organism, and no state can survive in isolation. Massachusetts, for example, is dependent upon the cotton fields of the South for raw material, upon the great Middle West for a large part of its food supply, and upon the Far West for its cattle and hides. Anything, therefore, which affects the health and productive capacity of the people in these distant parts may seriously affect the welfare of the people of Massachusetts. New York City has piled up its wealth on account of the mines, the wheatfields, the fruit orchards, the cattle ranches, the oil wells, and the railroads supported by the labor of workers in all parts of the country. Its strategic position as a world-port enhances its wealth. We as a people, regardless of state lines, are bound together by railroads, post roads, highways, telegraph, telephone, and radio. Epidemics may spread rapidly from state to state. Poor professional training in one state may jeopardize the health of mothers and children in states across the continent. Socially and economically, the whole country is so interdependent that the welfare of one state may condition the welfare of all. While this

¹ James A. Tobey, *Public Health Law*, p. 18.

² Edward S. Corwin, "The Spending Power of Congress—Apropos the Maternity Act," *Harvard Law Review* (March, 1923), XXXVI, No. 3, pp. 548-82.

is not so evident in times of peace and plenty, it becomes painfully apparent in case of any national disaster or economic depression.

The size, complexity, and standards of living of our United States make so many demands upon local units of government that, with the exception of a few of the wealthy industrial and agricultural states, their educational, public health, and welfare requirements cannot be met fully without some outside assistance. Many places have already reached the limit of their taxing power, while others simply need a stimulus to provide funds adequate to their needs. In view of the decided differences among our forty-eight states—differences in wealth, in intelligence, and zeal for public betterment—the most logical source from which to draw additional funds for welfare purposes is the national exchequer.

The unwillingness or inability of the states to meet the exigencies of an increasingly complex social order has led the central government to take a hand in many fields. Federal grants-in-aid have proved the most effective means of encouraging the states to assume greater responsibilities for the public welfare. Whenever any measures shall have been proved to be of distinct benefit to the citizens of a republic, those measures will finally be secured, either through the voluntary consent of the individual states or under the benevolent stimulus of a system of federal subsidies. The potential danger of the latter lies in the tendency to create a bureaucratic control by the central government and gradually to undermine the initiative and self-direction of the individual states.

There have been four more or less clearly defined periods in the development of federal grants-in-aid in the United States. The first extends from the founding of the Republic up to the year 1862. During this period the federal government made outright gifts of land and money to the states, with very little, if any, central control. The beginnings of our public school system, of public highways, and postroads took place under the stimulus of these grants. As Swift succinctly states, "these funds of federal origin were wheel, ballast, and lever of the states' systems of free schools. They set these systems in motion and kept them going." It must be recorded, however, that this open-handed federal policy, without any adequate check on the funds, led to many abuses, mismanagement, and the squandering of millions in money and in potential land values.

The second period begins with the passage of the first Morrill act of 1862 "donating lands for colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts," and extends up to the year 1914. This may be designated as the era of the land grant colleges. During this time a number of extensions under the land grant colleges took place. Certain requirements were laid down by the federal government in the distribution of lands and in the use of derived funds. Reports were required of the treasurers of the various institutions enjoying the grants, and these had to be prepared under several schedules prescribed by the federal authorities. While a closer check was kept upon the funds by this method there was very little attempt on the part of the federal government to dictate the local use of money

or to set up general standards to be accepted by the states. Trial and error during this period played considerable part in the extension of the principle of federal grants-in-aid.

The third period was ushered in with the passage of the Smith-Lever act of 1914, providing cooperative agricultural extension work between the land grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture. This initiated several new features not contemplated in the previous acts. It provided for a basic sum of money to each state upon acceptance by the state legislature of the provisions of the act, and also additional sums contingent upon the state matching the federal appropriation dollar for dollar. The acts passed since then which provide federal aid to the states have required legislative acceptance by the states and matching of federal funds to obtain full benefits. Federal supervision of their expenditures has been secured and assured by the creation of special boards at Washington. The states must now submit detailed plans and budgets to the federal boards for approval. A careful federal audit of all expenditures under the grants is now made by direction of these boards. Regular reports of projects and activities must be submitted on approved forms. A certain amount of inspection and supervision is carried out by agents of the federal boards. Should the plans submitted by the states prove unsatisfactory and the funds be expended for purposes not specified in the acts, the federal boards have the power to withhold further allotments. Appeal may be taken to Congress, but this has been done only on one occasion, by the state of Georgia.

The Sheppard-Towner act for the promotion of maternal and infant hygiene incorporates the best features of the other recent acts and also has certain provisions which improve upon any of them. For one thing it provides for direct appeal to the president instead of to Congress. The most important acts having a relation to the public health and social welfare passed since 1914 are as follows: Smith-Lever act of 1914, providing for cooperative agricultural extension; Federal Highways acts of 1916 and 1921; National Defense act of 1916, providing for federal control and supervision of the state militia; Chamberlain-Kahn act of 1918 for the prevention of venereal disease; Smith-Hughes act of 1917 for the promotion of vocational education; Sheppard-Towner act of 1921 for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy.

The growth in extent and influence of federal grants-in-aid may be seen in the increasing amounts of money appropriated to the states year after year. In 1912 the total federal appropriation to the states was about \$6,000,000. By 1915 this sum had been doubled, and in 1917 the considerable sum of \$53,000,000 was distributed to the states. In 1919 the federal allotments to the states reached to over \$87,000,000, and in 1922 it rose to the enormous sum of \$180,000,000. It is estimated that about \$200,000,000 was distributed in subsidies of various kinds during 1925. In other words, federal subsidies to the states increased over 3,000 per cent in a little over a decade. It should be noted that this rapid extension of federal subsidies and increasing expenditures of the states

under closer supervision of Washington has not taken place without considerable opposition, and assertion on the part of some of the states that their sovereign rights were being purchased at a relatively low price by the federal government.

The granting of federal subsidies, contrary to the expectations of many, has stimulated the states to put more and more of their own money into the projects contemplated under the various acts, in some cases as much as three and four times the amounts allowed by the central government. Any concerted attempts to break down this system of grants-in-aid at present would result in confusion in many departments of government. The departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor have largely been built up under this system. State education, agricultural extension, highway construction, vocational education, the protection of maternity and infancy, etc., would all be seriously threatened. It is questionable, even with a conservative and economical administration in power, whether any definite steps would be taken to curtail the federal grants-in-aid now in force, although it seems likely that efforts would be made by leaders working under such an administration to prevent any further extension of the system.

The crucial test of the efficacy of federal subsidies cannot be derived from any theories of government, but must rest upon an evaluation of the actual benefits conferred upon the citizens of the several states. Measured by this criterion there can be no question that, even with the woeful mismanagement of funds and losses during the early experience with federal subsidies, the sum total of benefits nationally and in the states has been far greater than could have been secured from exclusively state development of public schools and colleges, national highways, agricultural extension, and public health.

As the Sheppard-Towner act typifies the best form of federal aid to the states which lends itself most readily to integration with the established official public health work, a brief summary of the workings and results of this act during the four years it has been in operation will throw some light on the question as to whether federal subsidies for state health work are justifiable. The Sheppard-Towner act for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy became a law on November 23, 1921. While the bill was before Congress it created widespread interest and discussion and centered the attention of the entire country upon the necessity for better protection of our mothers and children. One of the first effects of its passage was the increase in the number of state bureaus of child hygiene. In 1920 thirty-two states had bureaus of child hygiene as part of their public health machinery. At present every state has a bureau of child hygiene or child welfare, and forty-three states have accepted the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner act. In order to share in its benefits the states were led to create such bureaus, a logical and sound administrative step in the public health work of the states.

Another important effect of the act was that the states were led to study

more thoroughly their own local health problems and submit plans to the federal board best calculated to afford adequate health protection to their mothers and children. In doing this it has been possible for the state health officials to judge better the relative importance of various measures proposed and to concentrate efforts upon those which gave promise of the most productive results. Furthermore, the federal Children's Bureau has kept all of the states well informed as to progress in the field of maternity and child health, and has rendered a real service in bringing together committees of experts to draw up minimum standards for prenatal, infant, and child care. The directors of the state bureaus have assembled once a year in Washington to discuss mutual problems and exchange views. In this way it has been possible for each state to draw upon the experience and methods of every other state.

One of the most far-reaching results of maternity and infancy work has been the opening up of opportunities for a considerable number of well-trained public health nurses. These nurses have been of untold value to the mothers and children in the rural districts, and especially in the remote, sparsely settled areas of the Middle and Far West. Public health nurses in ever increasing number have made their services indispensable in the communities where they have worked. The education of the communities to better maternal and child care has also stimulated the parents to demand better and more skilled professional services on the part of physicians, dentists, and nurses. Not the least of the benefits derived from this form of federal subsidy is the necessity for careful planning of all work and strict accounting for all funds under a budget system.

Public health officials throughout the country are almost unanimous in their approval of the administration of the Sheppard-Towner act. The state and provincial health authorities of North America, with few dissenting votes, have urged the renewal of the provisions of the act after its five-year trial period. About the only objections which have been raised to this type of work have come from certain groups in the medical profession who continually raise the specter of state medicine, and from cults which frankly admit they are opposed to any form of organized health service. Such opposition, however, can have but little effect upon the public health movement, and only tends to consolidate the gains already made. The more progressive and public-spirited physicians are finding in the workings of this act an opportunity to render larger and more satisfactory community service in an era which stands for preventive medicine.

From the national standpoint the contribution of greatest significance has been that the poorer and more backward states have been given an opportunity commensurate with the more fortunate to afford health protection for their mothers and children. This is as it should be. Certainly healthy mothers and children are as great a national asset as well-bred cattle and fine pigs, whether they happen to be born in Missouri or in Massachusetts. Very few objections have been raised to the expenditure of huge sums of federal money to protect

and improve the live stock. Why object to similar expenditures for the public health?

Health is today regarded as one of the major objectives of education. Health education cannot be divorced from health service. The effectiveness of the Sheppard-Towner act, or any other of the public health measures assisted by federal funds, cannot be measured solely by reduction of the death-rates. The condition of those who survive would be a much better index. Are mothers and children now living under more wholesome and healthful conditions on account of the widespread health education and better medical and nursing service stimulated through such federal grants-in-aid as the Sheppard-Towner act? That such is actually the case cannot be doubted by one who has had the opportunity to observe conditions over the whole country before and since the Sheppard-Towner act. The fact that parents, teachers, and health officials throughout the length and breadth of the United States are the strongest advocates for the continuance of such measures speaks eloquently for their success.

There is no logical or practical reason why federal subsidies should not be given for public health purposes. They are an established and legitimate means of cooperation between the central government and the states and, under suitable safeguards, have proved their value to the states and the nation.

ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC HEALTH

THE PLACE OF SOCIAL WORK IN PUBLIC HEALTH

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This paper is an attempt to present a brief outline of the influence of social work upon the public health movement in this country. The two fields, it seems to me, have been artificially divided until now we erroneously speak of social work and public health in two distinct classifications.

The public health workers as a group resent being classified as social workers because the average health administrator thinks of social work as being synonymous with case work—a rather natural deduction in view of the development and emphasis which communities all over the country have placed on this single phase of social work.

The influence of social work on public health administration is found in the development of every branch of that service in the past fifty years. The recreation movement, the child welfare movement, and such special developments as workingmen's compensation in the industrial field have all been influenced by the humanitarian interests of the forces interested in social work, and each of these has had a direct bearing upon the health of the several communities in this country.

In considering this problem I do not wish to minimize the effect of individual physicians working apart from any organization and exercising a tremendous influence on the public health movement through their own efforts—men like Park, in the laboratory; Biggs, in public health administration; Trudeau, in tuberculosis; and a host of others who gave years of their lives to awakening the consciousness of the public to an interest in public health. Single-handed they have braved the antagonism of powerful groups in the slow and patient progress of community health service. While modern public health found its greatest impetus in the brilliant discoveries of Pasteur and his successors, its widespread application is found, to a very large extent, in the humanitarian impulses developed into action by modern social work.

Apart from the development of sanitation, the modern public health movement finds its genesis in the dramatic discoveries of the nineteenth century. Pasteur then lifted the veil of obscurity for all time from the plagues and pestilences which for centuries had destroyed millions and at times wiped out whole communities. He proved that communicable disease was caused by specific micro-organisms that live and grow in the bodies of men and animals, and that the secretions coming from the bodies of the sick, and sometimes the well, were the real carriers of these minute messengers of death. He and his successors not only showed the world how microbes could be isolated, but followed this up with the equally brilliant discovery of the artificial production of active immunization. His discovery of vaccine against rabies was followed in quick succession by the discovery and isolation of the germs of anthrax, leprosy, typhoid, the tubercle bacillus, cholera, diphtheria, and yellow fever.

Pasteur and his followers developed the knowledge and the means to avoid disease. Without these the modern public health movement never could have made the tremendous advances that have been accomplished in the past sixty years. The history of this glorious period in preventive medicine is marked with the sacrifice of a score of scientists who gave their lives in pursuit of a complete and scientific knowledge of the methods and habits of the treacherous microbes. These adventurers in public health died, as has been said, "with more than the courage of soldiers. They risked and lost their lives to show how fearful pests are communicated, and how their ravages may be prevented." No page in modern history is replete with more heroic service in the interests of mankind. In considering the problem that we have before us, none of us should forget that it is these men who have made modern public health possible, and no one can know how many tens of thousands of lives have been saved by their discoveries.

But in spite of the brilliant discovery of the causative organism of most of the common diseases and of the rapid dissemination of knowledge about bacteria, the results for a long time had little effect in the practice of public health in this country. Indeed, the ever recurrent deaths from smallpox, typhoid, and diphtheria give evidence enough that we are still a long way from applying the knowledge given to us by Pasteur and his successors. It was only when the humanitarian impulses of the community attacked the problem that these dis-

coveries began to be applied in this country. Indeed, the development of modern sanitation which preceded Pasteur found its support in a public aroused because of the miserable living conditions in the slums of England. Industrial accidents decreased tremendously when social groups secured the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation. The filth-born diseases of the slums were partially eradicated when the miserable housing conditions of our great cities were attacked by socially minded people. The appalling infant death-rate began to fall when social agencies developed facilities for the care of the babies of the sick poor, and insisted upon communities putting into practice the discoveries of the scientists. The development of every phase of public health work can be traced in part to the influence of private voluntary social groups demanding the attention of a passive public.

Because of the limitation of time I shall attempt to trace briefly the influence of social work on but three special fields of public health—housing, infant mortality, and tuberculosis.

Housing.—In the report of the Metropolitan Board of Health for 1866 we read the following:

The first, and at all times the most prolific, cause of disease was found to be the very insalubrious condition of most of the tenement houses in the cities of New York and Brooklyn. These houses were built without any reference to the health and comfort of the occupants. The provision for ventilation and light is very insufficient, and the arrangement of water closets or privies could hardly be worse if actually intended to produce disease. These houses were almost invariably crowded and ill-ventilated to such a degree as to render the air within them constantly impure and offensive.

The cellars were made the receptacle of garbage and refuse matter of every description. The halls and stairways were usually filthy and dark, while the floors were not infrequently used as privies from lack of other provision. Many of the sleeping-rooms were without light or ventilation. The yards were piled with garbage and filth.

The rate of mortality in children is greater than in any city with which this Board of Health has correspondence, and the cause of this excess will best be sought in the miserable housing of the laboring classes. In no other place in the civilized world is there to be found half a million people so unhealthily housed as the tenement house population of New York.

This was the condition of the slums of New York sixty years ago. Linked as it is with the public health movement, and concerned with ventilation, sewerage, disposal of garbage, water supply, insect-born diseases, and the spread of communicable diseases, it was attacked for the first time by social groups, first, because it was an intolerable injustice for any community to permit its working classes to live under such miserable conditions, and second, because they believed that there was a direct relation between bad housing and the health of the community. As a direct result of the work of the Council of Hygiene, the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society, and other agencies, tremendous advances have been made in this one field of public health.

For instance, as late as 1872 it was the practice to build houses—especially the houses intended for the working classes—in which most of the rooms were

entirely unventilated, securing their air and light only from adjoining rooms. The first tenement house law under which such unventilated rooms were outlawed was secured by the social agencies of New York City. At that time one-half to two-thirds of the rooms were totally dark, until, in 1879, the legislation was secured providing for the light shaft, and twenty years later a bill was presented and passed, over the strenuous objection of the landlords, providing for the admission of light in every room in the tenement.

Probably the greatest advance in sanitary science in the housing field for the past half-century is a direct result of the work of the housing agencies in New York. The modern disposal of waste, the provision for draining, the whole development for sanitary plumbing can be traced directly to those courageous and highly unpopular crusaders for decent housing for the poor in New York City. To be sure, it is true that the homes of the tenement dwellers of New York City are still a disgraceful blot upon modern civilization, but it is nevertheless a far cry from the unspeakable and miserable conditions of those tenements sixty years ago.

Infant Mortality.—Sixty years ago there was literally a slaughter of the innocents in New York City. Out of 2,500 children born alive, death took nearly one-third of the total number before their first birthday. In 1925 we had an infant death-rate of 65 per 1,000 births, as compared with the infant death-rate of 333 in 1866. If the death-rate of 1866 had continued we would have had 42,390 deaths, as against 8,315 which actually occurred. Fifty years ago there was no child health work in New York City; in fact, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was organized many years prior to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

While it is impossible to give a chronological account of the development of infant welfare work, we do know that the impetus for this work came largely from private social groups. In 1873 the New York Diet Kitchen Association was founded to distribute nourishing food to the sick among the very poor. Twenty years later Mr. Nathan Straus founded his famous pasteurized milk laboratories, where any baby who needed milk could obtain a daily supply. This was followed by similar stations established by social agencies in every part of the city, and finally by the organization of the division of child hygiene in the department of health itself. Social agencies have ever insisted upon the direct relationship of poverty to infant mortality, and through the exhaustive studies of the federal Children's Bureau, in a number of cities, proved this point conclusively. We know now that for a variety of reasons the babies of the poor die in greater numbers than the babies of the well-to-do. Mothers living in miserable tenements with inadequate medical and nursing facilities lose children for no other reason than their poverty. In no field, perhaps, has as much pressure been brought to bear upon public authorities by social workers to give adequate health service to any single group as has been the influence on the care of infants. They have demanded the establishment of facilities for the preven-

tion of infant mortality, and no little credit is due them for the winning fight now carried on in every city in the country for the lives of babies.

Tuberculosis.—The tuberculosis movement, too, is a shining example of the influence of social work on public health. In this field particularly we find outstanding individuals like the Bowditches, Trudeau, Biggs, and Loomis, who were the real pioneers and whose ideas were capitalized by social groups. With this movement there has developed a technique and phase of public health which provides a wholly new chapter in preventive medicine. There has developed the dominant motive in the present-day public health program, namely, the education of the individual in the practices of personal hygiene. The discovery and application of the use of popular health education was made by the pioneers of the tuberculosis movement, who were aided from the beginning by the social agencies of this country. The actual provision for adequate sanatorium clinical and nursing care has come about very largely through the interests of social agencies in the care of tuberculous families under their control. The history of tuberculosis is one of the social agencies' interest in, and the fostering of, facilities for the care and prevention of tuberculosis.

The history of public health and the influence of social work upon it cannot be related adequately in terms of agencies, because it has been written by individuals through whom social movements of this or any other character are largely influenced. The first approach to sanitation in the modern public health movement was urged by the aggressive and pugnacious secretary of the Poor Law Commission of England, who from the first saw the connection between poverty and disease, as well as the preventability of much of this disease. The famous report of the sanitary condition of the laboring population in Great Britain was Chadwick's outstanding work, which resulted in the appointment of special commissions on health for all the large towns in England. There directly resulted from this the first intelligent handling of water supply and sewage disposal throughout the modern world.

Homer Folks, attracted from his pleasant studies of the Romance languages at Harvard into the field of social work, has become probably the most influential single individual in the promotion of adequate health facilities in New York State. As secretary of the State Charities Aid Association he has taken the leadership in the promotion of public health in New York since 1893. He was instrumental in founding the Craig Colony for Epileptics, the establishment of the first state hospital for consumptives, and for the reorganization of the state health department into one of the most effective units in this country. He helped reorganize the health machinery of Cuba. In 1902 he organized the first municipal hospital for consumptives in the United States, and under his leadership has developed the whole machinery for tuberculosis prevention in New York State. Lee Frankel, trained in the family case work field, has, as director of the welfare department of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, inaugurated a health educational campaign among policyholders that leads the world in health edu-

cation. Through his influence was organized one of the finest tuberculosis sanatoria in America for the care of employees of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. He conceived the idea of the now famous Framingham Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration. He has been active in the development of the social hygiene movement, and has been president of, and for many years active in, the American Public Health Association. These and many others have been the champions of public health in the field of social work. They have helped to organize the forces of the community to fight disease, and to them and to hundreds of social workers in as many communities the public health movement owes much for its tremendous advances.

Haven Emerson has recently drawn some invidious comparisons between some branches of social work and public health on the score of the latter's willingness to measure their results in terms of careful research and statistical analysis. Nearly a million dollars will be spent this year in experimental work in health demonstrations in half a dozen communities for the specific purpose of determining the values of various administrative practices. With no preconceived idea of methods to be followed in the several fields of health, they will test their value on the basis of criteria worked out by the best statisticians in the country. Why should there not be organized "social welfare demonstrations," the purpose of which would be not only to analyze the social work of a community, but to set up adequate experimental machinery to try out on a scientific basis the theories expounded for years by social workers?

In still another field it seems to me public health has far outstripped most of the fields of social service, and that is in the technical standards of administration. Precise and well-recognized standards have been developed in prenatal and infant welfare work, in the medical inspection of school children, in tuberculosis, venereal disease, and other fields. Many of the activities of social work might well examine the history and procedure by which these technical standards have been attained.

But the burden of this paper is to explain again that the fields of social work and public health are inseparable, and no artificial boundaries can separate them. Social work is interwoven in the whole fabric of the public health movement, and has directly influenced it at every point. No phase of community effort has made such remarkable progress. It has probably had more direct influence on the decrease in poverty than all the other forces of social work combined. Made possible by the scientists, it has been put into practice in every community in the land, largely through the humanitarian impulses organized and directed by the social agencies of the nation.

WHAT IS THE PUBLIC PRACTICE OF MEDICINE?

William H. Peters, M.D., Health Commissioner, Cincinnati

Political control has been and still is one of the chief obstacles to effective public health administration in our country. What is best for the public health is not as a rule the motive inspiring appointments to positions in community public health service. All too frequently the position of health commissioner is the reward for political services rendered.

Too many men engaged in public health work lead a dual sort of life. They have a public conscience and a private one, and as a rule they are willing to subordinate their private conscience to what is best for the party. "Political expedience" should be listed as a contributory cause of death on thousands of death certificates signed tuberculosis, typhoid, diphtheria, etc.

Public health work is a highly specialized branch of medicine, and not until we eliminate political control and the indefinite tenure of office will men of outstanding ability be attracted to a public health career.

The adoption of a new appraisal form for use in measuring city health work by the Committee on Administrative Practice of the American Public Health Association is the culmination of a desire extending over a period of years to give health administrators an instrument to stimulate good public health practice. The conscientious and courageous use of the appraisal form by the health officer may be instrumental in overcoming the insecurity of tenure.

Here he has the opportunity of listing the public health assets of his city in terms that anyone may understand, thus revealing the strong and the weak points in his department. With public sentiment behind him, and the support of the press, the principles of standardization would go far in removing the uncertainties of political changes and influences. Forty-six activities are listed in the appraisal form under eleven main sections, as follows: vital statistics; control of communicable disease, venereal disease, and tuberculosis; prenatal health work; protection of the baby, the pre-school-age child, and the school child; sanitation; laboratory service and popular education. A score book, such as has been adopted, should serve as a fine stimulus for self-analysis by the health commissioner and city authorities.

We have applied the appraisal form in Cincinnati. We know of no other instrument that has been so helpful in conducting the health work of our city. As a result, standard methods of public health practice and record making have been adopted by the official and voluntary health organizations.

In a classical address which many of you may have heard last week at the American Health Congress, our esteemed friend, Dr. S. J. Crumbine, general executive of the American Child Health Association, ventured the suggestion, as a remedy for insecurity of tenure, that freedom from unjust political interference, as assured to chiefs of fire departments under the fire insurance rating

plan, should be guaranteed for the health commissioner under a penalty of increased rates in industrial and life insurance.

Freedom from political domination is perhaps responsible more than any other single factor for the public health progress in Cincinnati. This change was brought about in 1910, and with it came a reorganization of the health department, until now it parallels an ideal organization recommended by Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, chairman of the Committee on Municipal Health Department Practice of the American Public Health Association. The fact that the members of the Cincinnati Board of Health are appointed for ten years, and that only one member retires every two years, guarantees continuity of program and policy. This is a wise provision of our charter. All members of the health department are civil service appointees and devote their full time to public service.

It is not my purpose to burden this Conference with the details of our organization. We have a splendid foundation for a fine superstructure. Our chief complaint is the lack of funds, but each year gives a new encouragement. Our appropriation for the current year is \$176,620, or, at the rate of 43 cents per capita, a very meager sum for the health protection of 409,000 people living within the corporate limits of our city, embracing seventy-two square miles of area. In a survey which has just been completed we find that the per capita cost of public health administration in class 2 cities, that is, cities with a population between 250,000 and 500,000 inhabitants, is 59 cents. Next year we shall do better!

All of the bureau chiefs are technically trained men and women, but, as Dr. Crumbine has so aptly stated, alumni of "the school of experience." Wherever possible we follow the district plan of one man or woman combining all of the functions of his bureau in a circumscribed area. The size of our districts shrink as we prosper. Under such an arrangement all duplication of time and effort are eliminated. Our people like the arrangement better. They are not overvisited.

Primarily we are interested in basic and fundamental things, such as the proper disposal of sewage; the purity of the water supply; a healthy environment for every citizen, no matter where he may be; wholesome food; complete registration of births and deaths; competent medical diagnosis for those who cannot afford to pay; sanitary isolation and hospitalization of communicable diseases; immunization as a matter of community prophylaxis; attendance of infants at instructive clinics; physical defects of school children, discovered and corrected; adequate laboratory facilities; and last, but not least, public health instruction.

We believe that the elimination of 22,000 outside vaults and catch basins during the last fourteen years has contributed tremendously to the health and comfort of our people, and that this too has played an important rôle in the prevention of typhoid fever and other intestinal disorders. Two hundred remain. Our slogan is, "A modern sanitary flush toilet for every home."

About seven hundred homes must depend upon private water supplies. These are under constant supervision, and will be until city water is available. When it becomes necessary to chlorinate the water we do it, and the laboratory checks the inspection work. All steamboats stopping at our port are required to provide certified water. In cooperation with the United States Public Health Service we exercise constant supervision, collect samples of water, and examine them in our laboratory. Incidentally, our quota of typhoid fever, formerly from this source, has disappeared.

The Bureau of Sanitary Inspection is also concerned about public swimming pools, barber shops, public places of amusement, odorous trades, cleaning up unsightly places, flushing of sidewalks and gutters, vermin and rodent extermination, fly and mosquito control, and the thousand and one nuisances detrimental to health and comfort brought to our attention in citizens' complaints.

If anyone wanted to start a riot, backed exclusively by the milk dealers of Cincinnati, the sure way to do it would be to try to eliminate pasteurization of milk. At present every drop of milk on the Cincinnati market is pasteurized at 145 degrees F. for thirty minutes, except certified milk, which constitutes a little over 1 per cent of the total supply. Through pasteurization, which became effective in 1915, milk dealers have eliminated waste and milk-born epidemics. Years ago drinking milk was like a lottery from which one drew an attack of typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, or tuberculosis.

Forty thousand animals are slaughtered annually under municipal inspection. *Abattoirs* doing an interstate business are under control of the United States Bureau of Animal Industry. The standards for inspection are the same in both branches of the government. In addition, this bureau inspects all establishments in which food is manufactured, processed, held, or stored. Within a very short time a regulation will be in effect which provides for a rigorous inspection of all food establishments, a service charge, and a permit system. This is a consummation to which we have been looking forward for a long time.

It is the business of the registrar of vital statistics to elicit complete returns of birth and make accurate transcripts of all birth and death records for future reference. Much depends upon the complete and accurate registration of births and deaths. Certified copies of births and deaths, so necessary for the settlement of estates, proofs of citizenship, and passport purposes, are issued by this bureau. The registrar and his assistants also certify for approximately four thousand children applying annually for work certificates. For ten years or more we have made it our business to check every death in children under the age of ten against the birth records. This practice and surveys made by the Census Bureau indicate that our birth registration is close to 100 per cent. With us it is routine practice to check and reconcile deaths with reported cases of typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, and other communicable diseases.

Our district physicians are responsible for the medical treatment of the indigent, surveillance over communicable diseases, and the health of the child. We

function in 119 public and parochial grade schools. During the summer infants and preschool-age children claim our attention. Our quota is thirteen doctors, one for every two wards of the city. Nutrition is the basis of our school work. We believe that we are striking at the root of the tree. Malnutrition is the arch enemy conspiring to keep the number of children susceptible to tuberculosis at full strength. All children are weighed and measured religiously, and those who are 10 per cent under weight for their height and age are examined very carefully.

We make no claim that our physical examination is complete in the sense that a positive diagnosis is recorded and confirmed by the usual diagnostic tests. This we leave entirely to the family physician or clinician. Our examination, however, is more than an inspection service. It leads to the discovery of serious abnormalities. If we may use Dr. William R. P. Emerson's expression, it becomes our business to make undernourished children "free to gain" in weight by overcoming underlying causes. In the last five years 43 per cent of the undernourished children were restored to normalcy. In addition, the district physician examines all other children in the first, second, and third grades. One hundred per cent of the school population is vaccinated. This is our best defense against smallpox.

All of the usual provisions, such as open-air schools, lunchrooms, conservation of vision classes, dental clinics, and the like are found in Cincinnati. Glasses were provided for 1,600 children whose vision was found to be defective last year. This represents about a 50 per cent correction. One thousand sixty-two children had their tonsils removed. Fourteen hundred children were excluded from school on account of communicable diseases. These results give you some idea of the magnitude of our medical work and the far-reaching effect of the public health nursing service. We may lecture, exhibit posters, project moving pictures, and broadcast all of the splendid things to do, but the seed begins to grow when we speak in terms of Mary and John to Mary's and John's mother and father.

We spend approximately four hours every day in the schools for the health betterment of the pupils. This does not mean that we are in each school four hours every day. Some schools are visited daily, some three times a week, others not so often. The examination of children who are applicants for work certificates takes up a good part of the office time of the district physician. The purpose of the state law regulating work certificates, as you very well know, is to prevent child labor.

Good standard practice prevails to control communicable disease. Communicable diseases are well reported; an approved system of records is maintained, and a consultation service is furnished by the health department. In the appraisal form the ratios for reporting are fixed, a method of record keeping is suggested, and all of the control measures commonly accepted serve as reminders of good public health practice.

A new low diphtheria record was established last year in Cincinnati. Twenty-three deaths were recorded in 1923, nineteen in 1924, and fourteen in 1925, giving us a mortality rate of 5.6, 4.6, and 3.4 per 100,000 of the population for the three years. No city outranking us in population had lower rates. Antitoxin, the sovereign, is within the reach of all, and we are prepared to administer it on the spot if the family income is slender. We urge and recommend immunization against diphtheria with toxin-antitoxin. We have done much to popularize the procedure, and cheerfully do this work in child caring institutions when the trustees so request; but at large we believe that the task belongs to the medical profession.

Fifteen years ago tuberculosis was the principal cause of death in Cincinnati. The "Great White Plague" claimed an annual toll of a thousand lives. Now heart disease, influenza and pneumonia, cerebral hemorrhage, cancer, and Bright's Disease lead in the order named. Last year the total number of deaths charged to tuberculosis was 478. Our colored people, who make up 9 per cent of the population, contributed 30 per cent of the deaths. We take no particular credit for this remarkable amelioration. So many factors enter the quotient.

In the control of communicable diseases we are inclined to believe that more can be gained by persuasion and immunization than by the prohibitions written in some of our sanitary codes. Harsh quarantines only encourage concealment; sanitary isolation of the patient is much better. What we need more than anything else is the cooperation of the parents.

In our curative work we aim to give the same treatment to the indigent as is ordinarily given by the private physician. Many of our cases are referred to us by the relief-giving agencies. The small volume of work in the last few years as compared to ten or twelve years ago is an indicator of general prosperity.

The health center is one of our very best assets. Here our poor people may come for examination, observation, advice, and treatment. The health center is a local clearing house for the municipal tuberculosis sanatorium, and the cooperation between both institutions is cordial. We have a thousand undernourished children under observation at the health center. It is from this group that the children are recruited for the Kroger Hill Camp, operated by the Anti-tuberculosis League. Last year 330 children enjoyed the benefits of camp life during the vacation period and came back with the roses in their cheeks.

We give good service to those who have venereal diseases. Women and children who are the innocent victims of infection come to us in large numbers.

Our laboratory is the keystone in the arch of public health administration, and what a splendid asset to our city! Here the family physician may submit specimens to confirm the diagnosis in suspected cases of diphtheria, typhoid fever, malaria, tuberculosis, and a host of other diseases. In the last two years, 18,802 examinations were made for the medical profession and the health center. Over forty-nine thousand samples of milk were analyzed chemically and bacteriologically, to be sure that our milk supply is of standard quality. Milk samples are examined for the number of bacteria, the proper percentage of butter fat

and total solids, added water and preservatives. Nineteen hundred and fifty-three food samples were turned in by the food inspectors for evidence of adulteration and misbranding. In all, a grand total of 79,688 samples were tested, at a unit cost of 13 cents.

The Bureau of Public Health Nursing functions in all of the medical divisions. Instead of having, as we formerly did, special nurses for each type of service, one nurse does all of the work in a small circumscribed area. She gives advice and service to the expectant mother, the newborn infant, and the child of preschool age. She assists the doctor in his school work, sees that his instructions are carried out, and, if necessary, takes the poor children to the clinics and hospitals. She also assists in the clinics and visits in the home.

The public health nurse must be so well informed that she may be able to put her message into the simplest terms for the mother who is unlearned in the most elementary facts of hygienic living and be equally able to discuss the latest developments in public health with the most intelligent mother in her district.

Four separate chapters in the appraisal form, brief but to the point, outlining types of service relating to prenatal care, the infant, the preschool child, and the health of the school child, serve as an excellent reference for the health commissioner. All of the best scientific public health procedures are outlined in the appraisal form and should prove of real value to the health commissioner in helping him to develop a well-balanced program based upon relative values; to check up on the performance of his bureaus, and thus maintain the department at the highest point of efficiency; to secure funds for expansion by indicating where his organization falls short; to substitute group judgment for his own in time of controversy; and to secure the cooperation of local voluntary health organizations along the most effective lines.

THE COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC HEALTH

LESSONS FROM THE HEALTH SURVEYS OF 186 CITIES

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I am expected to bring to you the lessons which cities and national organizations may learn from the health surveys of all cities over 40,000 which were made by the American Child Health Association, the American Public Health Association, and the United States Public Health Service in 1924. This subject, then, will be treated in two divisions: first, briefly, a few of the outstanding conditions which were found, and second, the use which has already been made of the material thus gathered in formulating broad policies for the prosecution of health work over the country as well as instances of specific results in individual cities and states.

As the cities for survey purposes were divided into two groups, those over 70,000 and those between 40,000 and 70,000, and as it has been impossible to tabulate all information for the entire group, it will be necessary in certain instances to discriminate and make references which will not apply to both groups.

The expenditure for health services is an item which should claim a considerable portion of our attention. It is a matter which we hear frequently quoted as an Index to the quality of work and the efficiency of the service, both because of large expenditures or because they are unusually low. A midwestern city has recently claimed first place among industrial cities in health activities, and points with pride to an official expenditure by the health department of about 25 cents per capita. Expenditures by health demonstrations run as high as \$2.50 to \$3.00 per capita, which is several times the average figure for similar communities. The span of these figures would be materially decreased if they were made to cover the same items. When considering expenditures for health purposes, comparative costs are meaningless without a clear statement of the items which are included in the public health program.

In the cities of over 70,000 in 1923 it was found that the average expenditures for health purposes by official agencies, exclusive of expenditures for hospitalization of acute communicable diseases, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases, was 83 cents per capita. This figure would be considerably increased, possibly doubled, if the expenditures of private agencies were added. The encouraging part of this picture is that the official expenditure has increased nearly 20 cents per capita since 1919. The range of expenditures in this group of cities was from 67 cents per capita, in cities from 70,000 to 100,000, to \$1.02 per capita in cities from 250,000 to 500,000. While if we consider the maximum spent in each activity by any city the total expenditure would amount to \$1.95 per capita, which approaches the expenditures recommended by the so-called model plans for city health work.

Our lesson from this part of the study is that, due to wide variation in what is included by city accounting systems in their public health expenditures, the lack of information concerning voluntary agencies, and the like, we cannot consider the expenditure alone as even a rough index of the adequacy of health services. The upward trend in average expenditures, however, is indicative of what we may expect in the future.

Considering the personnel of health departments, we too frequently find the effects of inadequate finances reflected in part-time service and untrained staff. Only 60 per cent of the health officers of these 186 cities devote full time to their official duties. And when it is considered that the average salary of these full-time men is but a little over \$4,000, while the part-time officer receives \$3,000, it is little wonder that the position does not appeal to highly trained and efficient individuals.

The situation with regard to the rest of the staff is only slightly different. Laboratory workers, sanitary engineers, and nurses to some extent have been

trained for the work which they have to do, but the majority of health department personnel are graduates only of the elementary school of experience, and in general have stumbled quite by accident into the public health field.

If we would provide even a minimum of health service to all of our 110,000,000 people, the shortage of trained personnel is estimated at from 10,000 to 17,000 workers of all types. It is, then, of importance that not only sanitarians but educators and all those interested in public welfare give careful thought to the need for making this field sufficiently interesting to attract trained personnel for the perpetuation and extension of the service.

Most of us, I believe, if questioned, would declare that more public health services are performed by private than official agencies. These surveys revealed that such was not the case. Among the eighty-six smaller cities from 40,000 to 70,000, 57 per cent of the activities were administered by the health department, of which 11 per cent is in conjunction with other organizations; 18 per cent, by other official agencies, of which 3 per cent is in conjunction with other organizations; 16 per cent, by private agencies; and 9 per cent were as yet untouched. Referring to the census of public health nurses made by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing in 1924, we find that 47 per cent of all of the public health nursing service of the country is paid for by public funds alone, an additional 28 per cent is financed jointly by public and private means, and 25 per cent, by private funds alone.

The pendulum seems to be swinging from the voluntary, or private, to the official agency in the public health field. We have long set this as a desirable end, but many have been pessimistic as to its accomplishment. They have seen private agencies jealously hang onto work which they had initiated, even when public officials properly responsible for the service were prepared and ready to take it over.

These surveys indicate a definite need for the voluntary agency to assist and encourage the public officials to undertake and do those things of proved worth which properly are community functions. The aggressive steps in community organization for a united health program under the health department may well be taken by those organizations banded together in a community chest or a council of social agencies.

To tell in detail of the findings, the ups and downs in communicable disease control, child welfare, and the like, is not the purpose of this meeting. It should deal with larger things which may influence trends of public health work throughout the country, and without doubt the greatest result and lesson from the surveys is the idea that health department practice, in cities at least, can be measured with sufficient accuracy and detail to permit of intelligent comparison. And intelligent comparison is the first step toward reasonable standardization.

From the material gathered in these surveys there has been developed an appraisal form for city health work. This appraisal form is essentially a classified list of activities common to the public health practice of most cities. It lists

the items which are necessary for the proper handling of vital statistics; it likewise enumerates in logical sequence the more important steps to be taken in the control of communicable diseases, tuberculosis, and the venereal diseases. In the same way the fundamentals of a child health program, including maternity, infancy, preschool, and school service are set forth. And so on through the major public health activities.

Each of the 117 items of public health service which are listed call for a definite standard of service. For example, 4,000 nursing visits per 1,000 live births, or 5,000 visits in behalf of tuberculous cases per 100 deaths from that disease. Against each item thus enumerated, with its standard of service, is set a relative value which group judgment has agreed to as being approximately and temporarily correct. In developing the appraisal form no attempt has been made to cover all of the variations of practice which were found in the field, but rather to take those accepted practices of proved worth, to develop standards for them on the basis of the extent to which they were found employed in the field, and to use them as samples of the health work of a community.

The standards set for each item of activity do not represent the ideal far beyond the reach of the average city, but rather they are standards which represent the extent of service which is already rendered by 25 per cent of cities. The relative values assigned different activities are not indications of their absolute worth. They are expressions of the relation between the 117 items enumerated in the appraisal form as they apply to conditions found in cities in the United States at present. For example, nothing transcends in value a pure water supply for the city that is in the throes of a serious epidemic of typhoid fever from a water-borne source. However, of the 186 cities studied, only three or four had failed to recognize long before this the necessity of safe water, and these few were engaged in legislative and administrative programs which would accomplish this result. Naturally, then, the quality of the domestic supply can be taken for granted and emphasis be placed upon the extent of distribution. The relative value, therefore, of this item is accordingly very much lower than it would have been twenty-five years ago.

We have, then, a standard method of appraisal of public health activities, official and unofficial, in a community, which appraisal furnishes an accurate picture of the adequacy of the service to meet the needs of the city, and which will become a base line from which progress in future years can be measured.

But beyond this there are other uses of an appraisal. Merely as a uniform method of recording activities at a given time it would not be worth the effort to develop it, but its use, first, in scoring the information obtained in the 186 cities surveyed, and second, in interesting communities in the results of such a detailed and tedious thing as a survey, has shown it to have tremendous possibilities for the improvement of public health practices. It is not a measure of the activities and efficiency of the health department or health officer alone; it is

a measure of the degree of tangible support which a community has given its public health services.

The securing of adequate appropriations to carry on health work and the building up of a staff of trained personnel is not entirely the responsibility of a health officer. The community must believe in public health work. It must encourage its health officer and its appropriating body to invest wisely and adequately in public health protection. It has been found, in cities where it has been tried, that an appraisal is a means of translating public health statements into the universal language of the street. The mayor, the secretary of the chamber of commerce, and the man of the street, the "middle-brow," so called, will readily understand and appreciate a statement that the city is doing but 60 or 75 per cent of what can reasonably be expected in the matter of public health service. No city wishes to be known as lagging behind in its official interest in health work.

The instrument is now at hand for determining with all necessary accuracy the latitude and longitude of your ship of health, and by repeated observation you can note the progress along a predetermined course, or "whither you are drifting."

I am inclined to the opinion that the lack of interest in official public health work on the part of the commercial element of the city has been largely due to the lack of uniform plans and definite methods of expression. It has been found in cities where appraisals have been made that business interests have become suddenly awakened to the advantage of supporting the plan for organization and improvement of health work which naturally resulted from the appraisal.

Among the first acts of Dr. Louis I. Harris, health commissioner of New York City, upon taking office the first of this year, was the request made to the American Public Health Association for an appraisal of the health activities, first of his department, and later of the entire city, to be used as a basis for planning his administration and to mark a zero from which progress could be measured. The private health and social agencies of the community, the public health committee of the Academy of Medicine, and the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association recognized the wisdom of this procedure and are participating in the study and bearing the financial burden.

A private organization can probably render no greater service to its community than to organize and support from time to time an appraisal of its community health services on this basis. In fact, community chest organizations might well consider the facts and relations brought out in an appraisal before alloting its funds.

Dr. Rawlings, director of public health of the state of Illinois, recognized the potential values of such studies for the cities of his state and caused a detailed appraisal of small cities in Illinois to be conducted this spring. In a bulletin of the Illinois state health department just issued, which I commend to each of you, Dr. Rawlings states:

When this summary was undertaken the department planned to bring to the attention of city governments, health officers, the medical profession, commercial interests, and the volunteer health agencies the facts as to the actual and comparative standings of each health activity in these cities, in the belief that they would serve as a stimulus to meeting the shortcomings of local health programs and in pointing out activities in which different cities excelled.

Those of you who have state-wide interests will find this report a refreshing analysis which has a happy faculty of going directly to the heart of things and pointing unerringly at the deficiencies of the service in each city.

In conclusion, the lessons which we have learned from these surveys are: first, that the expenditures for the public health work in the country are increasing, and that the advance guards of communities in different activities are spending, officially and unofficially, sums which approach very closely the sums set up in the plans for health organization which have been promulgated in recent years; second, that the training and compensation of health personnel in communities is not commensurate with the responsibilities placed upon them; third, that the responsibility for making this field of service sufficiently interesting to attract recruits rests to a large extent upon the public, and sanitarians generally should use every effort to acquaint the public with the obstacles which must be overcome in order to make the field more attractive; fourth, that the private agency, as an operating agent in the field of public health, is rapidly being replaced with the public agencies and private funds thereby released for a larger service, that of guiding the health developments of the city, furnishing financial and moral support to the services officially rendered; fifth, that a method for the appraisal of city health work has been devised which gives an accurate picture of the health services in the city and provides a basis for a program upon which all interested agencies can safely unite.

THE EFFECT OF NEGRO MIGRATION ON COMMUNITY HEALTH IN CLEVELAND

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To fill the gap in the supply of common labor caused by the restrictions of war and of immigration laws, the American Negro has responded to the call of industry from northern industrial cities. In response to this call Cleveland has received during the past decade additional colored citizens sufficient in number to increase fourfold the colored population, which had been fairly constant in ratio of whites to blacks during the entire twenty years preceding. In both 1900 and 1910 the census returns show approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total population of Cleveland as colored. At present the percentage of colored is approximately $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In the total estimated population of 960,000, the number of colored is slightly over 50,000.

This, however, does not truly picture the situation as regards the settle-

ment in Cleveland of an increasing number of Negroes from the South, as fully 90 per cent of the colored population occupies a small sector of the city known as the Central Avenue District and adjacent territory to the east of this district which in the aggregate contains not over 25 per cent of the total population of the city. This district, comprising the territory just stated, with an area of about 10 square miles, is estimated as containing 240,000 persons, of whom 45,000 are colored. This indicates a ratio of 230 colored to every 1,000 white in this region, with a population density per acre of 35 or 40, whereas the population density per acre for the entire city is 21.

Congestion and overcrowding, wherever found, regardless of color, race, or creed, are so constant a factor, and so important in their effects on hygienic living, that no discussion of the effects on community health of Negro migration should be undertaken without due consideration to the part which overcrowding may play in health conditions quite apart from the migratory activities of the colored group. When poverty also is present with overcrowding, these two social evils, from the local standpoint, far outweigh in their influence on community health the question of color. The foreign-born, the native white, immigrants, or natives are adversely affected as regards health by the presence of overcrowding and of poverty, and in direct proportion to degree. Groups of the population so affected tend to become liabilities rather than assets to the health of the community in which they live according to the extent of poverty and overcrowding which exists among their numbers.

It is apparent, then, that no mere comparison of morbidity and mortality statistics as related to whites and blacks in the same community is a reasonable method or a fair method of illustrating the effects on health of the migration of such a group as the colored group unless like conditions prevail among the total population.

With ample evidence available of the presence of both overcrowding and of poverty among the Negroes who have migrated to Cleveland within the past ten years, and without entering into a discussion of the causes of these evils, which are fairly well understood, it is sufficient to say that both poverty and overcrowding occur among the colored population to an extent greater than that among the total population, and on this account other methods of investigation must be employed than that of relying solely upon a comparison of vital statistics of whites with those of blacks in determining the specific effects of Negro migration upon the public health.

With a fairly constant colored population of approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent prior to 1915, it seems equitable to compare the vital statistics among the colored population for the years 1910-14, inclusive, before the influx of southern Negroes began, with the vital statistics of the same group for the years 1920-24, when this migration has been at its height and the percentage of colored population has reached $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Such a comparison of total mortality rates among the colored in Cleveland

is made in Table I, which follows, showing the total deaths among the colored in each of the two-year periods, the principal causes of death among Negroes, listed by number of deaths and by the mortality rates based on 100,000 Negro population, together with data showing the percentage of increase or decrease in these mortality rates in 1920-24 as compared with 1910-14. A second table is also submitted (Table II) which gives the estimated 5-year mortality rates for the period 1920-24 for the white and colored population in these principal causes of death among the colored listed in the table comparing the two 5-year periods. Table II also shows the total or combined mortality rates for the city of Cleveland for the 5-year period 1920-24 in the same principal causes of death among Negroes.

A study of the data furnished in these tables will give most of the detail regarding the effect of Negro migration upon community life in so far as fatal diseases are concerned. As regards morbidity rates but little information is available beyond a general conclusion that among the migratory colored people coming to Cleveland there exist very few diseases not often fatal which have an effect upon the community life beyond that which would be considered a normal condition of affairs. In fact, among the colored school children a recent investigation has shown that absenteeism on account of illness among colored children in the public schools is relatively less frequent than among white children. In venereal diseases, however, there has been noted a definite increase in the proportion of colored attending the out-patient departments of hospitals maintaining such clinics during recent years, and investigation over a considerable period of time seems to indicate that 40 per cent of patients attending such venereal disease clinics are colored at the present time.

Returning to the consideration of the fatal diseases and those which cause the greatest effect upon community health, a consideration of the tables submitted leads to the following conclusions: First, the total mortality rates among Negroes have not increased as a result of Negro migration. Second, among diseases prevalent or predominant in the wage-earning group and among young adults, a marked increase among the colored population has occurred during the past five years in some instances, and in other instances, such as tuberculosis, while no great increase has occurred, there has been no decrease among Negroes in these diseases, as has been generally the case in the total population.

Third, the chief immediate effect upon the public health of Negro migration has been to increase the health hazards of the entire population to such communicable diseases as tuberculosis because of the much higher rate of incidence of this disease among the colored population. It is generally agreed that tuberculosis is largely spread by infectious material from those already infected. Tuberculosis is also a disease which requires a long period of invalidism for cure or for its fatal termination in the great majority of cases. The effect of the Negro migration has been to bring into Cleveland a 360 per cent increase in a population group which, both before and after the migration, shows mortality rates

from tuberculosis over 300 per cent greater than similar rates among the entire population. Among the entire population tuberculosis deaths, during the 5-year

TABLE I*

| CAUSES | DEATHS | | ESTIMATED* 5-YEAR DEATH-RATE PER 100,000 COLORED | | PERCENTAGE OF RATE INCREASE OR DECREASE 1920-24 | |
|--|---------|---------|--|-----------|---|-------------------------------|
| | 1910-14 | 1920-24 | 1910-14 | 1920-24 | Increase | Decrease (Per- centage) |
| Typhoid fever..... | 13 | 17 | 141.6 | 40.2 | ..... | 71.6 |
| Scarlet fever..... | 3 | 8 | 32.5 | 18.9 | ..... | 41.9 |
| Measles..... | 4 | 11 | 43.6 | 26.0 | ..... | 40.4 |
| Whooping cough..... | 5 | 47 | 54.5 | 111.2 | 104.0 | ..... |
| Diphtheria..... | 3 | 13 | 32.5 | 30.8 | ..... | 5.3 |
| Influenza..... | 5 | 81 | 54.5 | 191.7 | 251.7 | ..... |
| Pneumonia..... | 67 | 737 | 729.8 | 1,744.4 | 139.0 | ..... |
| Tuberculosis | | | | | | |
| Pulmonary..... | 169 | 720 | 1,840.8 | 1,704.1 | ..... | 7.5 |
| Other forms..... | 21 | 163 | 228.9 | 385.5 | 68.4 | ..... |
| All forms..... | (190) | (883) | (2,069.7) | (2,089.6) | .9 | ..... |
| Syphilis..... | 18 | 173 | 196.2 | 409.4 | 108.6 | ..... |
| Salpingitis..... | 1 | 21 | 10.9 | 49.7 | 355.1 | ..... |
| Cancer..... | 28 | 116 | 305.0 | 274.5 | ..... | 10.0 |
| Rheumatism, acute..... | 9 | 11 | 98.1 | 26.0 | ..... | 73.5 |
| Rheumatism, chronic..... | 10 | 5 | 109.0 | 11.8 | ..... | 91.2 |
| Rickets..... | 1 | 8 | 10.9 | 18.9 | 73.4 | ..... |
| Diabetes..... | 10 | 25 | 109.0 | 59.1 | ..... | 45.8 |
| Alcoholism..... | 11 | 8 | 119.9 | 18.9 | ..... | 84.2 |
| C.S. meningitis..... | 4 | 3 | 43.6 | 7.1 | ..... | 83.7 |
| Cerebral hemorrhage..... | 28 | 155 | 305.0 | 366.8 | 20.2 | ..... |
| Heart diseases and circulatory | 91 | 355 | 991.2 | 840.2 | ..... | 15.2 |
| Nephritis..... | 77 | 252 | 838.7 | 596.5 | ..... | 28.9 |
| Diseases of the liver..... | 13 | 31 | 141.6 | 73.4 | ..... | 48.2 |
| Simple peritonitis..... | 1 | 13 | 10.9 | 30.8 | 182.6 | ..... |
| Gastro-intestinal diseases ex- cept D. and E. under 2 | | | | | | |
| years of age..... | 34 | 163 | 370.3 | 385.8 | 4.2 | ..... |
| Diarrhoea and enteritis under | | | | | | |
| 2 years of age..... | 38 | 73 | 413.9 | 172.8 | ..... | 58.2 |
| Early infancy..... | 36 | 232 | 392.4 | 549.1 | 39.9 | ..... |
| Puerperal diseases..... | 6 | 64 | 65.4 | 151.5 | 131.7 | ..... |
| External violence..... | 48 | 331 | 522.8 | 783.4 | 49.8 | ..... |
| Other causes..... | 164 | 398 | 1,786.5 | 942.1 | ..... | 47.1 |
| All causes..... | 918 | 4,234 | 10,000.0 | 10,021.0 | .002 | ..... |

* Total mortality by principal causes of death among Negroes, Cleveland, Ohio, in the two 5-year periods, 1910-14, inclusive, and 1920-24, inclusive, with estimated mortality rates for each period and the percentage of increase or decrease in rates for 1920-24, inclusive, for each principal cause.

period 1920-24, numbered 4,115, of which 883 were among the colored. This is 21 per cent of all tuberculosis deaths occurring in the city. In the years 1924 and 1925 over 28 per cent of all tuberculosis deaths have been among Negroes.

Nevertheless, in the comparison of mortality rates of the two 5-year periods, 1910-14, inclusive, before migration began, and 1920-24, inclusive, the increase of mortality rates in tuberculosis for the second period among Negroes has not

TABLE II*

| CAUSES | 1920-24, RATES PER 100,000 | | |
|---|----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | White (816,200) | Colored (42,251) | Total (858,451) |
| Typhoid fever..... | 8.94 | 40.2 | 10.5 |
| Scarlet fever..... | 35.5 | 18.9 | 33.0 |
| Measles..... | 25.3 | 26.0 | 25.4 |
| Whooping cough..... | 24.9 | 111.2 | 29.2 |
| Diphtheria..... | 77.3 | 30.8 | 75.0 |
| Influenza..... | 106.2 | 191.7 | 98.8 |
| Pneumonia..... | 549.7 | 1,744.4 | 608.5 |
| Tuberculosis | | | |
| Pulmonary..... | 336.2 | 1,704.1 | 403.5 |
| Other forms..... | 59.8 | 385.5 | 75.8 |
| All forms..... | (396.0) | (2,089.6) | (479.3) |
| Syphilis..... | 84.5 | 409.4 | 100.9 |
| Salpingitis..... | 7.5 | 49.7 | 9.6 |
| Cancer..... | 419.9 | 274.5 | 412.7 |
| Rheumatism, acute..... | 17.7 | 26.0 | 18.2 |
| Rheumatism, chronic..... | 8.9 | 11.8 | 9.1 |
| Rickets..... | 1.6 | 18.9 | 2.4 |
| Diabetes..... | 86.1 | 59.1 | 84.8 |
| Alcoholism..... | 13.9 | 18.9 | 14.2 |
| C. S. meningitis..... | 5.8 | 7.1 | 5.9 |
| Cerebral hemorrhage..... | 359.9 | 366.8 | 360.3 |
| Cardiac and circulatory diseases..... | 656.9 | 840.2 | 655.9 |
| Nephritis..... | 338.5 | 596.5 | 351.2 |
| Diseases of the liver..... | 75.2 | 73.4 | 75.1 |
| Simple peritonitis..... | 8.2 | 30.8 | 9.3 |
| Gastro-intestinal diseases except D. and E. under 2 years..... | 218.8 | 385.8 | 227.1 |
| Diarrhoea and enteritis under 2 years of age..... | 190.7 | 172.8 | 189.9 |
| Early infancy..... | 334.6 | 549.1 | 345.1 |
| Puerperal diseases..... | 65.9 | 151.5 | 70.1 |
| External violence except suicides and poi- soning..... | 368.5 | 783.4 | 388.9 |
| All causes..... | 5,160.0 | 10,021.0 | 5,399.2 |

* Estimated 5-year mortality rates, 1920-24, inclusive, Cleveland, Ohio, for white and colored population by principal causes of death among the colored population.

exceeded 1 per cent. The same increase of health hazards for the entire community arises, of course, in connection with any other communicable disease which has a greater incidence among the migratory group.

Fourth, another marked immediate effect upon the public health has been the increase in deaths due to external violence, excluding suicides and acute poisoning. In deaths due to external violence, the mortality rate per 100,000 among

the colored is nearly twice that among the white. In such types of external violence as homicides this disparity is marked. In both 1924 and 1925 in Cleveland over 35 per cent of all homicides were among the colored population. In 1925, in a total of 127 homicides in the entire city, 48 were colored.

Fifth, another immediate effect upon the community health of Negro migration refers to the death-rate among infants and maternity cases. During the 5-year period 1910-14, inclusive, there were but 572 births of colored children registered in Cleveland. During the same period there were 918 deaths among the Negroes. The birth-rate was far less than the death-rate. During the 5-year period 1920-24, however, and since migration has occurred, there has been a marked increase in the number of colored births, as might be expected, due to the fact that the migratory group is composed largely of young adults of the wage-earning and child-bearing ages. The total number of colored births in the latter 5-year period was 5,540 as compared with 4,234 colored deaths during the same period. With this increase of births there has been, naturally, an increase of maternal deaths due to puerperal diseases, and also an increase in the deaths of infants under one year of age. The sixty-four deaths due to puerperal diseases for the 5-year period 1920-24 among colored mothers with 5,540 births during the same period indicates a maternal mortality rate in excess of 1 per 100 births.

Sixth, a remote effect of Negro migration upon the public health lies in the increasing number of deaths, and cases requiring medical relief, caused by the degenerative diseases, such as cerebral hemorrhage, cardiac and circulatory diseases, and nephritis. While in none of these diseases at the present time does the migratory group of Negroes show an increase of mortality rates from those obtaining among the colored group previously, nevertheless the general incidence of such diseases among the entire population, regardless of color, is extremely high, and higher among the colored than among the whites. It must be expected, therefore, that increasing demands will be made upon the relief agencies, both public and private, as a result of the influx of large numbers of a group which, on account of financial restrictions, is unable to provide for itself the necessary relief which these conditions demand.

Finally, as evidenced by mortality statistics, the Negro population, here as elsewhere, has a much higher annual death-rate than the white population. The average annual death-rate among Negroes was 20 per 1,000 in both the 5-year period 1910-14, before migration, and the 5-year period 1920-24, since migration has been going on. During the same period the average annual death-rate among whites fell from 13.5 per 1,000 to 9.6, a decrease of nearly 30 per cent. This decrease has largely been accomplished by the practical application of accepted methods of preventing diseases. While there are many instances where the Negro population has also shown decreased mortality rates in preventable causes of death, there has been a sufficient increase in mortality, due to certain causes, to keep the Negro death-rate stationary. These causes have been largely those

commonly most affecting a group of such age composition as the migratory Negroes have been. Due to the extremely high rate of increase of death due to acute respiratory diseases among the Negroes in 1920-24, there is some reason to believe that the climatic change from the South to the North plays some part in the health problems of the Negro migrants, but overcrowding and poverty are factors as well. The obvious result of Negro migration emphasizes the need for increased efforts on the part of all health agencies to lower the unnecessarily high mortality among the colored population.

THE HEALTH COUNCIL IDEA

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Just as the rapid increase in the number and type of social agencies has given rise to the necessity of councils of social agencies, so too the development of numerous organizations to meet various health problems has given rise to the health council idea in cities. Health councils and federations have been organized so recently, and new ones are being formed so rapidly, that it is difficult to state with accuracy how many there are at the present time. Our best information would indicate that there are the following such organizations in existence, either well organized or in the process of development: Health Council, Cleveland; Health Division, Council of Social Agencies, San Francisco; Health Conservation Association, Kansas City; Tuberculosis and Health Council, Denver; Hennepin County Public Health Association, Minneapolis; Health League, Boston; Health Division of Community Council, St. Louis; Health Council of Community Chest, Louisville; Public Health Association, Toledo; Public Health Federation, Cincinnati.

These councils are organized and operated on plans that differ widely. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the different methods of organization and work being pursued by these various federations, but rather to outline briefly the plan of organization of the Cincinnati Federation and some of the things it has been able to accomplish, and then to discuss specific problems involved in the federation of health activities.

Dr. Haven Emerson, after careful studies of the public health resources of several cities, has advocated the federation of health activities as essential to the best results. Dr. Emerson's recommendations led to the organization of the Cleveland Health Council, and later, the Louisville Health Council. The goal of public health work is to foster the best possible facilities for the care of the sick, to reduce preventable disease to the minimum, to promote vigorous, positive health, and to prolong life. It is difficult to accomplish this purpose to the best advantage as long as a variety of specialized health agencies pursue particu-

lar phases of public health, concerned only incidentally with the general needs. There is a growing demand in cities for a group whose scope embraces the entire problem, interested in ways and means of meeting new needs as they develop, keeping down the ever increasing cost required by the formation of new agencies, helping organizations to pull together, reducing duplication, working toward united plans and programs. It is this which the health federation or health council endeavors to do.

The Cincinnati Federation.—Organized in 1917 by the late Dr. J. H. Landis, health commissioner, Mr. Courtenay Dinwiddie, then superintendent of the Anti-tuberculosis League, and Mr. C. M. Bookman, director of the community chest, the Cincinnati Public Health Federation is made up of delegates from all private and public health organizations and hospitals and from civic and social agencies especially interested in health. Each organization appoints two delegates to the general body which, in annual meeting, receives reports on the work, makes amendments to the constitution, and elects the officers of the Federation. These officers are president, first vice-president, second vice-president, treasurer, honorary secretary, and twenty members at large.

The work of the Federation is divided among a number of councils, cancer control, child hygiene, housing, mental hygiene, mouth hygiene, nursing, social hygiene, and tuberculosis. The officers, the members at large and the chairmen of each of these divisional councils, which elect their own officers and formulate their own programs, make up the governing body, which we call the coordinating committee. On this committee are the Superintendent of the General Hospital, Dean of the College of Medicine, the City Health Commissioner, and County Health Officer, a special delegate from the Cincinnati Dental Society, and a special delegate from the local graduate nurses' association. It is the health branch of the Community Chest. Its staff consists of an executive secretary and an assistant secretary.

The Cincinnati Federation has been built up on the fundamental thought that there is everything to be gained from the close working together and the dovetailing of the programs of private agencies with government departments. The Federation has on numerous occasions been able to be of service to the city health department, to the county health department, to the General Hospital, and to the College of Medicine. Likewise each one of these official departments has worked in a fine spirit of cooperation with the Federation. In fact it is our agreed policy that tried and proved health activities carried on by private agencies shall be transferred to official departments when these departments are able to finance and conduct them on a reasonably satisfactory basis.

The work of the councils.—Each council is made up of representatives of organizations or of individuals interested in its particular problem. It is possible to mention only in the briefest possible way what the councils have been able to accomplish.

The work of the cancer-control council is entirely educational, its aim being

to keep the public informed of the latest developments in knowledge about cancer, to teach the surpassing importance of consulting a competent physician at the slightest symptoms indicating the possibility of cancer, and to urge annual physical examinations. The council has now under consideration the advisability of establishing a special cancer clinic and ways and means of securing additional facilities for the care of cancer patients.

The chief thing accomplished by the child hygiene council was taking the initiative in a demonstration in the prevention of diphtheria, which was done six years ago, at a time when the Schick test and toxin-antitoxin were not so well understood or so generally used as they are at the present time. There can be no question that the demonstrations conducted at that time by the board of health with the cooperation of the Public Health Federation and the pediatric department of the College of Medicine was responsible in some measure for the acceptance of this procedure by the large group of physicians in the city who are now using it freely. The formulation of health standards for child caring institutions and for children placed in boarding homes was another of this council's activities.

A subdivision of the child hygiene council is the day nursery section. This section, made up of representatives of most of the city's day nurseries, has succeeded in bringing about notable improvements in record forms, in standards of admission, in the education of attendants, and finally, in fostering a high standard of nursing and medical service which is provided in seven of the nurseries by the Babies' Milk Fund Association. Three years ago there were no nurseries in the city for colored children. Today, thanks in part at least to the cooperation of the day nursery section, there are two excellent day nurseries serving colored children.

The mental hygiene council brought about the establishment of a central mental hygiene clinic to serve the courts, the schools, the social agencies, and the general public. The clinic is now one of the community chest organizations filling an important need in the community. Since its organization the clinic has taken care of more than 1,700 patients.

The chief accomplishment of the mouth hygiene council was a study of the problem of dental hygiene in the county and the recommendation of a program which resulted in the county health department establishing dental service in the county schools. Before that time there had been no work along this line in the county. Last year the teeth of practically every child in the county schools were examined.

The nursing council has selected as its principal objective the recruiting of trainees for the nursing profession. An effective campaign has been carried out during the past two years, which, it is hoped, will have the effect of stimulating greater interest in the nursing profession and attracting additional recruits.

The Executive Secretary of the Public Health Federation is director of the Better Housing League, a member of the board of directors of the Anti-tubercu-

lois League, of the Social Hygiene Society, and of the Public Dental Service Committee, thus keeping the Federation in close touch with the activities of these organizations.

Major activities of the Federation.—The major pieces of work accomplished by the Public Health Federation have perhaps been done independently of the councils.

In 1921 the Federation conducted a most successful health exposition, participated in by practically every public and private health agency in the city, as well as by many national agencies. Organized and promoted wholly by Cincinnati health organizations, with the complete cooperation of civic groups and public departments, with an excellent program of lectures by national health authorities and an attractive program of pageants, spectacles, and motion pictures, the exposition drew an attendance of 150,000 people. On next to the last night of the exposition hundreds were turned away. It had a beneficial effect in promoting interest in public health and did much to establish the Federation in the confidence of the public.

The Federation was largely responsible for organizing a public campaign to relieve the outrageous condition of overcrowding at Longview, Hamilton County's hospital for the insane. For a period of nearly ten years an average of two hundred patients had been forced to sleep upon the floors. This effort, vigorously backed by civic organizations, brought relief. Today there is not a single patient sleeping on the floor of Longview. The Longview buildings will be purchased by the state, probably before the end of this year, as a result of the agitation started by the Federation.

The appropriations by the Ohio legislature for the ultimate construction of two new institutions for the feeble-minded had its origin in a bill introduced through the efforts of the Public Health Federation. We supported the Ohio Institute in the campaign which induced the legislature to vote the necessary funds.

The Federation was able to secure an enabling act through the state, a city ordinance, and an appropriation of the board of education which resulted, last October, in the transfer of our farm for problem boys to the board of education. This institution is now in the course of radical reorganization under the direction of an able superintendent. It is expected that the transfer of our Girl's Opportunity Farm will follow shortly.

Through the president of the Federation the cardiac clinic was launched. This clinic, begun in a modest way with practically no funds, is now a part of the department of medicine of the General Hospital. It marks the beginning of a much-needed program in our city for the prevention and relief of heart disease.

The Federation loaned the services of its educational director last year in the making of a thorough and valuable study of hospital facilities and hospital needs of our city. The survey was made under the auspices of the Trownstine Foundation, Cincinnati's research bureau. It has furnished pertinent facts on

the hospital situation, and points the way to a program of hospital expansion better adapted to the needs.

In February of this year the Federation initiated and financed an exhibit of medical science by the College of Medicine. Its purpose was to try to offset the progress of cults, quacks, and patent medicine vendors by giving the public an opportunity to see the inside of a medical college and by demonstrating some of the simple principles of modern medicine and surgery. Thirty thousand citizens of Cincinnati studied the exhibits, crowded the lecture halls, and saw the motion picture, "Pilgrim's Progress through the Medical College," showing how the student is taught from the time he enters until he leaves. One of the direct results of the medical exhibit is a course of public lectures to be given at the College of Medicine, starting in the fall.

A message on the prevention of goiter is now being placed in the hands of every parent in Hamilton County. We are cooperating in an effort to prevail upon the county to adopt a program that will rid the county of stray dogs and demonstrate the possibility of a rabies-free community.

Our Negro population, of something over 30,000, presents perhaps our most serious health challenge. Negroes in our city are dying twice as fast as the whites, their children three times as fast. Their death-rates from tuberculosis, venereal disease, and pneumonia are appalling. Their housing and their social problems have not responded to our efforts. With the wholehearted backing of the Community Chest, the Public Health Federation, in cooperation with the Negro Civic Welfare Association, the Associated Charities, and the Better Housing League, opened, six weeks ago, the Shoemaker Health and Welfare Center in the midst of our West End district, where two-thirds of our colored population live. Here, in a wonderful old building donated for the purpose, we have established a clinic for the ambulatory sick, with services in medicine, surgery, venereal disease, and dentistry. A children's clinic and a prenatal clinic are conducted in cooperation with the Babies' Milk Fund Association. Negro and white physicians serve side by side in each clinic. Practically every Negro physician in the city will participate through a rotating service. This affords the Negro physicians of the community their only opportunity for clinical experience. On the second floor of this center the social agencies have combined their field work for Negro families. The seven Negro field workers of the Better Housing League and of the Associated Charities, under a well-trained supervisor, are conducting a demonstration in generalized social service. Here, too, is the West End office of the Negro Civic Welfare Association, which, under the direction of Mr. J. H. Robinson, has done more to gather the facts about the Negro problem in Cincinnati and to bring about unity and constructive programs than perhaps any other force in the city. On the third floor is a demonstration three-room flat, where Negro housewives are instructed in the art of home-making.

It has seemed advisable to present this summary in order to show that the federation of health activities has a value. We labor under no illusion that we

have done anything like a complete job. One year ago we asked Dr. Haven Emerson to appraise our work and to point out our shortcomings. While giving Cincinnati credit for considerable progress in unifying its health activities, Dr. Emerson rendered us a valuable service by pointing out numerous specific tasks that lie ahead.

Problems in federating health work.—We now come to a consideration of some of the problems facing communities which are trying to federate their health work.

Should a health council consist of private agencies alone, or should it be made up of both public and private agencies? Our experience in Cincinnati leads us to believe that one of the best purposes such a council can serve is to bring together official and volunteer agencies in a united program.

Is it preferable to undertake to coordinate the general health work of the community, as the Cincinnati Federation has done, or to undertake an intensive piece of health coordination in one district of the city as has been done effectively by the Boston Health League? Experience will provide the answer.

Should the federation serve only as a coordinating group, or should it also undertake certain specific functions? Our experience leads us to believe that while in the main its job is that of coordination, there are times when it is necessary to function in a certain field temporarily in order to meet needs not in the province of existing agencies.

Should a health council in a community chest city be a branch of the community chest, or should it be entirely independent, like the other agencies financed by the chest? We have found great advantages in our close affiliation with the community chest. Our policies and plans have never been dictated in any way except as to the limitations on the amount of money available. We have been able to assist the director of the chest in many studies in the health field, and on the other hand, his wholehearted cooperation has made possible several of our outstanding objectives which never could have been achieved otherwise.

Should the health council, in cities where it is a branch of the community chest, pass upon the budgets of constituent agencies? This is a moot question. It has not been the policy in Cincinnati to do this. We are consulted on the budgets of health agencies; our advice and assistance is asked and is given; but we do not decide upon the budgets. The experience of other councils may prove that our attitude is not well taken.

In conclusion, may I present the most important problem, to my mind, that faces our communities in the field of private health efforts? Must we not begin now seriously to plan to consolidate private health agencies in our cities? The trend in recent years has been altogether in the other direction. For every new health problem arising—and there are many more that will arise—we have formed a separate agency with an additional board of directors, an additional executive, and more overhead. How long can this policy continue? Dr. Lee K.

Frankel raised this question as to private health agencies in the national field in a masterful address last week at the National Health Congress. I did not get my thought from him, as the draft of this paper had already been prepared, but his presentation convinced me more firmly that the trend of the future must be in this direction.

I believe that we shall be forced to it, not only to secure greater efficiency, a sounder, better-balanced program to promote the public health, but eventually by financial considerations. In community chest cities we are raising more money for private social and health work than has ever been raised in the history of the world. We are fast reaching our limit in money-raising, at least for the present. New needs cannot be met, necessary work cannot be expanded, unless we make better use of the funds available. I can see no way in which it can be done except by consolidating volunteer health work under single direction with the necessary divisions. Were we starting out with a clear field, would not the logical method be to organize a single agency? Is there any sound reason why private health work should be conducted by several independent groups, any more than that a city health department should have a bureau of tuberculosis, of child hygiene, of nursing, each independent of the other and with no central direction welding the whole together for the best possible protection of the public health?

I fully recognize that this proposal will meet with vigorous opposition. It may take a long time to accomplish. Perhaps no existing federation is the agency under which the consolidation should be brought about. Yet I cannot escape the conclusion that it is the next big forward step in the field of private health work.

IV. THE FAMILY

WHAT HAS SOCIAL WORK TO DO WITH THE FOUNDING OF NEW FAMILIES?

*Joanna C. Colcord, General Secretary, Family Welfare
Association, Minneapolis*

Social control of marriage is often spoken of nowadays as if it were a new proposal, something radical, untried, inimical to personal freedom. But the fact had been pointed out by Professor F. E. Lumley of the Ohio State University that the individual's right to marry has always been subject to the supervision of the community, and that it is a right which may be given or withheld as the community deems best for its own welfare. "It is possible to show," he says, "that the race has never depended for its continuance upon the union of *all* its members. Every race has lived to this present hour because *some* of its members united and perpetuated a good heritage."¹

Nevertheless, in most of these United States the community has so far allowed any purposeful control over the marriage of its citizens to fall into disuse that proposals to make this control more effective seem novel and revolutionary. Determined opposition from many different quarters has made the securing of any improvements in our marriage laws during the last five or ten years a terribly up-hill matter. When this opposition comes from the liberal camp, it generally takes the form of protest that marriage is a personal and private affair between the two persons concerned, with which the less meddlesome interference on the part of the state, the better. The core of the conservative opposition, on the other hand, is the fear lest irregular unions and births out of wedlock will be increased by anything that places hindrance or delay in the way of marriage. "We are opposed to anything that makes marriages more difficult or divorce more easy," a committee of New York legislators reported, after what must have been a cursory examination of a bill which did not mention divorce at all, and sought merely to introduce a delay of five days between the application for a marriage license and its issuance.

Both of these contentions ignore the obvious fact that, since the product of marriage is usually children, the state has the greatest possible concern in seeing to it that these children, its future citizens, have the best possible start in life. Increasingly the community has manifested this concern with respect to children already born, in the long series of protective legislation designed to curb the

¹ *The Family*, January, 1923.

power of ignorant, irresponsible, greedy, vicious, or neglectful parents. The presence of such laws on our statute books is evidence that the state recognizes that there are some parents who may not safely be left in full control of their children's destinies. But this state supervision has not been effectively directed toward children as yet unborn.

It seems obvious from all this, however, that marriage is not, and cannot be, solely the affair of two people. It is a three-cornered affair, with the state one of the parties involved. To those who follow certain religious faiths it is a sacrament of the church as well, but persons who do not marry nor wish to marry according to the rites of any church nevertheless find that the state has to be consulted about their plans. The state has retained the right to prescribe, authorize, and register the persons who shall be allowed to perform the ceremony of marriage. Clerics so authorized are empowered to exercise the functions of their church in combination only with those of the state; non-clerics act for the state alone. By this means, and by issuing a separate permit called a license to each couple about to be married, the state unmistakably manifests its status as supervising and participating in the marriage ceremony.

But the power to issue a permit or license carries with it, inseparably, the power to withhold the same for cause. The only real question involved in much of the argument about marriage legislation is: What shall be considered proper cause for withholding or delaying the state's permission to marry? No new rights of the community are involved, but only the possible extension and re-interpretation of rights which it already unquestionably possesses.

One explanation for confused thinking on these points lies in the fact, however, that many of our states have imperfectly safeguarded their own status as guardians of the gateway of marriages. Along with ceremonial marriage, they acknowledge the equal validity of so-called "common law marriages." These, of course, are voluntary unions, entered into without benefit of license or marriage ceremony, and depending upon more or less definite private agreements, and upon a successful duping of the public for their claim to being marriages at all. For the curious fact is that unless the partners in a common law marriage "hold themselves out" to be ceremonially married, and are so esteemed to be by their neighbors, the marriage will not stand the test of law. Such arrangements are nowhere recorded, of course, and the private agreements are not usually made in writing, so that they are exceedingly difficult to establish in court. The fact remains, however, that until a common law marriage has been successfully maintained as being such, in connection with some court proceeding, its validity must remain a matter of doubt. Persons who know of the existence of legal barriers to their ceremonial marriage will often not hesitate to enter into these freer relations, since the risk of conviction for bigamy when one of the marriages was unceremonial and unrecorded is small. A common law wife often has to base her claim to wifehood and to the legitimacy of her children upon such imponderables as whether the husband really meant in his own heart to regard

the arrangement as a marriage or whether she was accepted unquestionably by the neighbors as his wife. It is not too much to say that states in which common law marriage is recognized have abrogated their right and their duty to oversee and record all marriages which are to be regarded as legal. They sanction, in effect, two kinds of marriages: one of unquestionable, the other of doubtful, validity. According to Gresham's law, if two systems of currency of different basic value circulate in the same community at the same time, the baser of the two tends to drag the finer down to its own level. I think there is an analogy here!

At this present stage of our knowledge the ends which we can hope to attain through legislation in the regulation of marriage are fairly simple. First, a few antisocial marriages can be prohibited. Bigamous marriages are already void or voidable under most state laws, but in practice their dissolution is made difficult by the fact that the machinery of justice has to be set in motion by one of the injured parties. Even consanguineous marriages are not always easily dissolved when once consummated if the relationship happens to be no nearer than that of uncle and niece. Second, other doubtful marriages can be delayed until inquiry has been made into the statements of the parties, until they have had time to realize the seriousness of their steps, or until they are of suitable age to contract marriage. Many states are still without the so-called "advance notice laws" and the prohibitions of child marriages which would make such delays possible. Third, all marriages can be properly licensed by, and recorded by, the state, which can also designate the persons empowered to perform marriages. Many states, as has been said, still recognize unlicensed and unrecorded marriages under the common law.

Further than this, we are on debatable ground. We agree that it would be desirable to prevent the marriage of those afflicted with a communicable disease, whether venereal or other, but the administrative difficulties surrounding this sort of legislation are still being experimented with in a few forward-looking states. Until biologists and psychiatrists can agree among themselves better than they do at present about the transmissibility of feeble-mindedness and insanity we have little solid scientific foundation for marriage legislation in these directions. Many states have such prohibitory laws on their statute books, but in none that I know of can there be said to be any real enforcement.

And yet how extraordinarily difficult it has proved to gain public assent to the three simple propositions just stated. Bigamous and incestuous marriages, while prohibited, continue to occur and are not voided without determined action; the right of both adults and infants to marry at a moment's notice is being defended as if it were the heart's core of our liberties; while whole bar associations unite in solemnly assuring us that the retention of common law marriage is necessary for the protection of women and children! More surprising than all else, perhaps, is the attitude toward marriage, seemingly borrowed from the comic papers, that it is a suitable punishment for those who have offended.

To hear marriage being proffered to a man who has raped a young girl, as an alternative to a prison sentence, makes one feel as if this world we live in were as topsy-turvy as a madman's dream. It is not a high concept, but a low concept, of marriage which contemplates its use either as quicksalve or as retribution.

Though better laws, and better enforcement of those laws, are needed to protect the founding of new families, the main advantage of the agitation to secure them is going to lie, as it so frequently does, in the popular education which will have to precede it. We might as well face the fact that we shall get no remedial legislation at all until, or unless, the public mind can be convinced that there are serious evils needing attention. At present the public mind is largely occupied with the question of divorce. It has not yet awakened to the fact that divorce could be lessened if unsuitable marriages were prevented. The work of the Russell Sage Foundation in studying marriage laws and their administration is fairly well known to an audience like this; yet a recent number of a well-known weekly states that among the Sage Foundation's latest achievements is "a study of what is popularly called the divorce problem." Until we can perform a little divorce operation of our own upon the public mind, it will continue to fix its attention upon the shipwreck of families rather than upon their launching, and will continue to register "divorce" whenever it hears of laws to regulate marriage. One of the outstanding objections to the Capper bill to permit federal legislation on these subjects is that it embraces both marriage and divorce in the same act, with the inevitable result that, in the struggle between those who want divorce made easier and those who want it made impossible, the marriage legislation features of the bill will drop out of sight and be forgotten.

But many of us believe that there are more fundamental objections than this to federal legislation on the subject of marriage at the present time. We are still in an experimental stage as to what will and what will not work in various parts of the country. Some states have already achieved for themselves standards which no country-wide federal law could possibly attain. It is conceivable that a time may come when federal unification of marriage laws will be a thing which social workers should work for; but, just as in the case of child labor legislation that stage should be postponed until there has been ample time for public education, and for the securing, state by state, of higher standards. The time to push for federal legislation is after the majority of the states have attained a high standard on their own account and after unsatisfactory measures have been weeded out by state experiment; not when, as is the present fact in marriage laws, the majority of the states possess laws of a low standard. Moreover, any attempt at this time to devise a country-wide codification of marriage laws is bound to reflect the various prejudices of the drafters. The Capper bill itself, for example, contains a prohibition against the marriage of first cousins, in support of which its drafter, Mrs. Edward Franklin White, makes the following extraordinary statement: "The records of institutions for the deaf and for

the feeble-minded show that the great majority of the inmates are the offspring of the marriages of first cousins."¹

In support of federal legislation many persons adduce the vexing problem of evasive marriages by non-residents in states whose standards are low, which largely nullifies the advantage of strict marriage laws to a state whose neighbors are more easy-going. There are possible ways of overcoming this evil, however, short of blanket federal legislation. Some states have already passed laws, in good neighborliness, which oblige non-residents seeking to marry within their borders to present evidence that they can meet the requirements of their own states first. We are beginning to learn that the strict doctrine of states' rights has got to be supplemented by voluntary interstate cooperation for the common good, and that such arrangements are in many fields infinitely to be preferred to federal intervention.

We have perhaps been thinking around our subject up to now, instead of thinking straight at it. What *has* social work to do with the founding of new families?

Recognition and study.—In the first place, social work has in this respect already begun the performance of its traditional function of noting the presence of an evil. To family social work—we may even narrow it further, and say to the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation—belongs the credit of having pointed out the chaotic state of marriage laws and their administration. The Foundation has also entered upon the second traditional step of collecting evidence upon which a remedy may be based. But here, surely, is a point at which we social workers out in the field should be making our contribution. It seems to me that there are several perfectly practical steps which social workers in different communities might group themselves together to do. They might form marriage law committees following the example of Connecticut, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, and several other states which already have such committees in operation. These committees might set themselves the task of finding out how the marriage laws of their state are actually working. The study of schoolgirl brides recently completed by the Women's Protective Association here in Cleveland might serve as a suggestive model for additional studies of this sort. Another profitable source of material for study would be the annulment cases in our local courts. In our preoccupation with divorce we have not paid enough attention to annulment. A divorce may end a marriage which began under promising auspices; but an annulment is a patent confession that the marriage which preceded it ought never to have taken place. The help of departments of sociology in colleges and universities might be secured for such studies, and graduate students in these departments might be interested to do some of the work toward their advanced degrees. Such a committee might direct the attention of social workers, and particularly case workers, in its territory to a better recording of the premarital history of the families

¹ *Current History Magazine*, *New York Times*, May, 1913.

with whom they deal. Our case records are very inadequate on this point, as we all know. We ought to develop in ourselves the habit of ascertaining and including a history of the courtship and marriage, using the same care with which we develop the account of the more recent happenings in family life. Simply to record these facts and then bury them in our closed case records would be labor lost, however, and so we should also have some method of noting recurrence—a separate list or a definite symbol in our statistical system—which would permit us to pull out the case records which exhibit the problem we wish to study.

2. *Public education and legislation.*—After collecting the evidence of conditions that need a remedy, the next problem is so to use that evidence as to convince others that a remedy is called for. Here social work cannot act alone, but should seek a wide range of allies. Attempted legislation that proceeds solely from social workers is always under suspicion from legislators. This is a legacy of our past mistakes. We must secure our public before legislation is attempted. Church federations, women's clubs, medical societies, civic organizations, bar associations should be our natural allies in a campaign to improve marriage laws, and it may be that the strategy of the situation should make us relinquish to one or the other of them the leadership in a local campaign, ourselves serving loyally in the ranks. At this stage our traditional rôle is to try to enlist the cooperation of the socially minded all through the community, to see that the proposals for remedy rest on as solid and scientific a basis of fact as possible; and, if legislation is the end in view, that it is drafted by competent legal skill and strongly sponsored in the legislature.

After remedial legislation has been passed, it has often happened that its sponsors have rested from their labors in the happy assumption that the job was done. But opposition often springs up from unexpected sources, and strange pocket-nerves are touched, even in such a matter as legislation affecting marriage. That there is profit to someone in lax marriage laws is evidenced in the existence of those centers called Gretna Greens, or marriage markets; and officials deprived of fees and tradesmen deprived of other business can summon formidable opposition, especially if the forces who helped pass the law are disbanded. An advance notice law recently passed in Nebraska was repealed immediately largely through the efforts of the Jewelers' Association, who saw part of the trade in wedding rings being diverted to neighboring states. Other efforts are likely to be made to amend the laws or to create exceptions which nullify their effect.

The effectiveness of legislation, however, can be measured only in terms of its administration. The Cleveland study of child marriages shows us how little it avails a state to have good marriage laws if they are by common consent abrogated in practice in several important directions. Even in states which already have good laws it behooves social workers interested in the founding of new families to learn how those laws are actually being administered.

License issuing is a particularly thankless task, and few of those engaging in it have the encouragement of knowing that they have the support of any large number of citizens in the difficult decisions they often have to make. Nor do those who issue marriage licenses or pass upon the exceptional case frequently have much knowledge of the assistance they might gain from the technique of the social worker. This technique has been carried over into the field of the issuance of permits to work, with tremendous results. Without it the administration of our child labor and school attendance laws today would be as much of a tragi-comedy as is a great deal of the administration of our marriage laws.

Legislation on matters of social control cannot much longer afford to deprive itself, on the administrative side, of the experience and the methods of social work. Says Pound,

All the social sciences must be co-workers, and emphatically all must be co-workers with jurisprudence. When we set off a bit of social control and define its bounds by analytical criteria, and essay to study it by its own light and with its own materials and its own methods exclusively, our results, however logical in appearance, are as arbitrary and as futile for any but theoretical purposes as the division of the body of the defaulting debtor among his co-creditors in primitive law.¹

During the past twenty years we have seen the case work idea extended to many fields not even thought of when case work began. Each of these enlargements of the boundary has meant the return tenfold to the parent profession of new ideas, new methods, new impetus toward experimentation and growth. May it not prove so with the further extension of the social worker's method to fields of law enforcement and governmental regulation? Our own profession will gain more than it gives by the connection; and we shall be spared that slow solidifying of age which overtakes movements as well as individuals.

In all of the foregoing I do not wish to be understood as believing that the betterment of marriage and of family life can come through law and law enforcement alone. Along with a more responsible civic attitude toward the founding of new families we need to have a more definite program for the training of youth to take up the duties of family life. The church has long carried the chief burden of such instruction, but why should not social work, education, and public health combine in strengthening the church's efforts to dignify family life?

Anyone who examines the marriage customs of savage tribes² will find much to shock and repel in the low ideals and the narrowed concepts of the possibilities of human existence which they display. But if he brings to this examination the poised mind of the student he is bound to find two outstanding facts that have a bearing on what has just been said. The first is that however far sex practices and ideals may have been wide from those held by civilized man, there have seldom been recorded instances of individual standards of conduct in these mat-

¹ Roscoe Pound, *Law and Morals*, University of North Carolina Press, 1924.

² For a further discussion of this subject, see the articles on "The Need of a Sociological Approach to Problems of Sex Conduct," by Charles W. Margold, now appearing in the *American Journal of Sociology*.

ters being permitted or accepted by the tribe. However gross the license allowed, to our modern way of thinking, it was allowed by action of the communal authority, and not otherwise. Social control of sex, marriage, the family relation is so integral a part of savage society that the modern abrogation of control in that respect would seem very like chaos to them. The second important fact is perhaps a corollary of the first: that savage societies do not leave the education of the young for sex and family life, as we do, to chance, to each other, or to the wisdom or unwisdom of parents. There are, on the contrary, definitely appointed teachers of both sexes told off for this important duty, and through them the tribal law and custom on this and other subjects are imparted to the adolescent members of the tribe, over a longer or shorter period of preparation, culminating in a solemn and, to our minds (though not to theirs), repugnant initiation ceremony which raises the young people to the status of adults. There is none of us but would shrink with horror from the thought of having the subject matter of these training courses presented to our young people; but has not the method something in it worthy of our attention? See what they did. First, they accepted social control of the private family life of the individual, assuming that the tribe had every right to direct the conditions under which its next generation might be recruited, and narrowing the limits of individual choice to that end. Much of their wisdom may have been superstition or fortuitous experiment, but the principle never varied. Second, they recognized that the sex life of the members of the tribe was important, and they dignified it in the eyes of the novices by weaving ceremonial observances about it of almost equal importance with their religious ceremonies. Third, they placed the instruction in the hands of people who, in their eyes, possessed definite qualifications for the task. Fourth, they made the status of adulthood something that had to be earned, the right to which had to be demonstrated. True, their pedagogy included terror, shame, and suffering unspeakable, things we would like to forget as part of our ancestral heritage.

In the long trek upward from savagery, however, the human race has brought with it many of its most valuable possessions. Who would recognize in our wheat fields of today the lineal descendant of the sparse grasses on which our nomad ancestors used to graze their flock? But many other things have been cast aside as worthless, which now we have the opportunity and the knowledge to go back to examine, finding, sometimes, that they might have been of use to us had we preserved and developed them in pace with our own progress, as we did the wheat!

I do not see why marriage and parenthood in their relation to the communal life cannot be taught as citizenship is taught. That ideals are seldom realized is surely no reason why they should not be presented to the young, in all reverence and truthfulness, as something to be striven for by all and realized by many. The forms of marriage and of family life must and will change, and such teaching should keep abreast of new conditions and not dwell in an unreal world of the

past which no longer exists. But love and fidelity, mutual reliance and willing sacrifice, still exist and must exist, and be taught by precept and example, if the upward progress of our race is to continue. It is upon these things, and not upon changing economic and social conditions, that a stable family life has always been, and will always be, founded.

THE BACKGROUND OF A FAMILY'S RELIGIOUS LIFE AS SOCIAL DATA

*Mary Willcox Glenn, President, American Association for
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In *Porgy*, Du Bose Heyward's vivid portrayal of Negro life in a dilapidated quarter of an old southern city, there is an incident which shows how knowledge of the religious experience of a particular woman could be counted on as a clue to her conduct. Crown, the killer, who had been hiding in the swamps after murdering a fellow-Negro, Serena's husband, in a brawl, comes stealthily back to the quarter. When the somber Maria, the guardian of the quarter's peace, threatens him with betrayal to the authorities, his rejoinder is:

"I know dese hyuh niggers. . . . Dey is a decent lot. Dey wouldn't gib no nigger away tuh de w'ite folks."

"Dat de Gawd' trut'," is Maria's answer, "only dey is odder way ob settlin' up er debt."

"Serena?" he retorts, "Dot sister gots de fear ob Gawd in her heart. I ain't 'fraid none ob she."

Crown knew she had been converted. He understood his people. He did not have to hear Serena say, "Dat nigger bes' t'ank he Gawd dat I gots My Jesus now fuh hol' back my han'," to be confident that he was safe in her vicinity.

But in most instances the case worker is not prepared readily to get insight into a family's religious life so that social data may thereby become available for treatment: first, because the case worker ordinarily deals with people whose racial and religious antecedents are other than her own; second, because she herself is reticent and hesitates to try to disclose religious inclinations or motives; and third, because no technique of approach has been developed for use in revealing the sources of conduct which spring from a client's past or present religious experience.

We may agree, I take it, that the purpose of including a family's religious background in a social record is broader than that of furnishing clues as to previous manner of living or providing additional forms of relief. May we not also agree that to perceive what influence religion has had on a family's life, and consciously to adapt our findings to treatment, are processes essential to a full development of personality? Essential, I should assert, by the way, to a reciprocal development of client and case worker, to that mutual creative reaction which makes a mature social case worker thank God that she herself has been

enabled to see more clearly what lies at the heart of life's mystery because she has had the privilege of taking dynamic part in helping people who are bearing trouble.

As the chairman, some years ago, of a case conference of men, most of whom were active members of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and came of the same racial and religious background as the clients whose problems we discussed in fortnightly sessions, I learned the value of reliance on the men's interpretation of a client's behavior and on their cooperative effort to influence his future conduct through drawing him back into relation with his church.

The Church Mission of Help, a society of the Episcopal church for wayward young people, irrespective of their religious affiliations, whose work is based on a belief in the significance of the spiritual approach in social case work, is finding that its service is most fruitful when a girl under care has the background of connection with the Episcopal church itself. The reason is that the visitor and the girl have at the start a foundation on which to begin to build an understanding.

A young show girl came into the office of a Church Mission of Help in a large city. In spite of her audacious attire (a black, spangled hat, loose black and white coat, high-heeled, black satin pumps) it was apparent that she was shortly to be confined. She picked up a church paper, the monthly publication of the Girls' Friendly Society, while she waited to be interviewed. "See," she said, when the visitor met her, "this is the first thing that has made me feel at home for some time." It was learned that she had been baptized and confirmed in an Episcopal church in another city; that her mother, a widow, was, as the family's rector wrote later, "a very respectable woman," and her brother a member of the parish choir. She had come some time before to the large city for work and adventure, had found a job in a show, and, as a result of an infatuation with a member of the company, had become pregnant. As the time for her confinement drew near, she found herself without resources. The day following the initial visit, when she was again in the office, she heard the bells for vespers ring in an adjoining church. "Is that our church?" she said. Voluntarily she went into the church with the visitor, followed the service with appreciation, and spoke of her wish—if she were permitted—to make her communion. The natural next step was to introduce her to the rector, a clergyman active in the work of the society. The relationship then begun deepened during the two weeks before the baby's birth and in the eight weeks that followed. It led to the baby's baptism, to the girl's communions renewed, and to her being the one to acquaint her family with her situation, and to return with her baby to take up her life again in her mother's home. Before she told her family about her baby she had secured work by which she could be self-supporting. A deeper need than for financial security led her home.

The religious background voluntarily revealed gave in this case the clue for a start in treatment. The assumption does not follow that in another society, under a visitor of a religious or ethical persuasion other than the girl's own, a like result would not have been attained. But the fact is that the atmosphere in which she found herself induced an immediate disclosure of religious antecedents and inclinations. Henry James, in the preface to *Princess Casamassima*, says, "Without intensity where is vividness, and without vividness where is presentability?" The clergyman and the visitor were, from the standpoint of presentability, at a distinct advantage in their treatment of their young client, because

the intensity of her need was matched by their own intense and vivid sense of the way in which she might most surely find strength to meet the claims of social readjustment.

In a recent case conference on the future of another unmarried mother and child, decision as to whether the weight of influence should fall on marriage between the Jewish father of the baby and the mother, of Presbyterian stock, was deferred until a Jewish rabbi, whose helpfulness had been proved in another case, could come into personal contact with the young man and his orthodox mother and could subsequently advise as to the probability of a stable union. Through invoking the service of the clergyman and rabbi in these two instances there was brought into the sphere of treatment a method belonging to another field. You may recall the quotation from an address of Professor MacIver's used in the October issue of *The Family*: "To get the facts is only the beginning. . . . The real and arduous task is to interpret these things, and the point is that this interpretation requires a method of its own. We cannot use the methods of other sciences belonging to other fields. It would be incongruous."

A student in the New York School of Social Work has given me a brief summary of a case record used in class, which was selected because of the many contacts made between visitor and church.

An American family of a tubercular man—his wife, three small children, and a niece—was referred by a church to a family society. Close and helpful cooperation is depicted. Responsibility is shared for effective treatment during the periods of the man's illness and death and the widow's subsequent adjustment. The latter "was peculiarly difficult," the student writes, for "the family had high standards of living and the widow had been used to referring decisions to her husband." Income was supplemented, health was supervised, the widow was encouraged to become more self-reliant, the niece was given vocational guidance; but, the student adds, "This case is a good illustration of cooperation between the society and the church; also the influence of the church is mentioned as being very strong, but is not in any way brought out except that the church did certain things for the niece. She was in the Sunday school class, helped with the communion class, and the parish worker talked over reading with her each Saturday morning and tried to find recreational opportunities for her. The parish worker was also interested in finding a higher paid position for Mrs. Blank. In short, while this record illustrates good cooperation between the church and the social agency, it does not bring out in any tangible way how Mrs. Blank's spiritual needs, for instance, at the time of her husband's death, were met."

This summary might be taken to typify many of the histories of helpful cooperation between a family society and the church whereby thoroughgoing use has been made of a wide variety of services. What is missed in a reading of the records is a revelation of the church at work as a spiritual force. They do not show what the church meant to the inner life of the people portrayed, how far it was, or had been, a source of spiritual strength, nor how it had determined a given family's reaction to the circumstances of its life.

The Committee on Relations with Case Work Organizations Operating under Religious Auspices¹ has in a recent report enumerated some of the reasons for

¹ A committee of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work.

failure on the part of the social worker to draw from the church data comparable, as one might say, in value to that given by members of professions, such as the medical, the legal, the psychiatric. Through realizing what are the grounds of our past failures to use the church effectively in the diagnosis and treatment of clients; through being freed from preoccupation with our clients primarily as economic beings, or as health seekers, or as psychic phenomena; through persistent endeavor to weigh their total worth as human beings, compact of forces physical and mental, psychical and spiritual, we should enter on a new stage of development in social case work. We should be in the mood to make creative use of the church. We should inevitably see our own efforts enhanced, accelerated, and as a result the personality of our clients would then more surely develop in harmony with the hidden sources of buoyant life. There must be, however, to assure such result as well considered, a *rapprochement* between the social worker and the clergyman as there has been between the social worker and the practitioners of other professions. Such *rapprochement* has been in each instance the forerunner of notable advance in social case work itself. It has brought breadth and depth to content.

In the report of the Committee on Relations with Case Work Organizations under Religious Auspices the statement is made that "the leadership giving character and direction to the social work endeavor of the church naturally is found in the clergy." It is important, therefore, the report concludes, to know what social information is given in theological schools. The introduction of training in social work as an addition to what is offered through courses on pastoral theology is urged, not in order, as the report asserts, that the theological student should (or could, through such an opportunity given in the seminary) become a social worker, but that he might be prepared to be a better pastor.

I recall how, twenty years ago, the medical students of the Johns Hopkins University became in their third and fourth years members of a Charity Organization Society case conference and did field work under the joint direction of a member of the medical faculty and the district secretary. That experiment, as well as cognate experiments made elsewhere, have so proved the worth of training relations established between social worker and doctor that it seems trite to make mention of it here.

If one had time one could trace over a period of years the case work efforts made within the charity organization movement to reach the theological seminaries and groups of clergy. Such efforts have, however, been sporadic. They have not, until the present time, had a momentum which may presage a new era reached in the orderly progression of social case work. An instance of the value to case work itself of contact achieved between district and seminary is furnished by the district secretary of a family society to which several students of a theological seminary have been assigned for training by their professor of pastoral theology. The evidence is embodied in the history of a family under care since November, 1924, but only recently assigned to one of the students.

The parish visitor of a denominational church referred the Byrnes, a family of seven. At its head, Mrs. Byrne herself, with hair almost white (though she is less than forty), clear skin, rosy cheeks, bright blue eyes looking through spectacles, soft voice—a Barrie-like type of home-making Scotch woman. Her three stalwart boys by a former marriage to a skilled Scotch artisan, who, having been killed in the Great War, left an honorable civic and war record. Her second husband was an American, two years her junior, who enlisted in Canada in the early part of the war, and who suffered nerve-racking experiences, beginning with shipwreck in an early phase of his service and ending with shell shock in the last phase. They met in Scotland and were married two years after her widowhood. Their two boys are aged six and four. The elder has the mentality of an infant.

The record from the start is a noteworthy example of skilful diagnosis and resourceful treatment. The characteristics are noted and plans made to meet the physical and mental, the recreational and vocational, needs of each member of the family. The strain existing between Mr. Byrne and his stepsons, his inclination to drink in times of stress, his evident feeling of inferiority, the poor influence exerted over him by his own relatives, who are of meaner stock than that from which Mrs. Byrne comes, the fact that they, though Mr. Byrne's membership has lapsed, are Roman Catholics—each of these factors is given due weight. Frequent conferences are held with the church visitor, and note taken of the minister's periodic visits in times of sickness.

The secretary states, however, that it was not until the theological student recently began his visits, that the family's deeper wants were revealed. I wish I could transmit the impression I got from the record and from the secretary's comments of the plumbing of those depths.

Mrs. Byrne had been persuaded to go to a hospital for examination, and had, after a short stay, returned home with the diagnosis of cancer and the expectation of no more than a year to live. In her brief absence, Mr. Byrne, terrified by what she would have to endure and overwhelmed by his sense of incompetence, had begun to drink hard. The sons were angry with him and terribly discouraged. The helpless child was more than ever a care. Defeated, as he himself seemed to be, Mr. Byrne turned to the student in behalf of his wife, asking if there were not someone who could talk to her about God. He explained that her mother had taught her to hide her troubles from the world. She had been reticent with the church visitor and the minister when they made their frequent calls. Her neighbors knew what she had had to endure, but she made no admission to them. With these clues the student went to see her again. He came to realize how homesick she was for her own people, how she yearned to get back to her native heath. He saw her planning to keep her husband away from a sister who tempted him to drink, and studying to make a move which would bring him into a different setting and enable him to use to advantage his knack as a handyman about a house. One day, the student says, she asked him, "Why does all this sickness come to us? I've prayed and prayed." "It was from a motherly neighbor," he adds, "that I heard later the words which I should have said myself, and I think they helped me, who had made stumbling efforts, quite as much as they helped Mrs. Byrne." Realizing his own inadequacy in the face of Mrs. Byrne's spiritual need, he drew into the circle a clergyman who had been trained to appreciate the case work method and who had a wider religious experience than his own. They together strengthened the faith of each member of the family, using prayer as a vital force. They made special effort to develop in the boys, at this crucial period in their lives, their innate disposition to be serviceable, drawing them out of their preoccupation with the problems of the home through an opportunity offered, in a neighborhood club, for them to befriend young sailors on shore leave.

"The things pertaining to the Kingdom of God" became a portion of the day's experience in the home over which death brooded, but not, we can believe, as a conqueror. Revivifying life flowed through the family's veins. The force of the affection of the members one for another, fed by the undying, the revived, sacrificial energy of the woman as wife and mother, kept the family in touch with reality, drew them into the current of infinite possibilities of growth. There

was no proselytizing on the part of secretary or student or clergyman. Inherited and assumed church affiliations were held in reverence. There was no interference with the pastoral visits of the minister of the church to which Mrs. Byrne and her sons belonged. But there was a trilogy working together: a family in spiritual need, a district secretary alert to find a new medium for relieving acute distress, a volunteer in position to point the way.

I should be false to my experience if I left the impression that the mature and apt practitioners in our case work ranks have minimized the importance of spiritual factors, or have lacked ability, or have failed to make direct, religious contacts with clients. I refer you for instances to the chapter on "Dynamics" in *The Art of Helping People out of Trouble*. But there is justification, I am confident, for the recent comment of another theological student: "Social workers have been inclined to regard religion as an interesting frill on the edge of life, which can be isolated and left alone without serious loss; . . . to regard the clergyman in his major capacity as negligible, and of concern only in his minor capacity as a social worker."

In view of our having been living in a period when there has been reticence in discussing the ways of God with men, lack of reliance on religious training and discipline, a tendency to turn exclusively to science for leads, the time, in my judgment, has come (I repeat for the purpose of emphasis) when the student in religion should be asked to show social case workers how to draw on religion as a source, in some way comparable with what practitioners in other professions have disclosed. The corollary is that the church, as an institution rooted in social life, needs for its own sake to become acquainted with case work method and findings, and to make an unprejudiced evaluation of what these have to contribute to the pastor.

These statements I would underpin with another of basic importance to social case work. The making of spiritual contacts, the achieving of spiritual adjustments, cannot be delegated as a task for some other group to perform. No worker true to the profession would admit such; none would fail to realize that to take such a position—that of transference of responsibility for helping to effect spiritual growth—would presage the decline and fall of case work as a distinctive profession. Every case worker worthy of her salt is striving to gain mastery of objective factors in order that the spiritual energy of the inner man may be released, that personality may have sustenance on which to feed. No case worker loyal to the possibilities of the profession has failed to ask of herself the question, after a client's physical sufferings have been relieved and the sufferer stands, as Josiah Royce¹ put it, "once more on the threshold of life, What can one do to give him life itself?"

Many case workers, whose efforts to develop the personality of others have been sustained and thoughtfully considered, have learned to understand that because "personality is the capacity for fellowship,"² the scope of personality

¹ *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, p. 153.

² William Temple, Bishop of Manchester, *Christ the Truth*, p. 64.

includes relationship not alone with one's fellows, but with God himself. That the good to attain for one's client, for one's self, is an inclusive fellowship, whose dimensions are boundless, durable, timeless.

We know that we ourselves must ascertain what makes for spiritual value; that we ourselves must find the answer to the question, What is life? that we must come into fellowship with God. In so endeavoring we of necessity must turn to religion; we can and should draw on the church as an organic body with a rooted experience of human nature; we should come to rely on the data it may furnish, as we have effectively relied on the data provided by other professional bodies. May we not, from religion and from science, acquire the quality of steadfast waiting upon results which characterize the fine exponents of each? May we not become the truer artists as with patience and hope we do wait on that we see not?

THE BACKGROUND OF A FAMILY'S RELIGIOUS LIFE AS SOCIAL DATA

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Mrs. Glenn's paper brings to my mind the close analogy existing between our use of the term "background" and that of the field from which the word is borrowed.

The background of a portrait seems a relatively unimportant thing. Aside from a certain pleasurable consciousness of light and color, we are never more than vaguely aware of it. But we need only try to visualize the portrait with the background blotted out to appreciate the integral part the latter plays in the picture's harmonious wholeness. Sunlight through an open window, crimson hangings, the fold of a cloak, hands, hair, eyes (for these are backgrounds, too, in a certain sense) serve as a medium to express the idea in the mind of the artist. He has no desire merely to reproduce faithfully the accidents of dress or feature. What he is concerned with is to capture the essential quality, the characteristic factors of personality—the soul, if you will—of his subject, and to interpret on canvas, by means of line and color, this moment of beauty and understanding. His use of background is a means to this end. The picture could not live without it.

The case worker, I have been thinking, is an artist in her own way. She too must look beneath the surface of things, the accidents of birth and race and education, and see into the man himself. She must come to know his desires, impulses, ambitions, disappointments, temptations, prejudices, and anxieties. But it is only through a skilful process of unraveling the external wrappings of his life that the hidden man is finally revealed.

"I am a part of all that I have met!" sang the old Ulysses in perfect truth.

And if for him experience was an arch through which gleamed the untraveled world whose margin faded forever as he moved, for the case worker the experience, the life history, of her client must be the arch through which she must travel backward in search of knowledge and understanding of him. The journey, she recognizes at the outset, can never be actually completed. But while with each step bewildering new vistas open up before her, each step likewise brings her a little farther along the way.

There is this difference between the task of the painter and that of the case worker. The latter's work is never finished; by the very nature of things this must always be so. She does not deal with life at a particular moment, as the artist does. Her concern is to understand and interpret it in a state of perpetual motion and activity. For her backgrounds, both her own and the client's, are continually changing. Her canvas is so broad as to be almost boundless. The very scope of it, while it presents unlimited possibilities, is not a little baffling. There is so much to know about the life of even one human being before she can hope to understand him, and the pressure of many things is so great that it is discouragingly impossible, oftentimes, to cover the space assigned to her. There is little opportunity as yet in case work for the close, fine, meticulous work of the painter of miniatures. The best that most of us can do is to make hasty sketches, block in our backgrounds roughly, keep moving on with the unfolding panorama of life, and hope for a time to come when we can go back and finish the picture.

Mrs. Glenn has very properly pointed out to us a portion of background that has had at best altogether too scant attention from us. It is strange that case work should so tardily recognize the importance of understanding the backgrounds of a family's religious life, for nothing clings so tenaciously or is more deeply rooted. It is true of all experience, but particularly true of religious experience, because it goes so deep that it is never lost altogether. It may be overlaid for the time by other happenings, as a Rembrandt may be covered over by an inferior painting, and come to light only when a skilled artist sees the signs of the genuine picture beneath; it may have sunk beneath the surface of the individual's everyday existence, may be unrecognizably changed in form, perhaps, but it still lives on, an inextricable part of him, a force that must forever be reckoned with.

An approach to an understanding of the difficulty between John and Ellen Davis was simplified at the outset because the worker recognized the necessity of obtaining a picture of the differing religious backgrounds of the two young people. Ellen was impulsive, warm-hearted, quick-tempered, Irish, and a Catholic. She was a city-bred child, who had grown up in the wholesome give and take of a large family and had been sent to a convent school until she was seventeen. Until she met John her life had been directed by three major interests: home, school, and church. Her church afforded Ellen a joyous self-expression that amounted almost to a passion with her. John was taken into the

home of a maiden aunt after the death of his parents when he was six years old. His aunt lived in a small country town, in a spotlessly clean and precise little house, and did her duty by John, as she did everything, thoroughly and without flinching. One of her duties, as she saw it, was the boy's religious training, so John, not unwillingly, accompanied her to service every time the bell in the little wooden church rang out a summons. Religion to John's aunt was a serious business, and for the boy too it came to be a solemn affair, somewhat tintured by the atmosphere of good clothes, stiff collars, and unwonted shoes and stockings. His churchgoing habits and the stern exercise of his religious duties lingered with him through his school days and after he came to the city. Then he met Ellen. The courtship was a brief one—too brief to be acceptable to the skeptical parish priest. But John studied Ellen's dog-eared catechism with persistence and tried very hard to understand her rhapsodies and in the end they were married.

It was two years later that Ellen, sobbing hysterically, came into the office of the society with a three-months-old baby in her arms. John had suddenly and quite unaccountably disappeared two weeks before, leaving a note to say that he would continue to care for the child, but would never return. The girl was dazed and bewildered, totally at a loss to account for the circumstance. They had always been very happy; they had never quarreled, she assured the worker over and over, never once in the two years that they had lived together. By dint of careful questioning the case worker learned that the young husband's affectionate attitude had been strangely altered of late. He had not been unkind, but silent, aloof, as though he were preoccupied. Ellen had thought it was business cares, and had tried accordingly to be unusually considerate. Yes, she could remember when he first began to act that way, because it was the time the baby was baptized. For some foolish reason or other John had kept wanting to put it off, and when she insisted they had come dangerously near to a quarrel. He had given in, of course, and she had forgotten all about it until just now. Understanding dawned in her eyes as she looked at the worker. Was it possible—but how could he refuse when he had promised before they were married that if there were children they should be raised in her church? Here Ellen stiffened defensively. Well, if that was what troubled him he could just stay away. She didn't want him to come back; and he needn't send any money; she'd take care of the baby herself.

The worker found John, as she had expected, in the home of his aunt in a nearby village. Her letters inviting him to confer with her about the situation were courteously acknowledged. He regretted that it was impossible for him to comply with her request. He sent money regularly to Ellen, which she promptly returned. It was not difficult for the worker to come to know Ellen well, for the girl was eager to be understood. Her family showered alike misdirected sympathy upon her and condemnation on John, both of which made her acutely miserable. Nevertheless she was planning to give up her home and move in

with her parents when the worker decided it was time to make an advance on the recalcitrant John. Accordingly, and to his manifest surprise, she called upon him, unannounced, at his aunt's home. He was polite, reserved, utterly impassive. He had nothing to say. He would provide for the child's care, but he would not return. But the worker held on. She saw she had made some gain when his eyes kindled at the mention of Ellen's proposed return to her family. Yes, Ellen's housekeeping was above reproach. No, they had never disagreed. The baby? (the answer came explosively) Why in Heaven's name had Ellen insisted on that christening? Then (a little shamefacedly), of course he had agreed to it before they were married, but he had always thought he would be able to win Ellen over when the time came.

After that it was quite simple. He told the worker in a straightforward fashion of the struggle he had made the past two years to overcome old prejudices and misunderstandings. He had missed, too, his own religious activities which he had given up after he met Ellen. Not that she had asked him to, but because he honestly wanted to see things her way if he could. At first it had amused him to see her potent efforts to interest him in her church. But of late it had given him an uneasy feeling to know that he was the subject of her long devotions at night, of her pilgrimages every morning to early mass. He somehow didn't like the idea of being prayed over as if he were a great sinner. All the little pious practices he had once thought so charming now frankly irritated him. Even her grace before meals seemed longer than necessary, and it appeared a little ostentatious to him to ask a blessing on his hurried coffee and toast at breakfast. The last straw was the baby's baptism. Why, the little fellow seemed less his own because of it! They talked the matter over long and earnestly, and when the worker left she had his promise to return to the city and talk the whole thing over with Ellen's pastor, whom John knew and genuinely admired. Ellen must be made to accept his support, and to keep up the home for the child's sake, and in order to accomplish this he was willing to do anything within reason. Eventually, of course, after many conferences between the parish priest, the case worker, and the young people, John came back home.

It has taken much good temper, patience, forbearance, and real affection to settle their difficulties. One thing that has helped not a little is the new respect each conceived for the religious life of the other as it was interpreted to them by the case worker. Occasionally John goes to church with Ellen; very often he attends service at his own church. As for Ellen, her church is still the reality it has always been, but if she prays for John's conversion now, she does it privately when he is not about. And the remarkable thing is that they have lived through another baptism in perfect serenity.

The only noteworthy thing in this story (and it is something wholly absent from my telling of it, and only barely hinted at in the case record) is the painstaking effort the worker made to get a picture of the religious life of the two people, not only of the present, but as it stretched backward down the years.

She wanted to know not only the Ellen of today, but Ellen, the star-eyed child in misty white, on her first communion day; the little girl of joyous May processions in the old cathedral, who loved the flowers, the candles, the singing, and all the rich, colorful ceremony of high mass; the young girl of the convent school-days who lingered after vespers in the dusk of the chapel because she was too happy to tear herself away. The case worker wanted to know not only the stern, unrelenting John of later days, but the grave, wide-eyed little boy who sat primly beside his aunt in the village church every Sunday, thrilling at the ringing challenge to righteousness laid down by the beloved old pastor; the schoolboy who had spent long hours during the winter evenings spelling out the story of Job to his aunt while she darned his socks and mended his clothes; the older lad in whose eyes tears welled for a moment that Sunday after he enlisted when the congregation sang with full hearts the stirring hymn, "The Son of God Goes Forth to War, Who Follows in His Train?" All these things and many more the worker came to know about John and Ellen before she dared intrust herself with the delicate task of trying to help them understand each other. Without such knowledge any attempt to deal with the difficulty would have been useless, if not actually harmful.

I have been thinking that one reason for our failure in many cases to comprehend fully the religious life of our families may be due to the fact that we are apt to regard spiritual experience as something unusual, cut off from the rest of life, kept in a special compartment, to be taken out and gazed at occasionally as one might a rare plant, locked away for safekeeping. Spiritual experience is a much more common and a very much harder thing than we perhaps realize. Hidden away inside of every one of us is the universal impulse to God which, as someone has said, is all that religion really is. It will stand the buffeting of everyday existence if we give it a chance.

"Spiritual experience is life in its fulness or it is nothing at all."¹ This experience is a part of us; it colors all our acts, all our thinking; it has made us, in a certain real sense, what we are. To seek this experience out, to find a way in which the universal impulse to God may express itself, is a task we cannot turn aside from for any reason. It is the very stuff of case work.

¹Underhill, *Life of the Spirit and the Life of Today*.

THE BACKGROUND OF A FAMILY'S RELIGIOUS LIFE AS SOCIAL DATA

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Mrs. Glenn has illuminated for us her thesis that religious influence is dominant in the development of personality, and that case workers must find ways of understanding religious attitudes and strengthening their force in the lives of those who look to them for guidance. We need not discuss these statements further, but may profitably pass on to other questions which her paper raises, and consider, first, How may case workers more effectively use religion in their service?

You will recall that Mrs. Glenn stated that the case worker is not equipped in most instances to gain insight easily into a family's religious life. And this, in her opinion, is due, first, to the fact that ordinarily the case worker deals with people whose social and religious antecedents are other than her own; it is true, secondly, because she herself is reticent and hesitates to try to uncover religious motives; and, thirdly, because she has no technique which will guide her into sources of conduct which spring from the individual's past or potential religious experience.

Case workers in non-sectarian family agencies have, in the past, dealt largely with people whose social and religious antecedents were other than their own. When we use the term "social case work," most of us think of a service to individuals which has developed independently of any church connection. But the church, too, has carried on case work under its auspices in organizations of the laity as well as of the religious. The tendency is to bring into closer relationship, as regards methods and standards of work, some of these case work organizations under religious auspices with those working outside the church.

When client and worker begin, at a point of social and religious unity, their journey toward that approachment which is essential, they are undoubtedly nearer the goal than they could possibly be if these influences on their individual personalities were divergent. Professionally, however, we expect case workers to overcome this handicap of lack of emotional appeal and understanding and to root out of their conscious processes all prejudice due to any factor limiting their sympathy and understanding. It is unfortunate that we have given them so little stimulus or assistance to achieve this ideal. We need more instruction, not only on the social mission of the church and its history through the ages as a social agency, but on its religious teachings which today determine for its members ideals of conduct. This is basic to any appreciation of religion as a factor in social work.

Taking up the second limitation of case workers in this aspect of their service, their reticence and hesitancy to uncover religious motives, are not these

due to ignorance of method? We ruled out of consideration at the beginning any skepticism as to the importance of a sympathetic understanding on the part of the case worker of the religious influence in the life of the client. If, however, it does exist in the minds of any considerable number of case workers, it would in some degree account for hesitancy and reluctance. It is impossible to know how prevalent such an attitude is, but there seems to be sufficient justification for proceeding on the assumption that however much or little case workers may choose to discount religion as a factor in their own lives, they do not project this attitude into the minds of clients. That is a minimum of professional ethics. We are ignorant; we are to some degree skeptical, but that is due largely to ignorance; and we are of the laity. These are factors which have retarded the development of a method of inquiry by social case workers into the influence of religion on personal attitudes and conduct.

Such a method has been developed by the church. It seems desirable to study it if we are searching to make religious motives useful as social data. The way out of this wilderness in which case workers find themselves—unable to understand the personal religious lives of their clients, unable to discover springs of action, timid because they do not know this matter, hesitant because so often they have no common experience to share, and unappreciative of vicarious religious experience—must in a large measure be discovered by each individual for himself. He will not find the true way unless he is guided by a sure knowledge of religious principles and practices which affect the conduct of all whom they influence, however tenuous in individual instances that influence may be. If he does not have a personal abiding conviction of divine grace as the source of all life he can in good faith refer his client to his pastor or to someone associated with a church organization, but in so doing he renounces one of the most important functions of a case worker. He loses the opportunity to share with his client an intimate relationship.

Shall we encourage the organization of case working agencies to deal only with clients of the same social and religious groups? Obviously that is practical and desirable only to a very limited degree. It is a question, too, of organization, and not necessarily of principle. Shall we accept a passive rôle as the laity and leave to the professional members of the church the entire responsibility for strengthening and deepening religious experience in the lives of its children? There is nothing in the Gospels nor in the teachings of the church to justify such action.

The Committee on Relations with Case Work Organizations Operating under Religious Auspices advises that a *liaison* service, such as case workers have developed with the medical profession, be organized. To create this more intimate understanding of each other on the part of workers in both groups we believe it is essential for case workers generally to have more complete knowledge of the positive force of religion. The day's work makes us, unfortunately, more familiar with souls in whom this influence is negative or very weak. We

know little about how religion may determine our attitudes toward common human experience, such as pain or bereavement, as well as toward moral conduct in specific crises, except for those in our own or closely related groups. It is true that certain ethical standards have been accepted by all Christians, and before them, by the Jews; but where important differences exist it is essential that we understand them. The question, for instance, of church relationship is differently regarded by Protestants and Catholics. For the latter, kinship with God is achieved when the soul voluntarily maintains its ties with his church, for it is through the sacraments administered by the church that divine grace is given the soul.

This *liaison* service is, however, not sufficient. The case worker must act. She must accept the responsibility of "helping souls to find themselves in God." To quote further from Mr. Rhoades' paper in *The Family* (April, 1926):

Merely urging a person to go to church is not enough. That is like passing the invalid along from specialist to specialist. The case worker, having come already into vital and confidential relations with the individual who needs help, and having brought out of the depths some recognition of the profounder need, can say words that it might not for long be possible for another person to say. The need is immediate. If life is to be given, he who holds the moment in his hands must be the giver.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN PERSONALITY THROUGH RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

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Frankly, I found great difficulty in preparing this address. The subject which was assigned to me proved exceedingly attractive, and I accepted the invitation with alacrity. But upon a closer examination I discovered that its very scope and comprehensiveness would make my task hard. It is so exacting to try to live up to ambitious titles. Mrs. Glenn, in her splendid paper, has withdrawn from this symposium all that is likely to be of real help to you workers in your social ministry. She has shown you how the church and the religious background of the family can be utilized in the rehabilitation of the individual and the family. What is left for me is, I am afraid, the rather thankless job of discussing theoretically how human personality is developed and human life enriched through religious experience. If, therefore, I seem to wander far afield, you will, I hope, bear with me, remembering also that nearly all theoretical or philosophical discussions seem at first to lead far afield, until one is suddenly made aware of the fact that they lead right to the very core of human life.

Perhaps it would be well to define our terms before we proceed much farther. What do we mean by personality? And what do we mean by religious experience? I shall not attempt to give you any technical definitions, for the simple reason that they are not to be had. We may accept as a working defini-

tion the concept of personality as the organized self of man functioning as a unit in social life; and religious experience as participation in beliefs touching the ultimate spiritual realities of life and in the mood and activity which derive from them.

The question then presented to us is, How can such beliefs in the essential spirituality of the universe and the participation in those characteristic acts and words which we call religious help man to function more effectively as a creative unit in society. We maintain that such a faith will, in the first place, help him to surmount the intellectual difficulties which he is likely to encounter, and which, if not overcome, may overwhelm and defeat him; and in the second place, such a faith will make possible abiding ideals in his life which will stimulate his will and give direction and unity to his life's purposes.

Not all the tribulations of man are physical in their nature, or psychic. We are too prone in our day to reduce all human unhappiness to economic want, to physical handicaps, or to psychic maladies. There are other causes which may contribute to the destruction of a man's efficient self, not the least of which is intellectual confusion. There are men who take ideas very seriously, who react to them more sharply than to external forces. There are men whose peace of mind depends upon the finding of a satisfying philosophy of life, which will master their doubts, strengthen their hearts, and give them confidence and hope to face the exactions and disillusionments of life.

Not so long ago an eminent psychologist sent out a questionnaire to a group of men and women, asking them to answer this question: "If you became convinced that God did not exist, would it make any difference in your life?" The replies, as you may well imagine, were varied. Some said that it would make no difference whatsoever. One said that it would make him feel terribly lonely in life. Another said that it would make him afraid to face either life or death. And still another said: "If I became convinced that God did not exist, I would destroy myself." The last reply seems very extreme. But those who are acquainted with the dynamics of ideas, with their powers of disruption and integration, will not question the sincerity of the reply. An idea may destroy and may give life. It may wound mortally and may heal miraculously.

You will recall that shortly after the theory of evolution was launched in the world a wave of suicide swept through England and Western Europe. The doctrine was new, and as yet unanalyzed and uncorrected. There were people who drew some very headlong and disastrous conclusions from it: the universe is without purpose or intelligence, a blind mechanism moved by equally blind forces; the world of the living is a bloody arena wherein plants, beasts, and men struggle terribly and ruthlessly for survival; within this fearful world there is room neither for ideals nor hopes nor spiritual aspirations. Among these people there were those whom life had sorely tried and heavily burdened, who, quite naturally, asked themselves, "Why, then, should we persist in this unequal struggle? Why endure the vicissitudes of fortune? Our sacrifices are of no avail.

Why travel the hard road, seeing that at the end of it there is nothing but defeat and annihilation? Therefore death is a welcome release."

Tolstoi, in his *Confessions*, writes:

There was a period in my life when everything seemed to be crumbling, the very foundations of my convictions were beginning to give way, and I felt myself going to pieces. There was no sustaining influence in my life and there was no God there, and so every night before I went to sleep, I made sure that there was no rope in my room lest I be tempted during the night to hang myself from the rafters of my room; and I stopped from going out shooting lest I be tempted to put a quick end to my life and to my misery.

Now Tolstoi lived a full life. His vital energies were not thwarted or driven into a cul-de-sac. His biologic needs, his aesthetic needs, his scientific needs were to a great degree satisfied. And yet one unfulfilled need was threatening to overthrow his whole world. He lacked the sustaining influence which comes from a realization that the universe is not a thing, but a personality, the manifestation and the dwelling place of a creative and benevolent intelligence, and that man in his finite way partakes of it, and in his creative efforts is its co-worker.

I know that not all men are as sensitive to the influence of ideas as Tolstoi, but I also know that there are few men who think at all about those eternal problems of life, the whence and whither and why of things, who would not be helped to a sweeter and freer life once this heroic postulate of faith is made the driving motive of their life.

The need of God is as real a need in human life as the need of food. It may not be as immediate, but for the realization of life's highest possibilities and for the encompassing of life's noblest program it is as indispensable. It has sometimes been said irreverently that man created God. But beneath this surface cynicism is a profounder truth which often escapes those who utter it. The profounder truth is that man is so constituted that the desperate needs and emergencies of his life compel him to create a God idea. Wasn't it the skeptic of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, who said that if there were no God, the human race would be compelled to invent one. Why? Because man needs the assurance that the great hunger for self-perfection, which is his goad and his goal, may some day be satisfied.

There is one fundamental hunger in human life, and that is the hunger for completion. "There is no motive in life," says Professor Hadfield, "so persistent as this hunger for fulfillment, whether for the needs of our body or for the deepest spiritual satisfaction of our souls. . . . As nature abhors a vacuum, so every organism abhors incompleteness." Man, too, in his mental and spiritual life seeks completion. He struggles to develop his mind; he strives to improve himself; he reaches into the unknown for new truth and new beauty and new resolutions. There is in each of us an inarticulate yearning for undiscovered continents. We hunger for the limitless horizons, the distant fields of splendor. This spiritual restlessness is man's most precious legacy, his cross and his crown

and his immortality. He knows that he is incomplete, but he has a vision of perfection and completion.

In a Godless world man's hunger for completion is doomed to disappointment and must turn to bitterness and gall. There is no room for it there. In a universe wherein there is neither purpose nor reason nor intelligence, this hope of man is a tragic, mocking futility. And the hope thus denied, like all frustrated desires of man, will turn upon him and devastate him.

But give that man the faith that he dwells in a universe where God is, where personality reigns, in which all things are linked together by one divine purpose whose attributes are justice and goodness, and that he, frail and finite though he be, is yet cooperating in the glorious unfoldment of that purpose, and behold what a current of hope and confidence you send into his life. With such a faith no man can be utterly lonely or lost. The consciousness of God will be like the presence of a mighty kinsman, a friend by his side. Misfortune will not crush him. For is he not always in the safekeeping of One who planned all things well? He will fare forth on the great adventure of life in high hope, and will seek the undiscovered lands of the spirit, confirmed in the faith that such lands do exist, and that some day he may be privileged to enter them.

There is yet another way in which the experience of faith contributes to the development of human personality. The human soul is frequently a battlefield. The traditional moralist calls it the struggle between the higher and the lower self. The modern psychologist calls it the conflict between will and impulse, between the social self and the suppressed instincts, the antisocial self. Man's hope lies in the victory of the social self, and his well-being depends upon the emancipation of the inhibited self through moral sublimation. Man can win this victory only through the exercise of his will continuously, and especially in the great crises of life. And, as Professor Hadfield correctly observed, "nothing can stimulate the will as potently as an ideal." But the great abiding ideals of life must find their source and origin in faith.

If the world is impersonal and mechanical and man the plaything of heredity and environment, there can be no meaning to human ideals. Why have ideals at all? Or, having been beguiled into them, whence will come the courage to endure for their sake, to traverse the dolorous road of frustration before we can reach the goal of consummation? Whence will come the consoling faith that if we fail, someone will take up the torch which our tired hands let fall and carry it on? Whence will come the great assurance that some day someone will make real the ideals for which we gave the blood of our souls?

Could you social workers face the drabness of that world into which your calling daily takes you—the want, the misery, the stunted growths, the tangled lives, the sins, the tragedies—if you believed that all that is is inevitable, that "that which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be filled, and there is nothing new under the sun"? Could you bring to your ministry, or could you derive from it, the lift and the enthusiasm and the conse-

cration, unless you felt that life is perfectible, and that man can rise on the rungs of sin and crime and defeat to the higher level; that man can be renewed and remodeled according to a higher pattern of goodness and justice and beauty? These are ideals, grounded not in knowledge, but in faith—faith in the reality of a spiritual order of goodness and truth and beauty in the universe, faith in God.

The realization of this spiritual order underlying all things makes ideals possible. And these ideals galvanize the will of man and integrate his personality. These ideals will redirect those instincts which he had been compelled to suppress because of their antisocial tendencies into socially beneficent channels. He will experience a release from conflict, a freedom from bondage which will bring him peace and happiness.

Just as the individual man or woman who is sincerely religious is better equipped to face the trial of life, so, of course, is the family able to meet the problems and crises with a better chance of success if it is pervaded by a religious sentiment. The quality of reverence, which all great faith inspires, will dwell in its midst, and reverence is a congenial soil for the growth of other moral qualities. The home suffers an irreparable loss when it is secularized. The home needs the spirit of sanctity, the atmosphere which the Psalmist describes as "the beauty of holiness," in order to preserve itself amidst the disruptive influence of modern life. A broken home is, first and foremost, evidence of a lost reverence, of a broken faith. To conserve the home for civilization we must have recourse not to legislation, but to religion. "Holy, Holy, Holy" must be inscribed above the portals of our home. God dwells here! And in His presence all the relations of parents and children, of husband and wife are determined and sanctified. In such a home the personality of the parent will be magnificently enriched through the many sacred relationships of family life, and in such a home children grow up with a deep-rooted reverence for life's great sanctities and sincerities.

If in your daily ministry, then, you can communicate this faith to a fellow human being in need of light and new source of power, you will be bestowing upon him life's greatest boon, even as you will be enjoying life's rarest privilege. Do not be afraid to speak of God. Do not speak of creed, or dogma, or formula. Do not attempt to proselytize. That is not your task. But suggest to the groping mind or the tired heart the thought of God: Helper, Kinsman, Friend.

Do not be afraid to speak of God because you are a layman. What you require is not ordination, but consecration. All the prophets were laymen—shepherds, and herdsmen, and carpenters, and dressers of sycamore trees. Speak to him not as a professional man. Speak as a fellow human being, a traveler upon the same road, a pilgrim to the same shrine. Speak when life's flood is at its lowest ebb, when all else fails and darkness settles on the soul; speak in a still, small, confident voice of God. Speak and men will listen and men will understand.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF PARENTHOOD TRAINING

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Like all things that are inevitable, parenthood is taken for granted. Again, like all things taken for granted, parenthood is accepted as one of the mysteries of God, subject to no particular training and under no final laws. This will probably always be true of any of those social forces which lie in biological necessities. It is one of the signs of the times, however, that every small arc in this ring of helplessness is not only being questioned, but is actually changing. Parenthood is not anything that we have to take for granted. It is under biological and social control. It is not a blind force subject to a vital urge which will not take no for an answer. It is not an unmoral force which may devastate or drown the world unless it is checked by evolutionary laws that create their own balance at last. While it is no new thought that parenthood is something to be educated, it is a growing conviction, however, that parenthood has hostages to pay to the future, as well as debts to discharge to the past. There are some among us who believe that a new education is emerging, with parenthood both as subject and object.

The danger is, of course, that we may enrol classes in parenthood before we have made our curriculum. We may even think that we have something to teach, and a method by which to teach it, without knowing exactly what we mean by both the education and the training involved. It would be most unfortunate to turn the idea, whose meaning and limitations we are trying to make clear, into a new social catchword, or to turn it into a new social slogan. It would be as unhappy if we raised hopes that could not be realized; if we even suggested that every family might become a paradise with Adam and Eve in it if somehow or other we could only catch our first parents and give them a proper training! It will be remembered, by the way, that those first parents had their misunderstandings and committed their follies in the Garden before the children appeared! This is a suggestion that the children may have to take a postponed punishment for the sins of their parents. Just as unfortunate would be the stimulated interest which would have as a last result a set of new books for the training of parents, or a correspondence course to fill up the gaps of parental ignorance and folly.

There are three types of parents whose lack of training has made their children at the same time the promise of the world, the puzzle of the theologian, and the material in hand of the social worker—by whatever name he may have been called. The oldest parent of either sex or of both sexes is the adventitious parent. This is probably the oldest parenthood in the world. Its sense of relationship between parent and child is casual, and not causal. The adventitious parent can often be found in the person with a low intelligence quotient. But

there are many whose moral quotient is still lower, and whose mentality for certain kinds of success and adjustment in life is unimpaired. The cave man and his mate belong to this class. We know really very little about them, but the anthropologists tell us that the begetting of children was always a surprise to the cave man and the cave woman. They never realized that the sex act meant anything more than impulse, and if a child was born the comment of one of the oldest love stories in the world came true: "A chance befell them!" In our modern life there may be intellectual recognition of the meaning of the common life of a man and woman, but if there does not rise with it a sense of responsibility for what is bound to happen, if there is no imagination for that responsibility to cover a period of years in the bringing up and training of a new generation, then we have the adventitious parent. The feeble-minded spawn their kind and reckon not what the next day will bring forth. They, asocially minded, bring their likeness into the world and let time and tide carry them on. The adventitious parent is found even in circles which are supposed to be thoroughly reputable and self-respecting, in which the mother resents the coming of her child, holds against him a grievance for standing in her way, and makes him a symbol of her life unhappiness. Adventitious parenthood is difficult both in its meaning and in its possibilities, but some of it, at any rate, can be trained.

At the other end of the social and moral line we find the fatalistic parent. The fatalistic parent has most of the qualifications that the adventitious parent knows nothing about. His sense of parenthood is profoundly causal; his feeling for responsibility is so deep that it becomes a burden instead of a blessing. Parenthood is to him a series of obligations, somehow or other fitted into a definite scheme of life, which make his children so many problems. Very many of us are either the heirs or the victims of this kind of parenthood. If we were trained in Puritanism in any of its many forms we know something about it. The preparation for our coming lay in the sense of the obligation of life. Even before our birth we were girded by many prayers and hopes. Plans were made for us, in many cases with minute exactness. We were expected to continue a family code and a family tradition. What pleasure our parents had in us was often compromised and mitigated by their fear that we would not turn out all right. The social inventories which parents used to accumulate of neighborhood children who, in spite of the best upbringing, went to the bad made parenthood a vast uneasiness of the soul. As one of the old Puritans said, "To be a parent is to be a fatalist." Of course, if we started on the evil way it was necessary to go the whole length. We must be either prodigals, and feed at last on the husks that swine did eat, or daughters of joy, who would land in oblivion and rest in forgetfulness. To many parents of the old type the wrongdoing of children might be interpreted either as a divine visitation or as a mystery when God's hand was heavy on the heart of both father and mother. This kind of parenthood, fine as it was for certain types of character, was utterly baffled when the training of the unusual child, or the problem child, as we now call him, had to take place.

It is a very difficult kind of parenthood to train in any way, principally because it is so sure of itself.

The kind of parent with which most of us are acquainted and whose lack of training causes the greatest exasperation is the instinctive parent. The instinctive parent is one who relies on instinct, which is supposed to be the leftover education of past generations and, of course, coming down in a straight line which is absolutely correct. Motherhood is a great instinct. A mother, according to this theory, knows what to do with her child and for her child in every situation. She knows how to beget him, to bear him, to care for him, to guard him, and to discipline him. She knows what, when, and how to feed him. She resents any question of her knowledge under any circumstances. Her reactions against his wilfulness and his badness belong entirely to her sense of what is right. She has inherited an old method of petty revenge and of simple force when she thinks she is following something holy called "instinct." She particularly resents the offices of the trained nurse and the social worker who have no instinct, or else it is dried up. The scientific doctor excites her wrath because he pays no reverence whatever to her fears and her instinctive lore. Whatever the truth may be with regard to instinct, it is nothing more than an inwoven education coming down from ancestors who are, up to the present, so far behind that in our present day of rapidly accumulating knowledge they are several millenniums behind the times. Instinct, therefore, is nothing more than belated education.

It is well for us to remind ourselves that the training in parenthood is not at all new. In fact, in many ways there has been in the past a more exact training in parenthood than we know anything about today. Part of the price we have paid for taking parenthood for granted is that training is not necessary. As nearly as we can make out, training for parenthood in the past has followed roughly three lines. Society could not altogether put into the hands of parents the custody of a new life and a new age without giving it some definite education for its task. The oldest of these types of training is that of the trial and error method, which is found in taboos. A taboo is, after all, simply a short cut from an immediate social danger to a quick social escape. Prohibitions and traditions are the crystallized philosophy of these taboos. It is easy enough to see the training that parents were given was that the tribe might escape danger and that society might be kept intact. The taboos of food, of the relations of the sexes, of the contacts of groups, of the mysterious and unknown in nature were all part of an exact tradition passed on from the parents to the children. This sort of training has not passed out. It remains among us in queer superstitions with regard to these very matters. Our social sympathies and antipathies, even our moral judgment, go back to the oldest and simplest training of parents in the world.

In this country we are becoming acquainted with a kind of training of parents of which our fathers knew very little. The Anglo-Saxon was a single family

made up of the biological unit of father, mother, and children. The alien flood has brought to this country the compound family. The compound family puts the complete responsibility for children, not in parents, but in the larger family group, which is made up of a series of gradations and responsibilities. In a foreign family, for example, the training of children is only partly in the responsibility of the father and mother. It is scattered in a series of gradations beginning with the grandfather and grandmother, the uncles and aunts, and even other relations. These particular subgroups in a family are expected to train the children in health, in family relationships, in home keeping, in the family contacts with their subtle meanings, and finally, in the exact responsibilities which the children must assume not only for their own oncoming family, but for other members of the compound family group. This kind of a family, with its scattered sense of training but with its more minute sense of responsibility, is one that is now calling loudly for a new training in parenthood.

Another type of the training of parents which has come down to us and which is found in certain important circles might be called the loaning out method. The theory is as old as Plato himself and was justified both in the *Republic* and in the *Laws*. It is that the children do not belong to their parents, but to the state, which is the exact opposite of the theory that has come down to us through the church: that the children belong to their parents, and only incidentally to the state. Plato's theory was that the teaching of children was a threefold function of nutrition, of discipline, and of education. The first function has to be discharged by the parents. The second and third has to be supplied by the state. Any parent who tried to fulfil all three functions would become a bungler and a failure. This theory, modified of course in view of later culture, is that which is held by the aristocracies of Europe. The great public schools for boys of England are based on this theory. The boys who are to be gentlemen and leaders in the state and society must get their complete training from those competent to give it, and in no case are the parents fitted to do this. The training of leadership in the homes of the upper classes is never thought out for a moment. That is a middle class or a peasant conception and can never be allowed to become the method of a ruling class. Anyone who is at all acquainted with recent developments in American life must be conscious of the renaissance of this idea. Training in parenthood is the acceptance of certain definite responsibilities, limited as to time and method, with a transfer of their children to other responsibilities when the time comes.

It is a rather interesting feature of some developments in case work today that this conception of the training of parents, or rather the substitution of other factors to train children, should be adopted by child guidance clinics, by psychiatric workers, and by the old theory of foster home life. But for most of the new generation the hope of the future lies not only in training of parenthood, but in the continued education of parenthood. Unless we have this conception in mind, we will go back to the old methods which untrained parents have al-

ways adopted—the acceptance of coercion as a substitute for the proper education of children. These coercions have nearly always been fatal. A forced obedience instead of a reasonable persuasion, a minute docility instead of proper initiative, a hardened artificiality instead of personal freedom—these are the discipline which parents have often forced on their children and thought they were bringing up their children properly. Instead, by such procedures they were simply confessing that what they had done proved nothing more than a lack of their own training and insight.

There are four kinds of training for parenthood. Some parents have gone through one or the other of these kinds of training but know nothing about the rest. If a man and woman think, when they have entered marriage bonds and the children are beginning to come, that they have nothing more to learn, then training is impossible. For most parents training for parenthood is not something in the curriculum, but is learned, and badly learned, by the trial and error method.

There must be definite training for marriage. This kind of training is after all pretty much the result of home life. In the home, if there are not fine attitudes to certain great preparatory factors leading to marriage, parenthood has begun wrong and there will be few who can retrace their steps. The biological, the economic, the romantic, and the eugenic facts, none of which can be made to be exclusive and none of which can be dropped out, but all of which must be one whole if there is to be happy marriage, right parenthood and a feeling for the new generation, may at first be hard facts to be considered, but they are at last a family sentiment which right training must create and indorse. If the home is without ideals, if its atmosphere is economic, and if it is a place in which dreams are forgotten or scorned, then the training in these matters will have to be done through schools and outside agencies which are handicapped from the very beginning. Our whole social movement is an attempt to do this very thing.

There is a second period of training in parenthood. It is when the children have come and when the process of bringing up the children is a daily responsibility. As Professor Groves points out, it is during this period, whose meaning has been discovered for us by the health expert and by the psychiatrist, that the future of the children is determined. If there is a home without any sense of nutrition or health safeguards of normal life and play, then parenthood is a menace to the community. We are now going so far as to say that when parenthood has no regard for these traditions it is neglecting childhood. Neglect, under these circumstances, is the greatest crime of all. When the psychiatrist tells us that a child's whole nature is like an Aeolian harp to catch every kind of noise, every disturbance of atmosphere, every kind of music that comes down the valley of its little life, the quarrels and the misunderstandings of parents become a social and a psychological sin. Making over parents mentally and spiritually is necessary if the kind of childhood that we want is to be made possible. Nor is this to be left as a matter of choice for the parents to determine. They

must be trained in what Plato called the "harmonious life," or they have no right to the presence of their own children.

The third type of training for parents is found in the wider comradeship which they must make for their children. Froebel said, "Come let us with our children live." Emerson insisted that all life is shown by the wider circles that it makes. Very many parents, as the mind expands, are able to do this. The business man gets narrower in his interests. His conversation is pitifully limited both in subject and in appropriateness. The mother lives in a little world of her own, more and more filled by details. This is particularly true if she is dissatisfied and her thwarted desires of all kinds meet her morning, noon, and night. The children are going to make their own circles. Will the parents stand on the edge with them? This is one reason why case work is looking more and more at the horizons of a family to discover what its recreations are, to find out if it has any higher values and practices them in religion and culture. It would be well if, in between thirty and forty-five, parents could go to a school of life in which they would learn these things for their children's sake if for no other reason.

One other training for parenthood is necessary: the training for the emancipation of their children. That period begins at the age of twelve in the life of a child, and is then a progressive science of responsibility to the very end. But in parenthood at this point how much failure has been recorded? The mother holds back her daughter from life. The father is afraid to give his son responsibility. There is often a shrinking on the part of the children themselves to plunge into the world of reality. If the emancipation takes a wrong form, chasms of misunderstanding are created that are sometimes never filled. An old man who had raised four sons confessed that at the ages of from twelve to fourteen he lost every one of them. He did not understand them, and the years had to go before they could appreciate him. If he had had a proper training for these years another family story would have been told. A definite training for parents during this time, before the onset of the years makes it too late, would save us from the inverted personality which thinks only in terms of its own short circuits, the past interest and relationship of the perverted mind and life with all that it means biologically today; the delinquent and the criminal who did not know where to take their circles from the vast beginnings of life and make them sweep the good, the beautiful, and the true; the bigot and the fanatic who regiment all life into terms of narrow discipline and develop the cruelty and the intolerance of all narrow idealism.

Plato was the first to suggest that parents must be trained exactly and definitely and must be deprived of their children if they would not take the training to prepare them for the state. Jesus said that the unsympathetic guardian or parent would be judged at last by the product of the child, and if he offended against any of the least of these it were better for him that a millstone be hanged about his neck and he be cast into the midst of the sea!

SUGGESTED FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION FOR PARENTHOOD

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To make intelligent suggestions for further developments in education for parenthood it is first of all essential to determine, if possible, which are the more important problems of parenthood and which of them can be reached by education. Not only must the problems to be reached be determined, but ways and means of reaching them must be considered. In general, it seems that at present we are not in position to give very final answers to most of the questions which emerge in such a discussion, but it will be profitable if we can agree that certain questions are those first to be attacked, and that certain methods offer the most profitable approach.

Parenthood involves a series of complicated relationships and adjustments: those within the individual, between parents, between parent and child or children, between adult and the social order at large, etc.; and it is further complicated by such problems as work, income, expenditure, and other types of economic-social problems. It would appear, from various commentaries on past conditions, that the complexity of the job of being a parent has paralleled the increasing complexity of our social life, and for that reason some type of education for the assumption of the parental function has become increasingly important. Many factors have contributed to this, among them the general trend to urban life, with the decrease in production by the individual family unit of foodstuffs, etc., necessary for the maintenance of life; the increase in the cost of living necessitated by an urban existence; the greater cramping and lessened opportunity for normal discharge of energy. There is also the change pointed out by Professor Burgess,¹ from the older type of family in which a wide kinship group of grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins were definitely related to the smaller immediate family of parents and children in matters of unity and control, to our modern type of family where father, mother, and children have become a small group emancipated from the control of this larger group. As is true of so many other types of occupation, in the older days the then available solutions for the problems of parenthood were passed along from generation to generation; practically speaking, by word of mouth. For the most part these families seem to have been of the type which Burgess calls "highly integrated families," having some one of the following traits: an elaborate ritual, rigorous discipline, sentimental interdependence, or stimulating cooperative activities or objectives. So long as the family, in all its ramifications, occupied a certain section of the country—perhaps one or several townships of a rural county—integration of this sort could be maintained, and with its maintenance the various

¹ Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *The Family*, March, 1926.

problems involved in parental functioning could be met on the basis of the family standards. An important factor here was the definite carry-over from the previous family patterns, that is to say, from the patterns established during childhood by the antecedent generations. On the whole, then, and despite many weaknesses that could be pointed out, there was a fairly adequate, and yet less formal, recognition of the problems with which parents are faced.

It is probably true that for the majority of families such integration does not exist today. There is more complete isolation of the small family group of parents and children in our modern type of life. Other factors are: the entrance of the woman into economic fields and her emergence from her traditional position; the fewer needs that now exist for heavy muscular work as a means of maintenance of life; the development (which has been most marked in this country in the past four decades) of the notion that "parents are people," and as such may continue to have an expressive social life. Oftentimes, with the added economic ease and the greater facilities offered the family for amusements of various sorts, this idea leads to a degree of recreation seeking outside the home which is in and of itself inimical to proper functioning as parents. But the outstanding feature of the present situation seems to me to be the increasing feeling of helplessness which the modern parent has, and the increasing recognition of the fact that there are principles of parenthood which can be learned and practiced as one may learn and practice any other profession. I hasten to add that the profession of parenthood differs from any other profession because of its extreme personalness and because of the emotional bonds that exist between parent and child. These bonds are always ambivalent, not only for the parent, but also for the child, so that the emotional attitude of parent and child between each other is composed of acceptances and rejections, or likes and dislikes, or loves and hates, or sympathies and envies, or dominances and submissions. It should be added that very few parents recognize clearly the ambivalence of their attitudes toward their children or the ambivalence of their hopes, wishes, and aspirations for their children. Indeed, I suspect that many people would emphatically deny the statement I have just made. In its defense I can only say that practical clinical experience demonstrates this ambivalence of attitude, and that one needs only to talk for a while to a parent, or needs only consider the matter for a while for himself, to find that so far as the children are concerned the parent always finds some things to praise and love and some things to reject and dislike in the child, and these are only the superficial indicators of a deeper and more significant ambivalence, so that the statement is not so far-fetched as at first sight it may appear to be.

It seems to me wise that we speak of the profession of parenthood as a means of correcting the universal tendency to regard parenthood as just something that happens, something for which people are instinctively ready, something concerning which nothing need be learned, because when an individual becomes a parent he will, by virtue of his inborn instincts, become an adequate

parent. This seems to represent the most common viewpoint concerning parenthood, and in many instances is merely a defensive protection from the realization of personal inadequacies in parenthood. The profession of parenthood, then, has many angles, and it becomes quite necessary to decide which ones can be reached by education and how we shall reach them, and that those educating for parenthood have a clear understanding of them all.

We have, of course, parenthood as a physiological function of the human species. Here a large amount of work has been done in relation to prenatal care of expectant mothers, the development of obstetrical and nursing service, the care of mothers after the time of birth, and a certain amount of work has been done in the difficult field of sex education as a preparation for the assumption of the physiological functions involved. There is the angle of the physical and health care of the child, and here, through milk stations, educational and clinical work relating to infant welfare and infant mortality, health examinations of babies and school children, public health work in the field of contagious diseases, etc., a great deal has been accomplished. For the most part the elements of education for parents in this field are well known, and for the most part they are being put fairly adequately into effect. The parent has also a relation to the education of the children, and we are beginning to get now some backfire from the almost universal tendency of parents to put the education of their children entirely into the hands of the schools. Not only schools but other interested groups are pointing out many ways in which education is a home function as well as a school function. A great deal of work is being done in this field of developing the importance of the home as an educational center.

Parenthood involves the understanding of family relationships, relationships between parent and parent, between each parent and the family of the other, between parent and children. Here so far as I know, no very definite type of educational effort has been developed. And yet, as I shall try to show later, there is no more important zone of the whole problem of parenthood than this one of the emotional and other relationships that exist between these living personalities in the family circle, each of whom, life being a continuous process of adjustment, is called upon constantly for adjustment and readjustment to the others, to the physical aspects of the home, to the social order, etc. Parenthood involves very definite economic problems from the standpoint of income and outgo, proper budgeting of the family income, meeting the increased economic load which children cause, etc. Here we clearly have some types of educational work going on, not perhaps very well integrated, because so many of the problems are approached from the personal angle; but it would be in education for this aspect of parenthood that vocational guidance on the one side, budgeting and purchasing on the other, would become important elements in education for life as life must be lived.

Parenthood involves certain social aspects, thinking in terms of the grouping and regrouping of individuals which is the outstanding characteristic of our

present-day life, with the development of large numbers of clubs and societies and other less formal types of social relations, all having as their chief purpose the provision of relaxation and recreation and contact with people, although many of course have some definite economic aspect as well. (To a large extent these groups seem to me to represent attempts at providing various needed contacts, groupings and relaxation which, in the earlier and somewhat simpler civilization, were met probably fairly by the large kinship group which seems to have characterized the family life of that day. Here, it seems to me, no direct education is possible, but an indirect approach by building up in the child satisfactory standards of behavior and acceptable ideals of companionship will suffice to insure the proper types of group life in the adult. These groups, however, possess one point of danger with respect to the exercise of parental functions, in that there are so many of these extra-home activities developed and developing that in the classes where the economic situation will permit there is at all times a grave danger that these activities will, and often do, seriously interfere with proper parental functioning. I should be the last to speak for a home life which involved none of these extra-home activities, because then we should face equally serious dangers of another sort, namely, isolation, failure to socialize the children, and the fatigue factor in the person whose life is cast in the same narrow channel day after day. All of these represent dangers as real as does the overemphasis on outside activities. Here, as in so many other situations affecting the behavior of individuals or of groups, the necessary thing is to strike a balance which permits the greatest success with the greatest health and happiness in the more important phases of life.

Finally, parenthood has the general task of child training, which, by and large, seems to mean the training of the child as a social unit who must live in social groups and react in those social groups with certain standards of behavior and of etiquette. This, I take it, both by the process of exclusion and by the general developed work in child training, is the meat of our problem today in training for parenthood.

The approach of parents to the problems of training their children on the whole seems to be a relatively simple one. The individual parent has certain standards of behavior, often determined by prejudice, which it is desired that the child shall achieve, and as a rule methods for accomplishing the desired result are apt to be rather simple and very direct. Such attempts all too frequently do not take into consideration the problem of the child's makeup or interests; nor the psychology of the child at the stage of development when the corrections in behavior are made, nor the psychology of the parent-child relationship. To a considerable extent methods of securing or enforcing behavior are based upon the acceptance or rejection of the methods that were used by the parents when our present parents were children. Methods that were terrifically disconcerting to the parent when, as a child, he came in conflict with his elders are as a rule not used. Methods that seemed effective even though painful, but which pro-

duced a reaction quite personal to the individual, are apt to be used. Many parents attempt to establish in their own homes, under greatly changed conditions, the same sort of attitudes and discipline established by their parents in earlier times. For the most part it seems to me that these are emotionally determined methods, that is to say, they are based upon likes and dislikes and upon emotional drives set up in the earlier family circle which have perhaps not been gratified in wider contacts and now are to be gratified in the home circle. Particularly important here, apparently, is the degree of feeling of inferiority to which the parent is reacting, and the compensations which have been set up and their relationship to the attitudes of the individual in the family circle. Even in intelligent and normal families, where a great deal of thought has been given to determining what it is they want the children to represent and the methods of securing this, one may find enormous difficulties between parent and child, representing really a conflict in personalities centering around the carry-over to the family circle of earlier developed feelings of inferiority in the parent, and attempts in the home to compensate for them.

Family pride and family shame: these two emotions are powerful influences in determining what it is the parent wants the child to be. There is always, of course, the desire for perfection in the children; perhaps an unconscious compensation for the individual's own realization of imperfection; perhaps also there is in this an element of the feeling of perfection in creation. Whatever the precise mechanisms may be, there is always the desire for that perfection in the child which reflects credit upon the parent. Although one might suppose that such homely emotional trends as these have been to a considerable degree met by all the educational work directed toward fitting parents to train children, there seem to me to be two reasons why it has not occurred. First of all, that with all the effort there has been, only a small proportion of the parent group has been reached; and frequently, as parents well say, they have been reached too late to apply practically the things that they learn in such courses on parent training; secondly, because so much of our educational work has proceeded as a presentation of facts to the intellect, and has failed to reach into the personal blockings and personal emotional attitudes of the parents, with the result that the finest system of child training in the world might be laid down, but fail to reach the individual because it did not get at the emotional reactions which really determine their particular attitudes toward child training. For the most part work with parents in child training seems to have gone along the lines of behavior, that is to say, dealing with particular pieces of behavior which are objectionable. Much of this has proceeded as though we had unchanging machines in parent and child, instead of constantly changing dynamic organisms. Much work has been done in pointing out to parents the influence of their own behavior on the behavior of children, and evolving rational methods for dealing with behavior situations such as disobedience, which, incidentally, is the largest problem that parents see with their children. Not much has been done in getting at

the underlying emotional attitudes and personality defects of parent and child, which are, as clinical experience amply proves, the things that really must be reached. It is not enough just to deal with the behavior situation; it is not enough just to show parents how their own behavior influences the behavior of the children. It is necessary to have exploratory work with the parent to find out why the parent reacts as he does, and, having found this out in terms of conflicts and emotional trends, the carry-over and projection of infantile drives for adequacy, etc., to help the parent to a rational reconstruction of attitudes. This, in turn, will help in the reconstruction of the relations between parent and child, and so assist in a reconstruction of attitudes within the child and thus secure a more satisfactory level of behavior from the child. All this is by way of saying that the primary problem in education for parenthood is the problem of personal adjustment within the individual and personal stabilization of that individual to meet the series of adjustments involved in becoming a parent as a free-moving, self-supporting social unit with duties and responsibilities and pleasures to be had from this complex task. Our problem, then, is to find ways and means of educating in terms of emotional attitudes, rather than just to make an intellectual presentation. Not only must we meet these issues of personal adjustment and personal stabilization, but we must impart some sound information respecting the psychology of childhood to provide opportunity for full development of the child by making expectations rational and so preventing the development by the parent of the overprotective or the underprotective attitude, expecting too much or too little, from repressing the child, or submitting completely to all the notions or whims the child may get, etc. In other words, it is imperative to secure a properly balanced attitude toward the child as an individual unit who will eventually have his own life to lead, only his own feet to stand on, and who himself will become in turn a parent, faced with all the problems and adjustments which a parent must make.

How then could this be done? I fear it is too early in the evolution of methods for securing a better mental hygiene for people in groups, and for meeting by group methods the personality issues that people present in their relations with their children, to give any very final answer. The following represent my own suggestions for meeting the situation with which we are confronted. First of all, it becomes necessary, it seems to me, to develop for high school and college students a method whereby they may get a sound acquaintance with the principles of mental hygiene, just as today so much time and effort is spent in acquainting them with the sound principles of physical hygiene. In order to do this we have to drop some of the veil of mysticism and penetrate some of the fog of half-baked ideas that surround the problem of the study of psychology, both normal and abnormal. We have to recognize that there are some principles of mental hygiene. We shall probably disagree a great deal as to what they are. Some of us will think that psychology holds the answer to all these causes, and some will think psychiatry. Actually, it seems to me that both of

these technical divisions contribute, and that contributions are to be had also from many sources, to the evolution of a sound mental hygiene which may be reduced to principles that can be worked out with the students. Courses of this sort have already been given, but what their relationship is to the production of more adequate parents is unknown. This much is clear: that from 10 per cent to 25 per cent of the people who go through such courses present personal problems, seriously in need of adjustment, which come to light during such work. I do not hold that a careful presentation of the principles of mental hygiene involving, as I think it should, an analysis of the dynamic personal interrelationships of family life will necessarily and of itself produce adequate parents. On the contrary, I think this is merely the basic foundation. I am dubious of any attempt to educate people concerning child care unless they have a laboratory in which to work, and probably the most satisfactory laboratory is one's own home. Lacking this the training becomes academic and does not have the personal application. It is not read into the problems which one meets day by day, because the problems with which it deals are not problems that daily confront the individual. A proper course in the principles of mental hygiene should deal definitely with the problems in adjustment that day by day confront us all. I believe that in this pre-parental period the physiological functions of parenthood (in other words, sex education) should in some way be worked in along with the courses in mental hygiene and physical hygiene. With this basic groundwork it becomes not only possible but extremely desirable to work with parents of young children on the problems in child training and child behavior with which they are, or will be, confronted. As I said before, this work should not be based solely on behavior, but rather upon the factors which underlie and produce desirable and undesirable behavior.

In the home, in our experience, parents are most concerned about the following problems: First of all come obedience and methods for procuring it. Almost half of the children presented to the child guidance clinic present problems in obedience to their parents. Next to obedience comes lying; then stealing, running away from home, laziness and failure to take responsibility, difficulties in playing with other children, sex misconduct, temper tantrums, and a generally overactive, restless sort of behavior. It seems to me that these topics, and the analysis, with groups of parents, of the factors involved in their causation, represent the primary approach to the whole field, because they involve all the topics that people commonly stress so much (including "reward and punishment"), and at the same time carry us into the problems of underlying causation on a very broad foundation which permits us to give the parent insight into methods of studying the meaning of the behavior of children instead of merely reacting directly to that behavior.

I have often wondered if we know what we are trying to train children to be, and if we have any idea why we are trying to train them to be those things. For your consideration I offer the following composite list of things which people like

and dislike in other people—by no means a complete list, but one which is marvelously helpful in thinking about these issues. People like the following things, and the order given is the rank order of the likes of forty-four people who were involved in making out this list: cheerfulness, honesty, kindness, intelligence, sincerity, tolerance, sympathy, thoughtfulness, understanding and insight, and reliability. These particular people do not like: selfishness, egotism, stubbornness, jealousy, timidity, self-consciousness, intolerance, snobbishness, irritability, and boastfulness. They state that the following traits may be either desirable or undesirable, depending apparently upon the degree to which they are present: pride, aggressiveness, suggestibility, sensitiveness, self-confidence, frankness, emotional liability, ambition, boldness, and inhibition. This is not the total list, but it presents some extraordinary points well worth analysis, but that analysis must be reserved to a later time. These lists of problems and of things that people like and dislike are given to you merely as suggestions for thinking about ways and means of developing adequately in people attitudes toward what they are trying to do in child training.

Let me then summarize my suggestions as follows: first, definite courses on the sound principles of mental hygiene for high school and college students, which are designed to help them to make the adjustments that they must make when they reach the adult level and may become parents; second, the evolution of additional efforts with parents, which shall take into consideration their own emotional defects, their complexes and conflicts and pathological attitudes, and shall help them to see the meaning of behavior exhibited, but in terms of underlying factors in their personality and in the personality of their children which have produced both satisfactory and unsatisfactory behavior. This will permit them to deal day by day with themselves and their children in such a way that the major behavior difficulties shall be averted and the child given the greatest chance to become a free and successful and happy member of the social order.

WHAT MEASURES DO WE HAVE FOR GROWTH IN PERSONALITY?

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Before we can talk about measures we must attempt to arrive at a common understanding of personality. To quote Dr. John B. Watson: "If a hundred individuals were asked to give a definition of personality, each of the one hundred would return an answer and his answer would differ in many particulars from every other answer." In connection with this paper we do not mean by personality those personal characteristics which make an individual pleasing to meet, or what is usually meant in a letter of reference. Personality is a complete cross-section of an individual, the sum total of what he is at a given time; or again, in

the language of Watson: "The sum of activities that can be discovered by actual observation of behavior over a long enough time to give reliable information. In other words, personality is but the end product of our habit systems." In the popular sense a noted professor whose researches have had far-reaching effect was described as having no personality, but as we understand personality for the purposes of this paper, he very definitely had it. In his social environment of the research laboratory he had achieved beyond the attainments of most men. Let me remind you of Miss Richmond's statement regarding personality:

Our physical heredity, our innate qualities transmitted and unalterable, are individual, but all that portion of our social heritage and our environment which we have been able in day by day living to add to individuality and make a part of ourselves is personal; and the whole becomes our personality. While a man's individuality does not change, his personality, which includes both his native and acquired qualities, is forever changing. If it does not expand and grow from day to day by full exercise of function, it contracts and even atrophies.

A committee on measurements in family social work from the 1926 Institute of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work have, on the basis of the foregoing definitions, suggested a questionnaire method of studying personality growth. They chose for their illustration the non-supporting man, and framed a series of questions regarding his habits and attitudes. His habits were studied from such points of view as work, family relationship, leisure, and also in relation to his social environment. The latter was a recognition that certain habits would be considered unsatisfactory in one environment that might be satisfactory in another. The extent to which these questions could be answered favorably would be a measure of the man's personality. If there were more favorable answers regarding habits and attitudes at a later than at an earlier period, then his personality had been expanding and growing.

We shall now trace, from a social case record, the development of personality as revealed in a history of a family we are calling Morris. In December, 1922, the Morris family was reported to the family welfare society in X as in need of food and fuel. Mr. Morris had formerly been a miner, but since moving to X had done factory work. In the preceding spring, when not well, he had, with little success, tried canvassing. He was now sick and unable to work. He was described as a small, tired, discouraged-looking man who seemed to lack initiative. References add the information that he had been a heavy drinker, disagreeable, and had assumed little responsibility in the home. This is not a picture of successful personality. When the case worker on her first visit advised his going to the out-patient department he demurred. His wife explained his hesitancy on the ground that he feared the clinic would tell him that he had tuberculosis. The case worker did not herself press the point, but referred the matter to the tuberculosis society. Within twelve days Mr. Morris had been examined, diagnosed as tubercular, and admitted to the sanitarium. Unquestionably progress in personality development had been made. Mr. Morris, described as disagreeable, afraid of the truth, lacking in initiative, had cooperated

in having the examination, had accepted the diagnosis, and had acted on the advice given. In the case record these items appear, not as personality development, but as a health problem given treatment. Should they have been recorded from the point of view of personality?

Mrs. Morris appeared as a small, quiet person, worried and tired. She was friendly and expressed a willingness to work, although fearing she would be unable to do much, as she was five months pregnant. She kept a clean but unattractive home. Neighbors, relatives, friends, and landlady agreed that Mrs. Morris had worked hard, was a good woman; they liked her and thought her "very deserving." She was ambitious for her children, but had made "a doormat of herself" for them. Her poor management was illustrated by innumerable jelly and jam glasses on her kitchen table. Mrs. Morris's failure to give adequate attention to her children's health had resulted in many and long-continued colds.

In December, 1922, there were four children at home; three others had married, and one had died. Those at home were Robert, age fifteen years; Lois, twelve; Ethel, eleven; and Frances, three. Robert worked in a garage at \$8.00 per week, attending part-time school. The preceding year he had violated this latter requirement of the state school law. We read that he was surly in the home, disrespectful to his mother, who received only \$4.00 of his wages, and was rough and unkind with his sisters. He resented the very presence in the home of Ethel, whose sniffles were a special grievance. In order to avoid his quarreling with his sisters, Mrs. Morris served his meals separately. Although Robert was neat and took his bath, he expected his mother to get his water ready for him. The case worker consulted the counselor for boys and Robert's teachers at the part-time school. His two women teachers had found him sullen, never voluntarily speaking or responding to their greetings, although they had noticed some improvement during the few weeks since Mr. Morris had been out of the home. Robert's man teacher, who had known him in grade school, was surprised to learn that he was other than a normal boy, for he had not noticed any disagreeable attitude. The counselor and teachers offered to help in correcting Robert's actions and attitudes at home. When Mrs. Morris next saw the case worker she told with much joy that Robert, upon drawing his last week's pay, had invited the family to go with him to the movies; also that Robert had cleaned the yard and planted a garden. There were similar items which showed a changed family relationship. These may be taken as measurements of a development of personality.

More emphasis, which will automatically be reflected in our case records, upon the relationships and social contacts of our clients both within the home and outside will reveal changes of personality. These changes in personality at the present stage of our progress cannot be measured in terms of percentages, rates, and ratios, but they are nevertheless real.

Unfortunately, the record did not show the processes used by the worker in

changing Robert's home attitudes or in getting Mr. Morris into the sanitarium. A study of personality measurement should also include a study of processes, but the latter is not the subject of this paper. We know in the case of Mr. Morris that the worker secured the assistance of the representative of the tuberculosis society because she knew that Mr. Morris would look upon advice from that source as more authoritative. In the case of Robert she recognized that one more woman would not have the influence with him that the man counselor would probably have.

In August, 1923, after nine months of social treatment, there was recorded Mrs. Morris's expression of gratitude, both for the material assistance (food and clothing had been provided for the family during the entire period) and also for what she had learned regarding system and the managing of both money and home. The lack of these personality elements, system and management, have brought many a client to a social practitioner. We have an insight here into one process used by the worker when Mrs. Morris says that she has found the use of an expense account and budget helpful. Does the statement that Mrs. Morris wanted the visitor's approval before making any unusual purchases indicate the development or retardation of personality? At this time Mrs. Morris was paying her rent in advance instead of "in small amounts, as she can." The landlady, thus encouraged, fixed up the house, making it much more attractive with curtains and other homelike touches. Does not that physical environment which we make for ourselves help to measure personality? Furthermore, does it not reveal the personality of the family as a whole, as well as of its members? Perhaps the most enlightening of Mrs. Morris's remarks is that she has "never before been so comfortable and felt so encouraged about the future." Such an attitude goes a long way in enabling one to conquer life's battles, in other words, to be recognized as a successful personality.

Another measurement which should be noted is that Mrs. Morris talked over some of the difficulties that arose in the families of her married children in order that she might be more helpful as a mother. How we have feared, as social workers, that tendency to become dependent. Do we note with corresponding joy and cultivate with greatest care the indications of an outgoing spirit?

At this period the Morris family had become practically self-supporting. Mr. Morris had improved in the sanitarium and was about to be discharged. The case worker, fearing the recurrence of his drinking habits and an unhappy element in the home were he to return, secured for him a janitor's position at the sanitarium, where he would earn \$50.00 per month and board. He did not turn over, at first, a reasonable share of his earnings to his family, but the worker appealed to him and his response was immediate and permanent. The case worker did this by explaining to him, with figures, what it cost to maintain his family, what the family welfare society had already done, what was now his own responsibility, what a splendid wife and children he had, and that he was

not expected to turn over every last cent. With the assuming of responsibility there came a greater interest and joy in his family, whom he saw regularly twice a week.

In September, 1923, Robert secured a better paying position with the opportunity of learning a trade. He was later promoted and began saving. He contributed regularly toward the family expenses. In October, 1925, at the age of eighteen, he made the initial payment of \$200.00 on a five-room cottage into which the family moved.

Only one more incident will be taken from the record of the Morris family. Early one February morning in 1926 as Mr. Morris was returning from a visit at home to his work at the sanitarium an automobile hit him, and he died the next day. The real test came at this time. The family was able to meet the crisis emotionally and in other ways. They have neither asked for outside assistance nor proposed giving up their plans for buying their home. They are having help in meeting the situation from one of the sons, married in the beginning, but now divorced. Although he has failed with his own family he is making a real contribution to the life of his mother's family.

This method of dealing with the subject of measures of growth in personality has been used because we must find personality growth measured at this stage of social case work in the recorded items of social history. Perhaps in the future the social scientist, the psychologist, and the social case worker will be able to develop more exact measurements. In the meantime our contribution as case workers will be to do a type of social work that is in reality the development of personality. Our further contribution will be to acquire a technique of recording that will reveal the personalities and, by implication, at least, the processes which were used.

In connection with the Morris record there is an annual statistical summary which lists services rendered. This statistical list of services is similar to that used by many family welfare societies for more than a decade. It mentions that the Morris family received such services as dental treatment, sanitarium care, employment obtained, children kept in school, recreation arranged, etc. How very inadequate such lists are. A few societies have prepared their list of services rendered from the point of view of personality growth. A medical examination is not nearly as important as a sound attitude toward a health difficulty. We speak of maladjustments, but our terminology is lacking when it comes to right adjustments. The opposite of *mal* is *bene*, as used in beneficial. Why not, therefore, analyze not only the *mal*-adjustments to be corrected, but the *bene*-adjustments which have been accomplished. A study of services by many thoughtful case workers from the point of view of social contacts of a client and from the point of view of attitudes and habits will surely produce some measurement of personality to be incorporated into statistics of services rendered.

When the Morris family had been under care four months there appeared as part of the record a diagnostic summary. The various members of the family

were individualized in this summary. We gain a picture of their personalities. This is the only diagnostic summary that was made during more than three years of active care. Successive diagnostic summaries would have been a means of personality measurement. This is assuming that each successive summary is not a repetition, but a further analysis of changes in personality since the preceding statement. Such an annual audit of character is a measurement that the case worker would find helpful to his own thinking.

Social case workers cannot indefinitely excuse their lack of accuracy when asked to state results by answering that they are dealing with the intangible. Personality is a reality. Its growth cannot be measured in terms of dollars, or pounds, or death-rates, or even complexes, but we should be able to answer yes or no as to whether or not we are going forward or backward in our work. Taken together, the social history, the questionnaire, the diagnostic summary, and the statistics of service enable us to answer in regard to each family whether our work has been worth while. We are able to determine, with a reasonable degree of accuracy, when the record is closed, whether the family should be able to meet its own needs, or whether we are closing because further effort under the circumstances is not justified, because we are no longer able to continue our contact, or because some other agency has taken over the responsibility. Such an estimate is sounder than an attempt to determine whether all problems of health, employment, education, recreation, etc., have been met. Under the latter procedure there can be no honest finis.

MEASURING OUR RESULTS IN SECURING THE ESSENTIALS OF FAMILY LIFE: SOME SUGGESTIONS BASED ON A REVIEW OF MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE IN PENNSYLVANIA

Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson, Pittsburgh

In the mothers' pension experiment, at the beginning, little attempt was made to discover any of the essential facts in relation to this new way of meeting one section of the problem of family dependency. Certainly in Pennsylvania, aside from the more obvious data as to the nature of the problem and the probable costs to the state and county treasury, we were surprised to learn that the distribution of fatherless families throughout the state was so uneven, and that the relief from public and private sources was so utterly inadequate.

Yet lack of foresight before the passage of the law has perhaps been atoned for by the devotion and singular wisdom of the boards of trustees throughout the state in administration of this new law. It is no exaggeration to say that today there is no more popular or better administered law on the statute books,

and that in every county where it operates the level of the standard of work is as high as, and in some communities higher than, that of other social work efforts.

Mothers' pension legislation has carved out a section of our problem of dependency for solution along lines that, to the man in the street, look particularly simple. All that is necessary to solve the widow's problem, it is said, is to give her enough to live on. In various states this word "enough" has been defined in different ways. In Pennsylvania the law grants a maximum of twenty dollars to the first child and ten dollars to each additional child. While these amounts may have had a substantial sound to the ears of the legislators, the maximum was fixed with little regard for the actual cost of living. The main consideration was perhaps the fear, based on good grounds in the light of the past history of poor relief legislation, that if the door of the public treasury were opened too far there might be grave abuse in the disposition of public funds. It is evident that no family could live on the amount provided by the grants alone. However, with the liberal ruling made by the state supervisor in regard to the amount of property and money the families may have and still be eligible, and with additional help organized by case workers from relatives, lodges, older children, as well as self-help by the mother herself, many families have undoubtedly been aided to achieve a standard of living higher than when the father was alive.

During the last few years, however, misgivings have arisen in the minds of the supervisor, Miss Mary Bogue, various county boards of trustees, and private agencies as to whether the amount of money put into many of these families will really insure that the children, when they graduate from the fund at sixteen, possess an adequate equipment for life in health, education, and home training. These misgivings have had certain bases in fact. A large number of families have shown a marked deficit between the total family income, including the maximum grant, and the amount estimated as the necessary budget. There have been cases where the mother has broken down from overwork, where bright children have left school at fourteen to earn, where the family has suffered from overcrowding and undernourishment.

In Philadelphia County, from the beginning, the board has adopted the most progressive methods of administration; the devotion of the trustees has been unflagging; the personnel of the staff is excellent. It was peculiarly significant therefore, for the conservation of the best standards of family care, that the trustees of that county should have joined with the state supervisor in launching a study of their own work in an effort to determine whether the assistance now given is adequate to safeguard those values in family life which the law was passed to secure. In January, when the study was started, some eight hundred families were under care in Philadelphia. These assisted families are visited at least once a month; school reports are checked; the city has almost unlimited medical resources, and the fullest use is made of them. Every effort is put forth to open the doors of opportunity to these dependent families for a good life, through the provision of adequate housing facilities, special education-

al services, and recreation. It should also be added that the selection of cases shows wisdom and an impartiality untinged by prejudice or political influence. For these reasons—a high standard of case work, excellent community facilities, and an appreciative and cooperative group of families presenting a common need—the field was clear for a real test of adequacy of money relief, unhampered by the limitations such a study might meet if made in a general private agency with its unassorted and more or less shifting clientèle.

At the start it became apparent that in measuring results the usual statistical methods applied to such a problem would not be convincing here. The case-workers pointed out that in some families showing a big deficit in budget they found not only the necessities but the comforts of life; that the so-called apparent deficit was not always a real deficit. On the other hand, in families showing no deficit the sources of income might be open to question. Was the mother working so hard in increasing the income as to jeopardize her health or neglect the children? What type of child was permitted to leave school for work, and at what age? From the beginning an attempt was therefore made to bridge this gulf between the specific and the general, between the so-called "case work" point of view and the statistical approach, by a careful reading of a considerable number of case records and a checking up of the general findings through them. The case workers on the families filled out all the schedules, checking them up too by their own personal knowledge of the family situations, so that even the general data was gathered by those who knew the families best.

A few of the facts about the entire number of families under care I summarize briefly. The most significant was perhaps the discovery that two-thirds of the families, 67 per cent, were already receiving the maximum grant permitted by law, and that 18 per cent more had a range of only ten dollars or less between the grant and the maximum, that is, only the remaining 15 per cent of families were sufficiently under the maximum (fifteen dollars or more) to permit an appreciable increase of grant in case of sickness, unemployment, or other need. In any emergency requiring extra money, in at least 85 per cent of the families, there would be no solution except for the case workers to go out to the private agencies to beg for aid.

Perhaps the most disturbing fact that emerged was that there was a disproportionate number of working children in the Mothers' Assistance Fund families. In the city as a whole, including all the school districts, only one child in ten between the ages of fourteen and sixteen is at work, in the most highly industrialized district, one child in six. In marked contrast, one child in three of that age in our assisted families is at work. It is unnecessary to say that this does not reflect a conscious policy on the part of the trustees. As a matter of fact, there is the closest cooperation between the board and the White Williams Foundation with its scholarship provision, and every possible effort is put forth to keep the children, especially the brightest children, in school. But when scholarship funds are quickly exhausted and the maximum grant has been put into

a family the case worker is as helpless, in the face of an inadequate income, as the mother herself. These children who were taken out are not dull children. Out of 102 studied intensively in connection with the records, only 11 were found to be in the sixth B grade, which is our lowest grade for working permits under the Pennsylvania law.

The rest (91) of the 102 children were in the seventh or eighth grade, with 14 in the high school. Eighty of the total number had been taken out of school for financial reasons only. The existence of economic pressure was borne out by another fact—that 50 children had been taken out at exactly fourteen years or younger, and 88 in all before their fifteenth birthday. The correlation between the size of the family and the time of entrance of the child into industry was so close as to be suggestive.

A second question that has concerned us in Philadelphia relates to the working mother. With its great textile districts and its development of the clothing industry, Philadelphia is a city of women workers. This situation has solved some problems and created others. Fifty-nine per cent of the mothers work to supplement their grant, 17 per cent at home, 42 per cent away from home. While this supplementary wage makes the grant more nearly adequate, it tends to create the familiar problem of overwork on the part of the mother, lack of supervision of the children, and the exposure of the families to the major industrial hazards of unemployment and to loss of income through sickness of the breadwinner. Obviously, the question of unemployment must ultimately be solved, for working mothers as for other workers, through some form of unemployment compensation or insurance. Until that solution is reached there is a need for a much wider margin of elasticity in relief grants in order to meet these industrial emergencies that create a family deficit.

The bad results of lack of maternal care show up in entries that range from "Mother cannot take Edward to the cardiac clinic because mill is running full time now" to "The children run wild; are retarded in school; John has been hurt twice in street accidents." I should not paint too gloomy a picture. Through the skill and devotion of the case workers many women have been helped to make good adjustments, with satisfaction to themselves through interesting work, and with care for the children. Our only interest, as in the case of the working child, should be in removing economic pressure from the mother in order that she may have something like a real choice—the choice that mothers in the professions have today—as to whether, all values considered, she shall continue in industry or remain at home through the early years of her children.

Another familiar economic problem, cropping up in its own insidious way, is that of supplementary income through industrial home work. The head of our women's bureau in the state department of welfare, Miss Charlotte Carr, estimates from recent surveys that in Pennsylvania there are more than ten thousand women engaged in home work. I need not remind this group of the wretched wage, the irregularity, the lack of control of sanitary conditions, and

the other evils that are connected with this antiquated and wasteful system of production. It is the stronghold of the sweated trades, an exploitation of motherhood, and frequently of childhood, that is intolerable. Over and over I have been astonished at the summaries that have come in from reputable family agencies that show that they have accepted and institutionalized industrial home work, in some cases for years, as a legitimate source of family income. At any one time more than 9 per cent of our widows are engaged in it, a proportion that of course rises at special seasons of the year.

The excuse we case workers give for tolerating home work is that the women who engage in it are frequently unemployable, either because they are slow and untrained, speak no English, or are handicapped by very little children. But in these very reasons lies the challenge to the philosophy of case work, an indication of the need for special ingenious experiments in adjustment and the widening of resources. It is evident, too, that this form of employment for mothers tends to increase the very handicaps that have forced them into it. The foreign-born mother, for instance, has a peculiar need of outside stimulus and interests if she is to control and understand her American-born children. If to her natural tendency to stay too closely at home is added the necessity for working long hours alone, she is plunged into an isolation that any number of visits from an enthusiastic case worker cannot relieve. My own recommendation has been that the income from home work be left out in reckoning the necessary budget and the sources of income. The family worker can then plan to eliminate it from the family life. Needless to say, this cannot be done until the grant is sufficiently high to substitute good money for bad.

In so brief a paper it is impossible to discuss other ways in which we have attempted to drop a plumb line into the whole question of what we mean by adequate relief. If there is one contribution that mothers' pension work has made in the field of family work, I believe it is that for the first time we have tried to see one section of the problem of dependency and to see it whole. We know now how many widows we should be helping. We can smile at the warning, issued years ago by those of us who were the opponents of Mothers' Assistance Fund legislation, that such laws would create a new crop of dependent families. The law has not created them; it has simply discovered them. With all our misgivings about this new type of family work there is one that, in Pennsylvania, we have never had—the fear that unsuitable families are receiving relief or that there has been any slackening of effort on the part of the families themselves to graduate from the assisted group. Our great concern at present lies with those on our waiting lists whom we are not helping at all, and with those whom, as I have indicated, we are not helping sufficiently.

In the last number of the *Survey* Dr. I. M. Rubinow issues a call for a revival of interest in the field of social insurance—an interest that, like other progressive thinking, was paralyzed by the reaction after the war. To his challenge might be added another appeal for help in this new field of family relief through public

funds. I am convinced that the time has come when family case workers must free themselves once for all from the illusion that private charity ever has carried, or in all likelihood ever could carry, the tremendous burden of dependency in our industrial society. Nor do I believe that it is desirable that it should, with great fields of experimental and preventive work almost untouched. With the drying up of many of the sources of private funds for chronic need has come a bursting forth of new springs of interest in social research, education, and public health. The mothers' pension movement has charted its field in America today; its great and immediate need is the wholehearted support and enthusiasm of the private family agencies who alone can safeguard its administrative standards and at the same time secure for it those funds from the public treasury which will make adequate family support standards possible.

OBJECTIVE TESTS IN CASE WORK

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The case of Alexander and Emily Barlow is probably known to more case workers than any other one teaching case record, so I am using it to examine this subject.

When the case record stops Mr. Barlow is in jail, serving a year's sentence for non-support. Previous information tells us he is syphilitic, has been a veritable Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde since his sixteenth year, wandering as a hobo for months at a time between intervals when he was at home and presented a satisfactory appearance. He has an amazing lack of sense of responsibility. His neglect of his family has amounted to brutality, although there is no evidence that he was physically abusive. On the other hand, there is evidence that he was courteous to strangers, a satisfactory workman, and that he had real attitudes of repentance after his hobo trips.

Let us assume that a year has passed, and that certain changes have taken place; that he comes out of jail, disciplined, and works fairly steadily, contributing to the support of the family, although not living with it; that in jail he was treated for syphilis and continued the treatment after he left, so that he seemed well on toward a cure; that he has not gone off on any hobo trip; has worked steadily; and has been consistently considerate of his wife and children. If we attempt to separate these statements into objective phenomena and subjective judgments, we get something like the following:

Objective elements: in jail; out of jail; syphilitic; syphilis improved; worked steadily; left home after a certain period; has not left home in last few months. Of the objective material, one item at least is not primarily social—syphilis. Its diagnosis, its progress and treatment is a medical matter, and should not be, in itself, included in any objective test of case work. The man's attitude toward

the disease and the case worker's effort to have him treated are aspects of case work, but they are subjectively defined.

On the subjective side we have: that he was a wanderer; a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; a hobo at times, showed a lack of responsibility; selfish to the point of brutality; a gentleman at certain times; repentant; a satisfactory worker; that his steadiness of work increased after leaving jail; that he was considerate of his wife and family. A brief inspection of this list indicates that it contains the material which really counts. It is of no special significance by itself that the objective fact, "out of jail," be true. Any change of attitude after being in jail is the significant thing. And attitude is determined by a subjective judgment; it is not an objective phenomenon.

If it be stated that attitudes are inferred from acts, and that acts are objective, then there are two partial answers. First, almost all acts, entirely isolated and objectively regarded, are socially meaningless. Take the statement "considerate of his family." That is a judgment based on a number of acts. Let us take one, payment of money to his family. The act is objective. If it is paid because he does not want to go back to jail, but the moment probation is relaxed he intends to quit, or if he intends to pay only so long as necessary to regain his strength for another hobo trip, that is one thing. If he performs exactly the same act out of a genuine desire to do his duty to his family, that is another. In other words, the identical act may mean different things, socially, under different circumstances: in this illustration, a difference in intent; and intent is a subjective judgment made by the case worker.

The second consideration is that attitudes are inferred, not from one act, but from the relationship between a number of acts. A number of acts in a certain order or certain combination lead one to draw the inference of a certain attitude. No one of the acts in itself would warrant such a subjective judgment, but the combination of acts does. It is a familiar mental process, more often experienced than noting data on which the judgment is based, so that we are accustomed to give to the subjective assumption the validity of the data on which it is based. It is much easier to say "It's a gloomy day"—a subjective judgment—than to give the objective data on which the inference is made: condition of sky, moisture in air, absence of sun. Exact science uses inferences from objective data, and the inferences have tentative validity. The concept of the electron, of electricity itself, of ether, are inferentially formed, are concepts created to explain certain phenomena. The phenomena however, are constant, and they are explanations of a causal relationship without any qualitative elements; not good electricity, but how much. But in social judgment the element of quality always enters.

Objective data in case work, therefore, consists of such states, acts, and circumstances as are observable by the senses—in jail, out of jail; working, not working; paying money, not paying money to one's family—which in themselves have no social significance. They acquire a social significance only in relation

to other acts, and then only when one relates the inferred judgment to a norm of conduct which the case worker has established, or which society has set up. Take for illustration the judgment "hobo trips." When analyzed, the judgment "hobo trips" is formed by the acts of leaving home, coming back months later dirty and ragged, and sending no money home during one's absence.

Going away on a trip is not in itself antisocial, else we all here should be guilty; coming home dirty and ragged is not always condemned; forest fire fighters return in that plight; sending home no money happens whenever a man goes to a hospital, and no social condemnation ensues. But a married man who is healthy, who can get work, and whose wife does not possess an adequate income of her own shall support his wife—this is a social norm. That is, social good demands, or social experience has demonstrated the necessity, that when a man stands in the relations of husband and father to other persons, those relationships, under certain conditions, require that he furnish economic support.

The significant factor in that statement is responsibility dependent upon relationship. Husband is not only a status; it also carries responsibilities. Social judgments are concerned almost entirely with evaluating the degree or quality of behavior as contrasted with the normal responsibility. A good mother, a careless workman, a useful citizen, a criminal, are social concepts, deductions based upon a large number of facts, their relationship to each other, and the comparison of each deduction with a socially determined norm.

Summing up at this point, we can say that behavior consists of acts which may be objectively appreciated, but acts whose significance can be determined only in relationship, e.g., does this group of acts indicate that the person is meeting his obligation involved in the social relationship which is being studied?

Having said this much, we can make certain observations. Acts vary in the degree of accuracy with which inferences can be drawn from them. If a man beats his wife there is but little danger in drawing an inference without further analysis. In general, however, such acts are safely given alone as evidence of behavior because they are unusual. Some believe that all behavior may be analyzed into unit acts, each with its own significance, such as beating one's wife. The great difficulty in such a method is that even beating one's wife is itself not evaluated as it is because he is beating someone, or that it is a woman he is beating, but that in the person-to-person relationship physical injury inflicted by one on another is injurious to social stability in general, and that in the husband-wife relationship wife-beating has in addition certain evils of its own; certain denials of obligations, such as protection, consideration, affection, etc. The next comment to be made is that when objective facts are listed as problems or accomplishments they should carry a minimum of inferred social quality. Earning \$14 a week is an objective fact. Adequacy or inadequacy is an inferred matter, depending on other facts and attitudes. Mrs. Barlow, earning \$14 a week, even in 1919, could almost take care of her three children and herself. The responsibility she assumed in her economic relations was more rigid

than that of the average person. That does not mean we should not protect against low wages; it does mean that in Mrs. Barlow's case it is questionable whether \$14 a week is to be listed as a disability.

We hear a good deal of a dependency index. Dr. Emerson has berated us soundly for not doing what physicians have done in charting the progress of their conquest of disease. However, even in the field of medicine, certainty is by no means so easily secured as it may seem. Dr. Emerson can tell us how much less—or more—of any specific disease there may be, because diseases are objectively verified; and he may tell us how much longer or shorter time men are living than they used to live, because that can be measured. But can he tell us how much healthier men are than they used to be, or that they are so at all? Health is a matter of success in relationships, and can only be so defined. And I don't think there is any successful and accepted method for determining it. Dependency—What is it? It is of course a concept, based on a wide range of acts. If one act is taken as definitive, application to an agency for financial relief, an inference is made which is subject to all sorts of errors.

Mrs. Barlow's sister, you may remember, appealed in her behalf in 1908. No aid was given; case closed. In 1909 no application was made. In 1918 Mrs. Barlow applied; aid was given. In a dependency index should we list Mrs. Barlow as an unnecessary applicant in 1908, independent in 1909, dependent in 1918? If we do, our words mean nothing. Here a brand new element enters into the problem of objective tests: a new relationship, that of the social agency to the client. In 1908 Mrs. Barlow was in probably her greatest need, but the attitude or theory of the agency caused it to refuse assistance. That attitude probably kept Mrs. Barlow away from it for several years. In 1918 Mrs. Barlow had come quite a long way back on the road of independence, and yet the society accepted—in fact, sought—the responsibility and carried it for months. A dependency index that means anything at all will be possible when this element of difference can be ignored. The number of applicants in one community as compared with the number in another is, I believe, more accurately a measure of social work attitudes and skill than of dependency.

Again, one of the most dangerous of errors in case work is to assume that a behavior which followed case work was caused by it. In 1908 Mrs. Barlow was utterly discouraged, defeated in the struggle against the hard circumstances of her life, about ready to surrender upon any favorable terms. In 1918 we find her with much of her old courage returned—hard, bitter, violent tempered, to be sure—the prices she had paid for her victory; but she had won her major battle; she had saved enough of herself to keep her home and the affection of her children. Not the wildest enthusiast would claim that there was any causal relation between this good result and the case work of the preceding fourteen years. One would be almost justified in saying it happened in spite of the case work.

The illustration brings out another point—a variant of our first one—that

our evaluations are subjective and qualitative. How can Mrs. Barlow's progress in her mastery of circumstance be measured? When near defeat she was dirty, her hair uncombed, her one child neglected, her home uncared for. When she had won out she was neat, her home was spotless, her children were pathetically loyal and affectionate. Those were the objective phenomena, but they were relatively meaningless by themselves. The big fact was that she had grown in capacity to handle the burdens of life. Cleanliness, neatness, even affection of children, might or might not accompany such a development in personal capacity.

I should like to make at least one positive suggestion in this long list of negatives. If our statistics and the publicity growing out of them have so little of the objective in them, might we not experiment in listing positive accomplishments, which have objective validity? The grade attained in school, new adornments in the home, church connections made, relatives who have been brought into contact again with the client, the increased steadiness of work, the contributions the older children are induced to make to their parents—these, at least, are objective. Such a recital, however, brings out another weakness of any attempt to evaluate case work by whatever method we use: we assume credit for accomplishments in whose making we had only a small part at best.

It seems to me we must candidly face the fact that at present objective data do not help as much in estimating the tasks which social case work assumes or in evaluating the results of its efforts. Our means of descriptions are subjective evaluations: the expressions of our judgments respecting situations and progress. This being so, the first essential is that as nearly as possible our inferences shall be made accurately and the objective data used as premises defined in as nearly uniform manner as words may be. This brings us back to the need of uniform terms in statistics and for uniform terminology in social case work. Until these ends are accomplished we cannot take even the first steps in a scientifically accurate comparison of work for results. If, however, we all use words in the same way, and they are exactly defined, we can then make our inferences with one great element of error eliminated.

But even then I don't think the needs of publicity or of interpretation will be met. People, after all, are interested in people, not in isolated facts about them. The real objective test of case work is an honestly and dramatically described case story.

V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

THE LIVING WAGE AND FAMILY ALLOWANCE SYSTEMS

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Although the volume of poverty in this country has diminished greatly during the last decade, social workers, of all people, do not need to be informed of its continued existence and of the problems which it creates. Society, through its poor law, has recognized its obligation to preserve life after it has once been brought into the world, while the almost universally accepted principle of the living wage assumes that industry should provide those whom it employs with at least the basic physical necessities of life. Yet, despite this intellectual and moral acceptance of the principle that from one source or another the physical needs of life should be provided for, we are still, in practice, far from our goal.

Broadly speaking, there are two main classes of the poor, namely, those who are in poverty because they are unable to be employed, and those who, though employed, receive such low wages as not to meet their fundamental needs. The first group includes such classes as widows with dependent children, the aged, the handicapped, and the unemployed. Such assistance as has been given these groups has come primarily from public or private charity rather than from industry. On the other hand, while members of the second groups have been assisted sometimes by outside charity, in the main their economic problem has been recognized as one which industry itself should solve.

The laborer, it has been justly said, is worthy of his hire; and industries that use up men's vitality should at least return them command over sufficient sources of energy to renew their strength. Otherwise, an industry is parasitic and draws from its workers more than it gives back. This principle of a minimum wage which industry should pay its workers has been legally adopted for both men and women in Australia, and for the most underpaid industries in Great Britain. It was a belief in this principle which led a dozen American states to enact minimum wage laws for women, while during and following the war it was admitted also that the principle applied with equal validity to men.

In this humanitarian movement certain assumptions have become so universally adopted that they have guided both the practical tactics and the immediate objectives of the movement. Perhaps the two most important of these assumptions are: first, that every adult male should be paid enough to support the so-called "normal" family of five, consisting of husband, wife, and three dependent children under fourteen; and second, that every woman should be

paid enough to meet the costs of her living away from home, but with no allowance for dependents.

The two main reasons which have been advanced in support of using the family of five as the standard by which to measure the adequacy of men's wages have been: first, the belief that the average family was, in fact, of this size; and second, the belief that it was necessary for a married couple to have at least three children in order merely to maintain the population at a given level. The fact that our census showed the average household in 1890 to be composed of 4.9 persons has been frequently cited as proof of the typical character of the so-called "standard" family. It has not been as frequently observed that this average had fallen in 1920 to only 4.3 persons, while many have also failed to note that the census includes in a household all who keep house together under one roof. Hotels, boarding houses, prisons, and institutions are counted as individual households. If the average number of persons in the average family is therefore 4.3, the average in the economic family would be still less. It is true that the researches of Drs. Dublin and Lotzka have shown that the average fertile family now needs to have 3.1 children if the population merely is to be kept at a constant figure; but this neither means that all three of these children will be dependent at any one time, nor that any of them will be dependent upon the parents throughout life. The fundamental bases which have been relied upon to demonstrate the representative character of the family of five are therefore of more than doubtful validity. There are a number of studies which establish quite clearly the unrepresentative character of the so-called "standard" family of five. Bachelors certainly do not have families of five to support; yet over 26 per cent of all the adult occupied males in Great Britain in 1921 were unmarried, while in 1920, 28 per cent of all the men in this country were in this class. Here is a group, therefore, of approximately one-quarter of the working force, who, far from having four others to support, are not even married.

How typical, then, of married couples is the family of five? The British and Australian censuses of 1921 give us for the first time an answer to this question. In Great Britain statistics were collected from nearly 7,500,000 families covering the number of living children under sixteen years which each had. The results are shown in Table I.

This shows that at the least a third of the families which stated their composition had no dependent children under sixteen years, while a fourth had only one child, and over a sixth but two. Seventy-eight per cent of the families had less than the so-called "standard" family, and only 10 per cent actually had such a family. Twelve per cent, on the other hand, had more than three children. If we take all the employed males as a whole, including both bachelors and married men, only a little less than 8 per cent would have the family which is regarded as typical; slightly over 82 per cent would either have no dependent children at all or would have but one or two; between 9 and 10 per cent, however, would have more than the standard family.

These results are in the main borne out by the Australian census of 1921, which collected full data upon the number of children under fourteen who were dependent upon householders.

Such American studies as that of the United States Bureau of Labor in 1901,¹ the Illinois Health Insurance Commission in 1918,² and of the United States Coal Commission³ of such a universally prolific group of workers as the coal miners all tend to indicate that the distribution of relative family responsibility in this country is not greatly dissimilar from that in England and Australia.

TABLE I*
SIZE OF FAMILIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1921

| Number of Living Children under Sixteen | Number of Families with Given Number of Children (in Thousands) | Percentage of Families with Given Number of Children | Percentage of All Families Stating Number of Children |
|---|---|--|---|
| Not stated . . . | 1,031 | 13.8 | ..... |
| 0..... | 2,196 | 29.4 | 34.1 |
| 1..... | 1,716 | 23.0 | 26.6 |
| 2..... | 1,139 | 15.2 | 17.5 |
| 3..... | 658 | 8.8 | 10.2 |
| 4..... | 371 | 5.0 | 5.8 |
| 5..... | 204 | 2.5 | 3.2 |
| 6..... | 101 | 1.3 | 1.5 |
| 7..... | 40 | .6 | .7 |
| 8..... | 13 | .2 | .2 |
| 9..... | 3.5 | .1 | .1 |
| 10..... | .7 | ..... | ..... |
| 11..... | .2 | ..... | ..... |
| 12..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Total..... | 7,475 | 100.0 | ..... |

* Census of England and Wales, 1921, volume on *Dependency, Orphanhood, and Fertility*.

The essential weaknesses of the assumption that the family of five is typical can be shown by the fact that if each of the 28,200,000 adult males who were employed in this country in 1920 had been paid enough to support such a family, we would thus have been providing for no less than 141,000,000 people. But since there were only slightly less than 106,000,000 people in the country in that year, this would have meant paying for over 35,000,000 fictitious wives and children. But even this is an understatement, for there were 6,200,000 adult women and 6,300,000 juveniles of sixteen years and over who were gainfully

¹ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor*, pp. 242-43, 256-57, 568.

² *Report of the Health Insurance Commission of the State of Illinois*, p. 191.

³ Report, United States Coal Commission.

employed. Assuming that these workers merely provided for their own maintenance, which is, on the whole, an appreciable understatement, this would mean that not more than 93,000,000 persons were, at the most, dependent upon the men who were gainfully employed. To pay each of these men enough to support a family of five would in reality, therefore, mean paying for no less than 48,000,000 phantom wives and children.¹

It is this padding of the figures with so many millions of non-existent dependents which has given the impression that industry could not afford to pay the living wage that was demanded of it. From rather extended computations which I have made of the records of each of the 356 manufacturing industries of the country, it appears that had every dollar of the profits and interest earned in 1919 been devoted to raising wages, the average per capita increase would have been but \$379. This would have brought the average annual earnings of the employed to only \$1,537, and, if allowance is made for the lesser wages of women and juveniles, would have enabled men to receive on the average approximately \$1,700 a year, which was the approximate amount needed to support a family of five on a subsistence-plus standard at that time in the industrial cities. Yet such a wage as this would not have permitted, first, any differential payment to the more skilled; second, any allowance for saving; or third, any added return on capital. All three of these payments are, however, necessary in our economic society, and the first two would be indeed necessary in virtually any society. It would therefore have been impossible in 1919 to have paid to all labor the wage that was customarily claimed as a minimum. This does not mean that it would have been impossible to have paid a wage adequate to support those who were actually dependent upon the workers in manufacturing, for, from my computations, this could have been done at an expenditure of \$10,500,000,000, or 12 per cent less than the amount actually expended for wages.² This would have left a very appreciable balance for differential wages.

The probable inability of industry to pay to all the sums which the advocates of the living wage have demanded has been due, therefore, to the fact that they have been asked to support many millions of non-existent dependents. The single men have fought, therefore, either consciously or unconsciously (if we may mix our metaphors) behind the petticoats of their married brothers, and have used the latter as stalking-horses in the attempt to secure for themselves a wage that would be adequate for a family of five. Such a wage would, as a matter of fact, meet the precise needs of only a little less than 10 per cent of the male workers, while it would pour vast and less needed surpluses into the hands of that 80 per cent who had less than this number of children. To the 50 per cent or more who have no dependent children at all to maintain, the surplus would be particularly great.

¹ For a more complete description of methods and results see my *Wages and the Family*, pp. 19-25.

² See my *Wages and the Family*, pp. 250-52.

Yet, while such a wage as this would more than meet the basic needs of four-fifths of the adult workmen, it would be less than enough for a tenth of the families. And the significant fact about this tenth is that they include nearly 40 per cent of all the children. The entire burden of supporting the children of the country is concentrated on approximately 50 per cent of the male workmen, while the burden within this 50 per cent, in turn, is primarily concentrated on those with the larger families. Thus, in England 34 per cent of the families that stated the number of children (25 per cent of the total number of male workmen) had but one child, and the children in these families formed but 18 per cent of the total number. The remaining 25 per cent of the workers were

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN
1921 ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY

| Families with Following Number of Children under Sixteen | Number of Families in Each Class (in Thousands) | Number of Children in Families of Each Class (in Thousands) | Percentage of Children Included in Each Class of Family | Cumulative Percentage |
|--|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| 0..... | 2,196 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1..... | 1,716 | 1,716 | 18.1 | 18.1 |
| 2..... | 1,139 | 2,278 | 23.9 | 42.0 |
| 3..... | 658 | 1,973 | 20.8 | 62.8 |
| 4..... | 371 | 1,486 | 15.6 | 78.4 |
| 5..... | 204 | 1,022 | 10.7 | 89.1 |
| 6..... | 101 | 605 | 6.5 | 95.6 |
| 7..... | 40 | 283 | 2.9 | 98.5 |
| 8..... | 13 | 103 | 1.1 | 99.6 |
| 9..... | 3.5 | 32 | .3 | 99.9 |
| 10..... | .7 | 7 | .1 | 100.0 |
| 11..... | .2 | 2 | ..... | ..... |
| Total..... | 6,444.4 | 9,510 | ..... | ..... |

compelled, therefore, to support over 80 per cent of the children. Nearly 40 per cent of the children in England were in families where there were four or more, as is shown in Table II.

Nearly two-fifths of the children would therefore be insufficiently provided for were the family-of-five wage to be paid, and it is of course precisely the children that we want primarily to protect. Enough has been said, I think, to indicate the essential inadequacy of the family-of-five standard as the basis for minimum wage payment. The numbers who are dependent upon adult workmen, indeed, vary so widely that it is impossible to adapt their needs to any Procrustean bed. No uniform system of wage payment, as a matter of fact, can meet the needs of all the families.

Does this mean that we must abandon the doctrine of the living wage?

Certainly not. It merely means that we must attack the problem in the light of the realities both of family composition and the ability of industry to pay. If this is done it will be seen that the only adequate way in which this principle may be realized is to recognize the fact that just as the needs of workers are not uniform, but variable, so should the minimum wage not be uniform, but should vary according to the needs of the worker and his family. In other words, the minimum income should vary according to the size of the family by granting extra allowances to those with dependents. There are at least four main ways by which this may be done, namely, first, by industry; second, by the state; third, by trade-unions or other associations of workers; and fourth, through a system of social insurance. While all of these systems have substantially the same ends, they differ widely as regards the methods used and possibly as regards the ultimate results which would follow from their adoption.

First, the system of payment of the allowances by industry is the predominant form which the movement has thus far taken, and is the one which is widely used in Europe, and especially in France. In the latter country over three million workers are employed where allowances for children are paid, and this system is almost universally employed in government service, in the mines, on the railways, and in the textile and metal trades. The total amount paid out in allowances by all these agencies last year has been estimated as amounting to over 700,000,000 fr.

The natural query that will be raised about such a method as this is as to whether it will not lead to men with children being discriminated against in being given employment. If employers must pay very much more for men with four children than for bachelors, will they not discriminate against the former in favor of the latter? Will not the plight of the man with a family be worse, therefore, than it now is, for is it not better to be employed steadily at inadequate wages than to be guaranteed adequate sums when one works, but still not to be employed at all? This difficulty has been met in France, however, by the creation, during the last eight years, of over 180 equalization funds which now include over 10,000 industrial establishments and 1,200,000 workers. The fundamental principle of these funds is that the cost of the allowances paid for the dependents of a workman shall not be an exclusive charge upon the firm that employs him, but instead shall be spread over all the firms that are members of the fund. Thus, if a yearly allowance of \$100 per child were to be made in a fund where 10,000 workmen with 12,000 dependent children were employed, the total annual cost of the allowances would be \$1,200,000. This might be assessed upon the members of the fund in four ways, namely, according to: first, the number of workmen employed; second, the number of man-hours worked; third, the amount paid out in wages; fourth, the amount in value of the product. If the first method were used, the annual assessment per worker would be \$120, and each employer would pay this sum multiplied by the average size of his working force during the year. Under any system he would pay as much

for a single man as for one with a family, and there would hence be no temptation for him to give preference to the former in employment.

The French funds are of two main types, the industrial, and the regional. Industries such as textiles which employ more than the average proportion of women and juveniles generally try to avoid regional funds and to form separate funds of their own. This is done in order to escape from paying for the greater number of dependents of the male employees engaged in the heavier industries.

A very valuable feature of the work of those funds has been the growing emphasis upon social service and medical assistance. Family visiting of some sort was soon found to be necessary in order to verify the statements of dependency which were filed. This has been broadened in many cases to include medical advice and service. Twenty-two funds, by the beginning of 1925, had instituted a system of visiting nurses,¹ while eleven had special child health services with prenatal advice and care. In Lyons more than two hundred beds in various hospitals were used by the funds, while the Nantes district fund had its own rest-cure retreat.

The French funds have unquestionably accomplished a great deal, but their effectiveness has been marred by two defects: First, the amount of the allowances has been very much less than the cost of maintaining a child. In 1925 the average monthly allowance paid by the funds for the first child was only 19 fr.; for the second, the average was 29 fr.; for the third, 42 fr.; and for the fourth, 50 fr.² Even in the case of the fourth child this was, of course, insufficient. Taking the funds as a whole, the amounts paid out in allowances amounted to only a little over 2 per cent of the wages bill. Second, the control of the funds is exclusively in the hands of the employers, and the allowances have, unfortunately, been used on occasion to penalize strikes. Thus, at Roubaix-Tucoing, which is the second-largest fund in France, men who are on strike now lose their allowances not only for the time actually lost but for the remainder of the month as well. This feature of the funds has been very properly attacked by the trade-unions, although the latter have now come to favor the principle of family allowances as such. Neither of these two defects is of course inherent in the system, and both should be guarded against. An interesting question which is raised by such a system is as to whether its adoption calls for a readjustment of the existing basic wage. If we take the position that the workers should be guaranteed only a given minimum, and if the allowances are adequate to meet the expenses of maintaining dependent children, then there would seem to be no reason why single men should be guaranteed more than enough to maintain them plus an adequate allowance for the future expense of equipping a home. This would amount approximately to half the cost of maintaining a family of five. Thus, if the cost of supporting such a family were \$1,600, the basic minimum for the bachelor would be \$800. Such a sum should be the minimum for

¹ *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail* (July, August, September, 1925), p. 259.

² *Monthly Bulletin*, Family Endowment Society (London, August and September, 1925), p. 1.

women as well, since a single woman needs as much as a single man. It is only, indeed, by abandoning the assumption that all men have dependents to support that we can establish the minimum for women's work on an equality with that of men. Since bachelors now receive on the whole considerably more than this minimum, savings might be secured if their basic wage were reduced to this level. The savings effected in this way might be sufficient to meet the entire extra cost of the allowances not only for the children, but also those which would be needed for wives and adult dependents by the establishment of such a low minimum. Such a reduction as this, however, would only be possible if the plan were to be almost universally adopted. If only a minority of establishments were to undertake it, a majority of the single men would probably leave the plants and go to other concerns where they could earn a higher basic wage. The original firms would therefore find their working force to be increasingly composed of those with families, and in consequence their costs would increase. It is probable, however, that their labor costs would not increase in proportion to the amount paid out in allowances, because some single men would be willing to accept for a time less than they could secure elsewhere. They would be willing to do this because of the knowledge that they would be protected when married. Family allowances would then indeed seem in some manner as a deferred wage.

In practice, however, it would be difficult for individual firms, or even for any considerable number of firms, greatly to decrease the wage scale. Such allowances as are made will therefore come primarily as net additions to what has been paid out in the past, rather than merely representing a redistribution of the existing wages bill.¹ Trade-unions might very well add such a system to their list of demands when new contracts are being negotiated, as some of them have come to ask for unemployment insurance.

Second, influential groups, such as the labor bodies of continental Europe and Australia, have proposed, as a substitute for the payment of allowances by industry, outright grants for the children by the state. Such a measure, indeed, was passed in 1921 by the lower house of the New South Wales Parliament. The chief arguments for this method seem to be:² First, that the state allowances will be added to the existing wage scales, and consequently there will be no necessity of lowering the present basic rate of wages. In practice, however, such a payment would render many with dependents, whose incomes had been raised above the subsistence-plus level, willing to accept a lower base rate, and this would in turn force a reduction of the general level. Second, it is also urged that a state system could shift the expense of the family allowances to the wealthy by means of progressive income taxes, whereas under the industrial system any increase in total costs would be passed on to the workers in the form of increased prices.

¹ To the extent that the basic wage is about the minimum needed by the single man, the necessity of paying allowances for wives and adult dependents will be removed. This would simplify the administration.

² See Eleanor F. Rathbone, *The Disinherited Family*.

While there is a certain element of truth in this position, it should be remembered that if this plan were to be adopted in the United States, the grants would tend to be made by the states or counties, and that the revenues of these bodies are not drawn primarily from the wealthy classes. It is, furthermore, possible that an increase in real wages might not cause a commensurate increase in costs; while even if costs did increase, the burden would be shifted to the wealthy to the extent that the latter purchased the goods that were produced.

Third, a system of state grants would protect a much wider group of families than could be covered by any industrial system. The latter can, in the main, cover only wage-earners, and at best, salaried workers, while the former could also include self-employed persons such as farmers, small handicraftsmen, small merchants, and professional workers, whose families frequently need protection more than do those of the more skilled employees. This wider inclusion of state grants is, of course, true, and it constitutes a real advantage.

It would be all the more difficult to make the industrial systems inclusive if they were purely voluntary. Firms joining the funds would tend to put themselves at a competitive disadvantage as compared with those that stayed outside, and this would serve as a deterrent to keep many firms from granting such allowances.

The French funds, which have developed without formal compulsion, are frequently cited to prove that compulsory action by the state is not necessary. The rapid growth of these funds during 1920 and 1921 was, however, caused at least in part by the fear that if the allowances were not paid voluntarily a compulsory state system would be imposed.

Yet, despite these advantages of state grants, there are several very serious defects. The most important of these are: First, it would pay allowances to the children of the wilfully idle who were not seeking employment, and hence would encourage shiftlessness. This is by no means true where the allowances are paid by industry, for then they are granted only to those who are actually employed, or at the most, to those who are honestly seeking suitable employment but are unable to find it. But state endowment would subsidize the unworthy poor. It may well be argued that even in such cases the children should not be made to suffer because of the defects of their parents. There is small question, however, that even under fairly careful supervision the fathers of such children would tend to use part of the money in order that they might be idle for a longer period. It would seem to be better, therefore, to care for the children of these families by trying to place them in better homes than to try to maintain them where they are. Second, in the present state of American politics there would be real danger that it would be used by those in power for political purposes. Political prestige could be secured by informing the families that the allowances were paid because of the personal interest of the mayor, while those who supported opposing political factions might be disciplined by the taking away of the allowances on the ground that they were not being properly spent.

As municipal and state administration improves, this danger will decrease, but it is a real barrier to governmental grants at present. Third, there is also a great advantage in having such matters managed by private bodies rather than by the state. In this way a great deal of spontaneity and interest is attained which would be lacking if the state were to pay out the sums. It should be pointed out here that even if the state were to require industry to pay allowances, the administration of the funds could still be left in private hands. Few, moreover, will fail to recognize that whatever may be the merits of state payments as compared with those by industry, there is little prospect of securing such grants from the state. Our tradition that each man should be responsible for the maintenance of his own dependents is too strong to be superseded within any reasonable length of time. For the present, at least, the proposal for state endowment is therefore only an academic, rather than a practical, issue.

Fourth, it is possible for the workers' organizations to set up their own funds and to collect assessments from their members. Thus far, I know of only one such fund, namely, that set up in 1924 by the Catholic trade-unions of Belgium. There is no reason, however, why other unions should not organize similar funds.

Fifth, it has been proposed by some, and most notably by Mr. Joseph L. Cohen in his recent *Family Income Insurance*, that family allowances should be made a part of the general system of social insurance and paid for through contributions of the employers, the employees, and the state. Family allowances would, therefore, form one part of a unified system in which health, unemployment, and old age insurance would be integrated. The chief advantage which Mr. Cohen claims for this method is that it would utilize the already existing machinery of social insurance which has been built up in England. But although this may be a strong argument in its favor for Great Britain, it does not have great force for the United States, where there is no general system of social insurance.

However much men may differ either about the ultimate direction of the movement or as to precisely which one of these four methods is most desirable, all who approve of the principle of family allowances at all will agree, I believe, that what is needed above all is experimentation. The only logical place in which such experimentation can take place is in industry, and for some time to come at least the question as to the ultimate superiority of one method to another will not arise as a practical issue.

The more important issue is, however, whether the general principle should be approved; and it is to this that I should like to turn. The primary purpose of such a system is, of course, to lessen poverty; and this, of course, it would do.

That it is the children in the large families who now suffer most from poverty is very clearly indicated by two recent studies by the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor and the Philadelphia Jewish

Welfare Society.¹ Out of 5,693 families assisted by the former organization in 1924, 45 per cent had four or more children, and no less than 72 per cent of the children assisted were in such families.² Of 192 families studied by the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia, 47 per cent were of this size, and they included 71 per cent of the children who were aided. Since not more than 12 or 14 per cent of the families in these cities are probably of this size, it is clearly evident that the incidence of poverty in this group is from three to four times the average proportion for all of the families as a whole. Since the earnings of but few heads of working-class families are sufficient to support three children, we should also include this group. When this is done we find that 63 per cent of the New York families and 86 per cent of the children to whom assistance was given were in this class. There can be but little doubt therefore that our present system of wage payments falls with greatest weight upon those with three or more children, because of the failure of their income to rise commensurately with the increase in the number of their dependents, and it is precisely this group who would be assisted by the family allowance system.

The family allowance plan would also have a beneficial effect upon the relations between the sexes. Whatever the system used, it is highly desirable that the allowances should be paid to the mother of the family rather than to the father. This would at once make it more certain that the money would be spent in the interest of the children, and, by making the wife more independent financially of the husband, would greatly strengthen her position.

The payment of such allowances would, moreover, serve to relieve the strain which working-class families now experience when their needs rise rapidly through the coming of children. Men who have become accustomed to a relatively high standard of living as bachelors are seldom willing to discontinue all their little luxuries when they get married or when the children begin to come. Many men weaken under the strain of a stationary income with rising family costs, and desert their wives. The economic necessity for this would be removed under a family allowance system.

What, then, are the objections to the family allowance system, and how valid are they? The most important is, of course, that it would lead to an undue expansion of population from the very classes which are least desirable socially. The force which holds population in check, it is said, is the fact that since one's income does not increase when children are born, there is an economic incentive not to have them. The fewer the children, the more the economic pleasures and comforts which can be enjoyed by the parents. But if this barrier is removed and maintenance is provided for every child that is born, there will then be little or no incentive to reduce births. The fears of Malthus will be confirmed, and

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Bailey B. Burritt and Dr. I. M. Rubinow for permission to use these statistics.

² See an unpublished study of the A.I.C.P., "Report of the Status and Size of 5,693 A.I.P.C. Families."

society will multiply rapidly from those very classes where men with lower natural ability have congregated because of their failure to advance in life.

Such an argument as this, however, does not take into account the fact that for many families now living in poverty the provision of a physical minimum (and the guaranty should not be for much more) would make them want comforts which they now cannot hope for. In order to rise in the social scale such persons might indeed limit their families even more rigidly than they do now. Then, if men's desires outran a subsistence or subsistence-plus standard, the addition of another child would occasion a greater disparity between what the parents had and what they wanted. Thus, if to maintain the new child on the scale desired would cost \$400, while the allowance amounted to only \$200, then the whole family would have to reduce its scale by a total of \$200. Since the material desires of most men outrun their existing standard of living, the payment of family allowances such as has been proposed would not remove the economic barriers to an increase in population, although it might lower them.

Another force which would continue to restrict births is the growing reluctance of women to bear and rear children. In the days of Malthus this was not considered as a barrier to population growth, but it is today; and since it is based upon a distaste for pregnancy and childbirth and for the drudging labor of bringing up a family, it would continue to be effective under a family allowance system. Finally, there is, of course, the movement for birth control, which, as it seeps down through the population, will afford to the men and women of the working classes the opportunity of limiting their families to a degree which they cannot now do.

But it will be objected that the unskilled laborers (who are assumed to be greatly inferior in innate ability) will not be swayed by these motives, but will instead multiply at an even more rapid rate than at present, and will thus hasten the swamping of civilization by the less fit. Most of the menace caused by this differential fecundity would be removed, however, if the 5 per cent or so of the population that are social defectives were prevented from reproducing their kind. If this were done we would probably not need to fear any appreciable lowering of the mental level of the race. It should, moreover, be recognized by those who fear the dangers of overpopulation that it is possible to limit the number of children for whom the allowance would be paid. The maximum number of children supported in one family might, for example, be fixed at four or five, or the allowance paid to all children beyond the third might be tapered down.

Another objection that is frequently advanced is that such a plan will arouse the virulent antagonism of the bachelors, who will object to the married men receiving more than they do. It can, however, be pointed out to the single men that their married associates will not be receiving more for themselves, but that the added sums will merely be devoted to meeting some of the added costs which a child entails. If the allowances were sent to the mothers, the feeling of the un-

married that they were being discriminated against would be still further lessened. Both bachelors and married men would continue to compete in the shop for differential payments above the minimum, and if a member of the former group were abler than one of the latter, he would receive more.

A third objection which is sometimes offered by friends of the labor movement is that in the present weak position of organized labor it would be seized upon by employers as a means of strengthening their bargaining position, and hence would still further swing the balance of power in favor of the employers. Such critics as these should realize, however, that it is just as possible for trade-unions to initiate such a plan as for employers, and that it can be included in a joint agreement just as effectively as certain progressive unions have included a provision for unemployment insurance.

Finally, the plan seems to be signally adapted for government employees, for teachers, ministers, social workers, and other salaried workers. The fear of a differential birth-rate need not operate here, for more rather than fewer births are desired from such groups. At least two industrial concerns, namely, W. H. Ludens and Company, of Reading, Pennsylvania, and the Columbia Conserve Company, of Indianapolis, have adopted modifications of the plan for their wage-earners, while it is applied more informally by a number of concerns, and most notably by banks, for their salaried workers. There is a great need for further experimentation along these lines in this country, for it will be largely through concrete examples that we will be able to decide whether or not we approve of the system, and if so, what methods of administering it we favor.¹

SUBSTITUTION OF NEGRO LABOR FOR EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT LABOR

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For one hundred and thirty years down to 1910 the center of the Negro population moved south and west, from Dinwiddie County in Virginia to northern Alabama, a distance of 478 miles. At first the four states, Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, had held the great bulk of this population, some 87 per cent of it. The first important economic eventuality, the development

¹ The literature on family allowances has been growing rapidly and the principal works upon the subject are: Eleanor F. Rathbone, *The Disinherited Family*, London: Edwin Arnold, 1924, pp. 324; Paul H. Douglas, *Wages and the Family*, University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. 290; A. B. Pieldington, *The Next Step*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 68; H. R. Vibart, *Family Allowances in Practice*, P. S. King, 1926; Joseph L. Cohen, *Family Income Insurance*, P. S. King, 1926, pp. 47. Three official studies of the movement are *Wages and Hours*, Studies and Reports of the International Labour Office, Series D, No. 13; *Family Allowances*, Geneva, 1924, pp. 186; *Family Allowance Systems in Foreign Countries*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin 401.

of cotton-growing in the more southerly states, drew currents of this population to the rich and fertile soil of the delta stretches, where there began in earnest the plantation system which for so many years characterized the economic life of the South. Emancipation left a Negro concentration in the cotton areas. The endless succession of cotton crops, the wasteful handling of the soil, the growing perplexities of the whole system, weak at its base, brought on gradually another stage. The population, both white and Negro, moved in the direction of new land. This direction was south and west. But the importance of Negroes to cotton-growing and to the spacious plantation system gave them a certain numerical advantage. The number of counties with more than 75 per cent of Negroes increased from 21.9 to 26.6 between 1880 and 1910. At the same time the census figures indicate that 52.3 per cent of the migration of Negroes from the southern states had been to the area west of the Mississippi. The old lands had been virtually exhausted. Southern cities had begun to receive a harassed farm surplus. The labor market in turn was glutted, and as a further consequence wages were trimmed down because of the oversupply of cheap labor.

Fifty years after emancipation, in spite of the nominal freedom of movement for freedmen and in spite of an oppressive social system, 90 per cent of the Negro population still resided in the South and was moving even deeper. In 1910 there were in the northern states 1,027,674 Negroes. Increase was slow, and for good reason. Tradition had fixed the work of Negroes wholly outside of industry. They were limited to domestic and personal service. Northern industries, now at a vigorous point of expansion, had discovered the usefulness of foreign workers; their economy was adjusted to these immigrants. In the competition the Negro workers were a most negligible factor, for during the later stages of this industrial growth the yearly additions to the immigrant population were greater than the entire Negro population of the North.

Mr. Stuart Chase, in his disturbing arraignment of American industries for wanton waste, forced a revaluation of man-power in industry by exposing the misuse of it. Two of the insistent complaints are directed against *laissez faire* methods of production and against the widespread indifferences to a demonstrated technique of managerial efficiency.

His case takes on increased strength with the census totals of 36,000,000 foreigners who have come to these shores since 1820. They came freely, precipitously, and, until 1880, unselected even for the physically and mentally sound. But this apathy and individualism are ancient faults, and, despite their obvious and criminal wastefulness, are conditions which doubtless will work out with something of the same deliberateness that has characterized their development to this point. It is admitted that there are psychological elements involved, and requirements for group coordination, for which there exists at present no machinery. Whatever the dilemma of the moment, it cannot be overlooked that the tempo of industries adjusted to the yearly consumption of a million recruits will feel for many years the effects of the loss of them. It is still a matter of specula-

tion as to whether or not the loss can be wholly compensated for. Meanwhile we are faced with present problems of adjustment, and these can be examined in the light of what we know about the labor supply.

The agitation which led up to the immigration legislation has acquainted us with the two general types of immigration described as the old and the new. With the first, which included the Germans, English, Irish, Norwegians and other Scandinavians, there is but a small relationship to the question of Negro labor. For these racial groups came first as pioneers and farmers or as skilled and professional workers. Figures compiled by the Immigration Commission make very clear this occupational division. For the period 1890-1900 there is indicated the increase or decrease of various racial groups according to occupations. In the case of the Germans there was a notable decrease in farmers, workers in the building trades, and laborers, a similar decrease for the Irish and English, and corresponding increases in manufacturers, salesmen, and professional men. The only other increase noted among these three was a German increase in machinists. On the other hand, with Hungarians, Bohemians, and Italians there were small increases all along the line, but huge ones in unskilled labor. Whereas the Germans showed a decrease of 25.3 per cent in the field of unskilled work, the Italians showed an increase of 52.8 per cent.

For the period 1900 to 1910 there are similar differences between these two groups. The total persons of the old immigration coming in during these ten years was 2,273,782, and for the new, 4,949,070. Of the skilled workers, the old constituted 19.5 per cent, with just half that proportion represented by the new. In common labor (including farm labor) the old immigration showed a proportion of 23.8 per cent, while that of the new was 59.8 per cent. This has an important bearing upon the present, since it is the unskilled fields of work that make the most insistent demands for new recruits. It has been in these fields that the competition of foreign and Negro labor has been keenest; and it is around the immigrant workers in these fields and Negro workers that the question of replacement revolves.

In the ten years 1900-1910 there were admitted from all countries a total of 8,795,386 immigrant aliens. Of this number 5,788,449, or more than 65 per cent, came from the four countries, Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Russia, the countries supplying in greatest abundance recruits for unskilled processes of industry. If, therefore, we have the geographical distribution of these four groups for the decade of this immigration, we may get a sufficient gauge on the sections making largest demands for cheap labor, and at the same time the sections affected by the shortage, which are making the most insistent demands for substitute labor.

Of four groups in 1920, Italy, Poland, Hungary, and Russia, New York had 1,400,309; New Jersey had 361,701; and Pennsylvania had 633,038. The Italians, a rural people, like the Negroes, have provided common laborers for construction, railroad building and maintenance, the mines, and for unskilled work

connected with large factories. In some instances they have gone back to the land, as in the scattered colonies in the South and in rural parts of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. The fact remains that although 85 per cent of them were farmers at home, the proportion is exactly changed in their present status in this country. The Hungarians and Poles went into the great steel mills of Pennsylvania, into the stockyards, iron and steel plants of Illinois, and into the similar industries of New York State, particularly in Buffalo, which is reputed to be the third-largest Polish city in the world.

These groups, with others in somewhat smaller proportions, manned the lower branches of industry when the war and the agitations leading up to rigid

TABLE I

| | Italy | Poland | Hungary | Russia |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|---------|-----------|
| New York..... | 545,173 | 247,519 | 78,384 | 529,243 |
| Illinois..... | 94,407 | 162,405 | 34,437 | 117,899 |
| Michigan..... | 30,216 | 103,926 | 22,607 | 45,313 |
| Connecticut..... | 80,322 | 46,623 | 13,222 | 38,719 |
| New Jersey..... | 157,285 | 90,419 | 40,470 | 73,527 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 222,764 | 177,770 | 71,380 | 161,124 |
| Ohio..... | 60,658 | 67,579 | 73,181 | 43,690 |
| Total..... | 1,190,825 | 896,241 | 333,671 | 1,009,515 |

immigration restriction came. In 1914 there were 1,218,480 aliens admitted, with 303,338 leaving; but in 1918 only 110,618 came, and 94,585 left. The total increase from immigration for that year was only 18,585. It was scarcely an accident, therefore, that the first migration of Negroes from the South reached its peak during this year. During the period 1916-20 more than a half-million Negroes moved north, and during the later period, 1921-25, a number equally large. The census for 1920 shows an increase of 447,551 over 1910. The bulk of these, together with the half-million or more who have come since 1920, have moved to a few cities, and, for the most part, those cities with basic industries requiring large numbers of unskilled laborers. Of 1,272 northern counties in 1920 there are 671 with less than 100 Negroes, 83 with no Negroes at all; considered from the other end there are only 183 counties in which there are more than 1,000 Negroes. Over 60 per cent of the Negro population of Illinois lives in Chicago, and over two-thirds of Michigan's Negro population lives in Detroit. Eight cities, Chicago, Detroit, New York, Newark, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Cleveland, had, in 1920, a combined Negro population of 526,145, or 34 per cent of the entire Negro population of the North and West. If industrial districts centering around large cities are considered, about three-fourths of the Negro population of the North could in 1920 be accounted for in the following: Indianapolis, Detroit-Toledo, Cleveland-Youngstown, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Columbus-Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, Philadelphia, New

York. Professor Monroe N. Work, of Tuskegee, who is responsible for this classification, placed the figure at 1,139,505. The increases in some of these northern cities in 1920 had been quite startling, as a brief listing will show (Table II). There are no such uniformly exact figures for the period since 1920. It is, however, known in a few cities, and in others may be estimated with reasonable accuracy. The Detroit school census taken in 1925 shows 81,831 Negroes, an increase of over 100 per cent since 1920. No less than 50,000 have come to New York City during the same period, and test counts in three New Jersey cities and Buffalo, New York, where, in local surveys by the Department of Research and Investigation of the National Urban League, it was possible to secure the exact date of arrival of Negro newcomers, indicate that the volume of increase

TABLE II

| CITY | NEGRO POPULATION | | INCREASE 1910-20 |
|-------------------|------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | 1910 | 1920 | |
| Chicago..... | 44,103 | 109,458 | 148.2 |
| New York..... | 91,709 | 152,467 | 66.3 |
| Cleveland..... | 8,448 | 34,451 | 307.8 |
| Detroit..... | 5,741 | 40,838 | 611.3 |
| Philadelphia..... | 84,459 | 134,339 | 58.9 |
| St. Louis..... | 43,960 | 69,854 | 58.8 |

for the first five years of the present decade is already two-thirds as large as the increase for the full decade 1910-20.

The route northward has followed roughly the path of the underground railroad. Cities of the West, Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Cleveland, have received a black population from the southern states along the great Mississippi Valley, and, more particularly, along the route of the Illinois Central Railroad. The states feeding this section are Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas. The cities of the northeastern section have drawn principally from Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Alabama, and Virginia. Each state represents a fairly distinct background of social and economic life, with fixed customs, traditions, and habits of work and life. In Louisiana these Negroes worked in cane as well as cotton; in Virginia and the Carolinas they worked in tobacco, lumber, and turpentine; in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas they raised cotton. In 1921 the Immigration Act, in a 3 per cent quota, became effective. For the twelve months ending June, 1922, the Department of Labor figures showed a net immigration of 88,520. But in this number there was an actual loss of more than 10,000 men, the surplus of immigration being in women and children. The 3 per cent law contemplated an annual entry of about 360,000 persons. When emigration is deducted it appears that instead of admitting 45 per cent of the normal population influx of other years, it actually admits

only about 11 per cent. The further restriction in 1924 to 2 per cent of the racial population in this country in 1890 instead of 1910 accomplished two things: it reduced immigration enormously, and it reduced it most drastically among those groups that had been supplying the unskilled recruits. The present quotas for the four countries, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Russia, which in the last decade were averaging about 600,000 persons each year, even adding to the number the new Poland with 5,982 eligibles, is only 11,333. On the other hand, Great Britain and Ireland together may send 62,574, and Germany alone, 51,227. After 1927 the numbers are trimmed down even more.

That brings us to the very vital matter of man-power in relation to the continued industrial expansion in America. Machinery has made some compensations; the correctable wastes of man power pointed out by Mr. Stuart Chase and the American Engineering Association will have considerable effect eventually. It is proper now, however, to consider some of the immediate effects of this loss of man power. General Richard C. Marshall, Jr., former chief of the Construction Division of the army and at present general manager of the associated General Contractors of America, i.e., the head of the construction industry of America, makes some rather significant comments on this situation. In construction alone he estimates that there are needed annually 35,000 new skilled workers and 12,000 additional common laborers merely to replace those lost by death or other causes. Construction employs about 22 per cent of the skilled and common laborers of all the mechanical and manufacturing industries. If all of these industries are taken into account, 214,000 new manufacturing and mechanical workers are needed annually to replace losses caused by death and retirement. The population is increasing at the rate of 1,400,000 annually, about 14 per 1,000. To keep pace with the growth of the population and its increasing requirement for goods, and consequently for labor, there are required at least an addition of 14 actual laborers annually per 1,000. If to the 214,000 workers needed annually for replacement there are added these actual laborers per 1,000 (calculated by applying 14 per 1,000 new workers needed as a result of population growth to the 11,000,000 men now engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries) there is a total of 368,000 new workers needed annually to man the industries.

Now what is actually happening in the industries once pre-empted by alien immigrants? In New York City the needle trades were a stronghold of immigrants of both sexes from Russia, Italy, and Poland. In 1910 there were scarcely one hundred Negroes in the needle trades. The 1920 census showed over three thousand, and the numbers have been rapidly increasing since. The cotton mills of New England that depended almost wholly upon foreign labor have met the shortage by moving south, where they can get cheap native white labor. Into the steel mills of the Pittsburgh district large numbers of Negroes went for the first time in 1917, and still larger numbers on the occasion of the steel strike in 1918. In 1910 less than 200 Negroes were employed in but five

plants. In 1923 an inquiry revealed 16,900 employed in twenty-three of the largest mills of the district, constituting about 21 per cent of the total working force.

In Chicago, for example, the number of Negro iron molders increased from 31 in 1910 to 520 in 1920. This is 10 per cent of all the iron molders in the city. In other industries skilled workers increased from 3.5 per cent of the Negro working population in 1910 to 13.5 per cent in 1920. In the slaughtering houses there were, in 1920, 1,242 unskilled, and 1,490 semiskilled, operators. In the automobile plants of Detroit the percentage of Negro workers increased from one-half of 1 per cent in 1910 to 13.5 per cent in 1920. Longshoremen and stevedores in New York City increased from 6.4 per cent of the Negro working population in 1910 to 14.5 in 1920; the absolute number of chauffeurs in New York City, from 490 to 2,373, and in Philadelphia, from 312 to 2,195. Despite the objections encountered at first from the unions of skilled trades, the number of skilled Negroes has increased. In Chicago there were 126 brick and stone masons, 275 carpenters, 113 compositors and typesetters, 148 coopers, 431 machinists, 286 house painters, 105 plumbers, and 341 tailors. The Bureau of Conciliation of the Department of Labor in 1923 compiled figures on the distribution and assimilation of the Negro migrants. A canvass of 273 firms revealed 40,421 Negro workers, of whom 14,951 were doing skilled work and 45,470, unskilled work. During the year September 1, 1922, to August 31, 1923, 18,050 new workers had been added to the pay-rolls, of which number 4,157 were skilled. The general increase in Negro skilled workers was 38.5 per cent, and of the unskilled, 44.0. Some states showed an increase in skilled Negroes as high as 186.8 per cent. In the stockyards of Chicago there were 5,300 Negroes in 1920, as compared with 39 in 1910; and 3,201 in the iron and steel industries in 1920, as compared with 17 in 1910. For the Negro population as a whole there has been a shift of 371,229 men from agricultural pursuits to industry.

A more exact picture of this labor substitution with the old and new immigration factors, the first and second generation differences, and the numerical disproportion between the foreign and Negro stock is possible from the detailed examination of one fairly representative city. We select the city of Buffalo because it has been affected by both types of immigration and has certain basic industries. In 1910 the bottom structure of the city's work was supported by the foreign-born population. Of the total male workers in the manufacturing industries, 55,283 were foreign born; 49,040, native born of foreign or mixed parentage; 34,321, native white; and 738, Negroes. In specific occupations the racial factor was conspicuous. The foreign born made up 52 per cent of the tailors, 74 per cent of the general (manufacturing) laborers, 83 per cent of the railroad laborers, and 57 per cent of the janitors and sextons. The mixed parentage group stood first as machinists, commanding 43 per cent of the jobs, while the foreign born stood next with 30 per cent; they commanded 51 per cent of the plumbing and steam fitting work, while the rest was divided about equally

between foreign born and native born; they had the largest number of brakemen, teamsters, and clerks. The native whites held a slight margin of excess in all such occupations as managers and superintendents, conductors, salesmen in stores, real estate agents, physicians and surgeons, bookkeepers and accountants.

Here we find what seems to be a rough division of society, a suggestion of occupational stratification related to race and length of residence. The large supply of crude immigrant labor made possible a higher grade of work for those who have been in the country and in the work longer, and for the native born. The second generation of foreign born usually had superior work. The positions held by the native whites were, as a rule, further advanced and, from the standpoint of work and pay, more desirable. The position of the Negro workers in this hierarchy was practically unimportant. Domestic service positions, in which division they had the largest numbers (641 Negroes), were the most important. They were too insufficient to exercise any control.

Between 1911 and 1915 there were 15,582 alien arrivals in Buffalo, and between 1906 and 1910 there were 16,736. Negro labor was not needed. In the mechanical and manufacturing industries in 1910 there were only 107 Negroes employed, and 59 of these were ordinary laborers. Immigration to Buffalo since 1914 was reduced to about 1,500 males between 1915 and 1920. The deficit had to be supplied, and the number of Negroes in the industries increased from 107 in 1910 to 1,186 in 1920, and the population increased from 1,773 in 1910 to a present population of nearly 10,000.

In the present structure the native whites still lead in the advanced occupations, which include architects, chemists, civil engineers, dentists, electrical engineers, lawyers and judges, physicians, teachers, manufacturing officials, bankers, brokers, etc. The mixed parentage group leads in the number of manufacturers, builders and contractors, foremen, city and county officials and inspectors, mail carriers, detectives, policemen, electricians, stationary engineers, jewelers, mechanics, millwrights, varnishers, paper hangers, structural iron workers, tinsmiths, tool makers, switchmen, semiskilled workers—in glass, iron, furniture, lumber, metal (other than iron and steel), rubber—clerks, and collectors. These, it will be noted, are the highest paid skilled and the petty official positions. The foreign born lead in number of blacksmiths, brick masons, cabinet makers, carpenters, metal grinders, iron molders, plumbers, tailors, shoemakers, semiskilled workers in boat building, slaughter houses, railroad shops, beverage industries, automobile factories, textile industries, and laborers in practically all lines providing unskilled work.

The Negro workers show a fluctuating importance among the industries, coming with greatest numbers into places most difficult to fill. Their largest proportions now are in blast furnaces and rolling mills, where they contribute 19.7 per cent of all the workers. The next highest proportion, 8.01 per cent, is in the semiskilled positions in steam rolling mills; the next, 5.2 per cent, is in the slaughtering and packing houses; and the next, 4.8 per cent, in brass mills. As

cranemen and derrick men they provide 4.6 per cent of all the workers. This latter is a skilled process. The largest proportions among all the occupations are in personal and domestic service, where they contribute 29.6 per cent of all the porters (not in stores), 13.5 per cent of all the servants, 20.8 per cent of the waiters, and 9.05 per cent of the janitors.

If they do not count seriously in numbers as compared with the groups of larger total population in the city, they are significantly massed in certain lines, thus rendering their comparatively small numbers important. They exceed their proportion in the population (2.9 per cent) in more than forty fairly important occupations. For example, the Negro proportion of stationary firemen, furnace men, and chauffeurs is over twice as large as their population proportion; the proportion of cranemen, four times as large; semiskilled workers in rolling mills and janitors, eight times as large; domestic servants and rolling mill laborers, more than twenty times as large as their population proportion.

The second migration, beginning in the fall of 1921 and continuing at great pace through 1924, proceeded without excitement. There are now communities of southern Negroes in the North to absorb these drafts and soften the first contacts of newcomers with the new environment. It was the sudden introduction of these large numbers that, through a series of distinct problems in housing, politics, industry, and public contacts, provoked the riot in Chicago in 1919, taking a toll of thirty-eight lives; the riot in 1917, in which thirty-eight persons were killed in East St. Louis; and the demonstration in 1925 in Detroit, in which one member of a mob was killed.

The total migration since 1916, on a conservative estimate, numbers at least one million. The migrants, a majority of whom are from rural sections of the South, have been thrown into the highly elaborated industries. There has been a loss of skill, naturally, for familiarity with agriculture holds few similarities with industrial work. On the first contact of these Negroes with industries there were numerous difficulties and much wastage due to inexperience. These were tolerated because of the labor shortage until in most of these plants now these men have actually caught the tempo and appear to be giving satisfactory service. Present indications are that these industries of the North will continue to draw sporadically upon Negro labor in the South. The changes in the methods of farming and the gradual breaking up of the plantation system in the South are releasing more workers from the farms. Some of this excess is being absorbed by the new industrial activities of the South, particularly in Florida. There has always been a trickling into the North from the South of about 10,000 Negroes a year, but slightly offset by northern Negroes moving south. The demand for new labor, as Dr. Joseph Hill, of the Census Bureau, points out, will always be felt, for if it is figured out on a purely mathematical basis, the difference between the maximum possible number of foreign immigrants under our new law and the 10,000,000 immigrants who came between 1905 and 1914, theoretically, would absorb the entire Negro population of the southern states.

Negro workers have now been exposed to industry for about ten years, and more than the unskilled phases of the work have been affected by this contact. Recruits for semiskilled and skilled processes have been taken from the acclimated foreign born. Yearly the demand for these forced by promotions, retirement, and death continues in the face of the basic immigrant shortage. The inclusion of Negro workers in these new lines is just beginning to be felt, and in many cases the places in which Negroes succeeded European immigrants are in turn drawing Mexican workers. In 1923, when the Department of Research and Investigation of the National Urban League made an industrial study in Buffalo, the Lackawanna Steel Works was just planning to introduce Mexican laborers for the positions once held by Negroes.

The approach of Negro workers to the more skilled lines is most evident in the present interest in labor unions and the clamoring for admission without restriction. No serious difficulties are experienced in the organized crafts of unskilled lines of work, but in the more firmly intrenched semiskilled and skilled lines, where the old immigration, the acclimated new immigration, and the second generation of both, along with native American whites, hold forth, the handicaps presented to Negro membership impose restrictions on work opportunities quite as serious as those placed by traditional racial attitudes of certain employers. There are, for example, eleven international unions which exclude Negro workers by constitutional provision or by ritual.¹ These have a total membership of 436,200, and control a field in which there are now 43,808 competent Negro workers. Outstanding of these unions also are the electrical workers, with 142,000 members and practically no Negroes, although there are at least 1,343 Negro electricians; the sheet metal workers, with 25,000 members and no known Negroes; the plasterers' union with 30,000 members and less than 100 Negroes, although there are 6,000 Negro plasterers; the plumbers and steam fitters, with 35,000 members, no Negroes, and a long history of successful circumventions to avoid Negro membership, although there are 3,500 Negro workers in this trade; the carpenters, with 340,000 members and only 592 Negro members, although there are 34,217 Negro carpenters; the painters, with 120,604 members and only 279 Negroes, although there are 10,600 Negroes in the trade.

The actual need for new workers will doubtless never again be as great as to demand yearly as many alien immigrants as came during the decade ending in 1914. The National Industrial Conference Board's special survey, announced this month, praises the development of efficiency in industries. "The volume of production in 1923," it says, "was 33 per cent greater per wage-earner than it had been in 1914, and required 25 per cent less labor, 13 per cent less power, and 17 per cent less management personnel per unit of production, and 7 per cent less actual working time per man." However, there will be for many years

¹ Data from a study of Negro workers in relation to labor unions now being made by the Department of Research and Investigation of the National Urban League.

a need for more workers to carry the common grades of work than can be supplied from the native white population together with the small accretion from selected immigration. Although the entrance of women to industry on a large scale, the introduction of machinery, and economical management will soften the demand, these are counterbalanced in large part by the tendency, noted with unerring frequency, of the present native-white generation and the second generation of foreigners to drift away into the so-called "white collar" jobs, one of the results of universal education.

The reactions of employees to Negro labor, while still contradictory, has a secure balance in favor of their use. One closely scientific comparison of their skill in the iron and steel industry which might be cited reveals, according to earnings per hour on piece work, fifteen processes in which white workers excel Negroes, twelve processes in which Negroes excel white workers, and eighteen processes in which their abilities are the same. They are becoming adjusted to city life, and have even lengthened their life-span by five years since moving north. Their importance to industry and to the objectives of organized labor is evident and certain. Such questions as there are center about the disposition, at times evident, to pit the newer Mexican against the recent Negro entrant to the common labor field, and to take advantage of current racial theories and antagonisms to keep the returns from labor of these two groups as low as possible. That this tendency is revealing itself there is no better evidence than can be found in the most recent study of the Department of Labor, which, in 1926, finds in some important industries two scales of wages for common labor, one for white workers, another for Negroes and Mexicans.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF OUR MEXICAN POPULATION

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Mexican laborers and their families have been crossing the international line to work in the border states during the harvest seasons since Santa Anna was driven out of Texas. The end of the harvest season or the coming of the cold weather found most of them returning to their homelands to spend their hard-earned silver.

The number of laborers seeking employment has been steadily increasing, at least since records were kept, and always some of those who came did not return. There was a significant increase beginning in 1911, coincident with the beginning of the revolution, which lasted until General Villa was settled on his half-million-acre farm near Parral. They came to the border during that period because work and food were scarce in Mexico. Border towns were filled with refugees who brought increased health and social problems to these communities.

The next impetus to immigration from Mexico came as a result of the scarcity of laborers in the United States during the world-war. Laborers were exempt from paying the head tax or passing the literacy test. They were in demand in the cotton fields, in mines, in railroad maintenance work (*rengencia*), and in the beet fields. The majority of these probably never returned to Mexico. The exceptions to the provisions of the immigration act no longer prevail, but the increase in the beet-field acreage and the restriction on immigration imposed by the so-called "quota law" of May, 1921, and the later law of 1924 have caused Mexican laborers to be more in demand than ever. This accounts for the increase in the number from Mexico for 1923 and 1924. In September, 1924, Congress imposed a visa fee of \$10.00, and this undoubtedly accounts for most of the decrease for 1925.

The following reports (Table I) on immigration from Mexico tell the story for each year, ending June 30.

TABLE I

| Year | Number of Immigrants | Number Returning |
|-----------|----------------------|------------------|
| 1920..... | 52,361 | 6,606 |
| 1921..... | 30,758 | 5,705 |
| 1922..... | 19,551 | 6,285 |
| 1923..... | 63,768 | 2,660 |
| 1924..... | 89,339 | 1,926 |
| 1925..... | 32,378 | 2,876 |

In order to get as complete a picture as possible of the social problems presented by the Mexicans we should give further consideration to the number here and the parts of the country or the localities where they are found. The number of Mexicans living here in 1920, according to the census, was 725,332. These figures include those born here with both or either parent born in Mexico. Almost all of these were living in the Pacific, mountain, or west south-central states. Only 281 were in all the New England states. There has been a net increase from immigration during the past five years of 278,000, and, of course, a considerable increase from children born in this country. These known facts would justify an estimate of the present Mexican population as about 1,200,000.

All reports indicate an increase in Mexican immigration for 1926 and probably for several years afterward. There has been about a 25 per cent increase in beet-field acreage, and in January of this year representatives from all over the West came to Washington to oppose the "Box" bill, which would place the Mexican on a quota basis along with others on the North American continent. They told of the increasing need for Mexican laborers, and almost all of them urged that Mexico be exempted from the \$10.00 visa fee. Mr. Frisselle, of Texas, stated: "The Mexican is a 'homer'; like the pigeon, he goes back to roost. He comes into our country mostly for our dollar and our work." Mr. Nixon, also

from Texas, said that more Mexicans return to their homeland than the records indicate. Most of these men who claimed to know the Mexicans so well insisted that almost all these immigrants fly back home when their summer work is completed. If they were correct, the social problems presented by this group of immigrants would be limited to the agricultural regions and would be confined to such problems as child labor, health of women workers, etc. Mr. Cummings, of Colorado, made the following illuminating statement at this hearing: "Two years ago," he said, "our help came from Europe, largely Russians, Germans, and Belgians; now this class of beet help is owning or renting farms, and they are themselves in the market for laborers."

TABLE II
MEXICAN POPULATION

| | 1920 | 1925 |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|
| Chicago..... | 50 | 8,000 |
| St. Louis..... | 439 | 8,000 |
| Toledo..... | 243 | 2,500 |
| Louisville..... | 9 | 100 |
| Kansas City..... | 2,105 | 4,000 |
| Denver..... | 1,418 | 5,000 |
| Dallas..... | 2,100 | 6,000 |
| Los Angeles..... | 21,673 | 60,000 |
| Minneapolis..... | 50 | less |
| Duluth..... | 50 | none |
| Paterson (New Jersey)..... | 9 | none |
| Newark..... | 43 | less |
| Detroit..... | none | 1,946 |

The supply of incoming Russians, Germans, and Belgians has been very greatly reduced by the quota law, and Mexicans are taking their places. They are found in the beet and cotton fields, and to some degree, in other agricultural work; in some of the mines; on cattle ranches, and as sheep herders. They have spread out from the west and southwest states farther north and over the Midwest. There are fairly large colonies of them in most of the midwest cities, and they are now found at new tasks, some of which require skill.

We will not know until the 1930 census appears just where the Mexican people have found new homes, but enough facts are now known to show the trends. I shall give just a few instances, showing the Mexican population in 1920 and 1925 (Table II), to establish this trend in order to indicate where it may be expected that our Mexican social problems will be found.

These scattered figures, with others which I have secured, show that Mexicans have not found homes to any extent in the East. There are large colonies in the larger cities in the Midwest, West, and Southwest. They are not found in the northern states, and not to any great extent in the South. I had

expected to find them in greater numbers farther east and in the North, taking the places of immigrants who were kept out by the quota laws.

In 1920 almost all the Mexicans who came here were used as laborers in agricultural work or on the railroads. They are now found doing the more skilled types of farm work, and have moved into the cities to engage in all kinds of common labor. They replace other laborers, partly because they are working for less wages and partly because they have shown more endurance and strength. They are also more dependable. It is especially at such work as laborers on the railroads that they have so successfully taken the place of immigrants from Europe. I feel confident that they will soon be found in greater numbers in the eastern states, working on the railroads at first, and later at other tasks. It is especially significant that Mexicans are doing the labor work in many of the mills and industrial plants. This is especially true of the steel mills of the Middle West. They are found in increasing numbers in cotton mills, in the larger iron foundries, and in St. Louis they have taken the place of the South Italians as laborers with the street car companies. A recent study made by the Department of Public Welfare of Chicago showed that 1,042 were in the steel mills, 606 in foundries, and many employed by the railroads and stockyards. Some positions in the skilled trades are now open to these men of Mexico who have never previously done anything but the most common kind of labor. A large lead company of Chicago introduced Mexicans as laborers, but now most positions are open to them; they are found as machine operators in some plants; they are fillers and pressmen in paint manufacturing plants; coal-tar products companies use them as packers and on all kinds of machines; they have shown ability to develop as skilled workmen if given time and patient instruction. Nowhere has the race question been raised where Mexicans work side by side with other peoples.

Mexican laborers and their families spending the summer months in the cotton and beet fields or along the railroads or congregating in the large centers present social problems which should receive our serious consideration. Not much is known of conditions surrounding employment in agricultural work, but a study made by the Child Labor Committee in 1925 in western Colorado, of 330 families, showed that there was considerable child labor. Six hundred and fifty children did some kind of farm labor, and 292 of these assisted in growing beets. Most of those in the beet fields were Mexicans; 23 per cent were from six to nine years of age, four were six years of age, nineteen were seven years, and twenty-three were eight years of age. The average workday for the children was ten hours. This report also showed that the adult Mexicans furnished 79 per cent of the illiterates. These Mexican children are bearing the hardship of annual moving, a short school term at the best, and some of them have long hours of toil in the hot sun.

Mexicans are used in the beet fields from May 1 until about October 1. Their wages are small, but they do fairly well by working as a family and by

supplementing this work with employment at better wages in the harvest fields. It has been claimed that the Mexicans are taking the work from the native Americans because they work for less wages, but it seems more probable that the Mexicans are doing a type of work in the agricultural fields for which few others are fitted by desire or strength. The Mexicans in these regions give little trouble to the authorities; they are seldom arrested, and are almost never intoxicated.

A study which was made in Denver in 1925 throws light upon the school problem of these Mexicans who come up from Mexico to work in the beet fields or move out from the cities each summer. This study showed that there were 771 Mexican school children who left school early in the spring or had entered late in the fall. These 771 children attended on an average of 62 out of 145 school days. The majority of these were naturally retarded in grade standing. No doubt all cities having a Mexican population will show a similar proportion of retarded school children. Such children suffer an additional handicap due to the language barrier, and swell the ranks of repeaters which clog school machinery. They also suffer the hardship of not "belonging" anywhere. Families become bewildered and go from one group to another in search of an understanding friend. Few groups or organizations in any of these cities where Mexicans are found have workers who understand and speak Spanish, and interpreters, except in the cities along the border, are scarce. The agencies themselves are showing signs of becoming bewildered.

There is a housing problem in all large cities where Mexicans are congregated. These dark-skinned sturdy people from the land of the Aztecs and the Toltecs are taking the place of immigrants from Europe, and in many instances are the latest heirs to each city's worst housing. They form part of that growing market for decent homes for small-wage families at reasonable rentals which exists in all cities. The most complete study of housing conditions as it affects the Mexicans has been made in Chicago by the Department of Public Welfare. This study showed much overcrowding. Nine Mexican homes had four or more individuals in each bedroom; 28 per cent had an average of three or more to each bedroom; over 40 per cent of the one-family households contained lodgers. The Mexicans in Chicago are found in the older neighborhoods where buildings are more dilapidated and where conveniences are more primitive or are lacking entirely. The Mexicans are displacing Slavs, Lithuanians, and Italians. These races, who are now vacating, took these same dwellings a few years ago from people of Scandinavian and German nationality. Eleven per cent of the Mexicans were living in basements; 84 per cent paid less than \$30 a month for rent; and the majority were paying less than \$5.00 a month per room. A study made in Denver showed much overcrowding also; seven or eight people frequently occupied one room, and in one instance there were twelve. Mexicans tend to congregate in sections by themselves, but these sections are not so closely defined as the sections where the colored race is found. It has been noted in several

of the cities that Mexican children associate naturally and on the best terms with the children of parents from Southern Europe, but not so well with the northern races, such as the Poles, Swedes, and Norwegians.

Mexican people get into all kinds of difficulties and make big demands upon the staff and resources of the social agencies. About half the work of the relief agencies in Los Angeles and El Paso is with Mexicans. In Chicago, in 1923-24, the United Charities listed 87 Mexican families, of 2.1 per cent of their total case load, and in 1924-25 the number listed was 102, or 2.4 per cent of the case load. In Denver, out of 538 Mexican families studied, 71 were receiving relief.

The Mexicans have a deep-seated cultural background totally foreign to anything found in America. They are slow in adjusting themselves to conditions here, and we are slow in understanding them. All this makes it imperative that we give special attention to their housing and living conditions. They are anxious for schooling and respond quite well to instructions. Our essential task is one of detaching the individual from the mass, which appears to the observer to be so uniform. Each Mexican constitutes a separate problem, to be attacked with a great deal of patience, with all race prejudice and language barriers removed. They are determinists from years of oppression and thwarted opportunities. Always with them it is *La gente pone, Dios dispone*.

There will never be any sudden incoming tide of Mexicans, such as some people fear, even if all restrictions on Mexican immigration are removed. There are about seventeen million people in Mexico, but about 40 per cent of them are pure Indians, and the pure-bred Indian is not coming up here to labor. For the remainder there is work at home, at wages which are on the increase. Mexico needs her laborers and will, I am convinced, continue to make conditions more favorable for their employment at home. At one time seven thousand people owned nearly all the soil of Mexico, but such a condition no longer exists. The Mexican immigrants represent the more adventurous people of the Mexican nation, and their addition to our hybrid population may well prove to be an enrichment. There need be no real social problem, even if the incoming tide grows larger, if we overcome our indifference and meet them as good neighbors. When you visit the Mexicans in their country the greeting is *Mi casa es la suya*. Let us greet them with as much courtesy.

THE MEXICAN IMMIGRANT IN TEXAS

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The Mexican immigrant who comes to Texas (and the same can be said of California) has a feeling of coming to a familiar place. The river which he crosses has a Spanish name. Forty Texas counties have Spanish names. Hundreds of towns and cities have Spanish names. When he comes to live in San Antonio,

or San Marcos, or Llano Estacado, or Cuere, or El Paso, he will probably live on Zarzamora Street, or Pressa, or Brazos, or Neuces Street. When he takes sick he goes to the Santa Rosa Hospital. He can go to the cathedral to hear a Spanish sermon. He needs, in fact, to know not a word of English to live from the cradle to the grave. His children can go through life with hardly any knowledge of English. In San Antonio I have visited schools with only Mexican children, and in class after class I have found native-born Mexican children who spoke a very broken and utterly inadequate English.

The Mexican population in Texas, the largest of any state in the union, is divided into three separate groups. There is first of all the group of political refugees, chiefly concentrated in San Antonio. These are usually people of some means and are very well-to-do, belonging to the party of the "outs" who are waiting for a better wind to trim their sails for home. They are a highly educated, sophisticated, and mentally alert group, living among themselves and for themselves, keeping strictly apart from the American community and the swarming numbers of their own kind. This is the group from which Mexican leaders for this Mexican community could be recruited if its members were interested enough in the lot of their unfortunate countrymen. But at home they have never been required to take any interest in the masses, except as exploiters, and since the Mexican masses meant nothing to them in Mexico, they mean nothing to them in Texas.

The second group is made up of the Texas Mexicans, the Texanos. They are the descendants of the original Texas Mexican population, to which have been added the second, third, and fourth generation of those who have drifted in and settled in Texas. Along the border they are very numerous and they present the usual border situation. An exception to this is the Lower Rio Grande Valley, which has been going through a period of great speculative growth due to the use of irrigation and cheap Mexican labor. Where cattle grazing predominates, and on ranches, one finds a good many of these Texanos acting as cowboys, but mainly as members of the so-called "tanking outfits," which supply the animals with water. Some of them own large ranches where life goes on chiefly after the manner of a Mexican hacienda, with never an English word spoken or heard. As long as the Texanos were small in number they presented no very serious situation either to themselves or the surrounding community. But with the tremendous immigration of recent years their position has been sensibly modified. The last group is made up of a large number of casual laborers who have drifted in or have been attracted into Texas as a result of the recent changes in the American labor market. This casual labor group has raised the number of Mexicans in Texas in the last ten years to over half a million, and probably very much more, although we cannot say definitely how much more.

The Mexican immigrants present many of the problems which are found among any other immigrant group, and our experience has been sufficiently wide along that line to make it unnecessary for me to go into details. It is with

the specifically Mexican aspect of this immigration, however, in so far as it is represented in Texas, that I am concerned here. The unusually casual character of a good deal of this immigration strikes us at first sight. No other immigration which has come to us shifts back and forth between America and the home country as does the Mexican immigration. It is not at all a serious undertaking for the Mexican to come to America; certainly not nearly as serious as the undertaking of any other immigrant group that came to America heretofore. This gives the Mexican population a kaleidoscopic character which strikes very forcefully anyone who visits a Mexican community in Texas at an interval of eight months or even less. Texas is the corridor and clearing house for most of the Mexican casuists that are distributed over the country. The government labor agent, who, however, keeps no records of his clientèle, estimates that his agency has shipped out of San Antonio in one year over 200,000 Mexicans. The mere statement of the fact suggests at once the problem created by such an enormous stream of shifting humanity. What becomes of the housing situation in a community subject to such an enormous and ever recurrent dislocation of the population? The single male immigrant makes for the boarding-house situation, where you have overcrowding amounting to disaster. The immigrant who brings his family is the proper tenant for the two-to-three-dollar-a-week corral with one room, a lean-to, outside toilet and water facilities, no furniture, and impossible hygiene. Housing control is out of the question under such circumstances. Fortunately, the climate forces outdoor living during the major portion of the year, and the evil is partly remedied in this matter. Ultimately, however, all this makes for an exceedingly difficult stabilization of housing conditions, amounting to hopelessness.

The second point in this immigration is its agricultural character. We are witnessing a phenomenon which has happened once before in our history, when the German, Irish, and Scandinavian immigrants came as farm laborers and remained as farmers. The difference between this early immigration and the Mexican immigration is that the Mexican comes as a farm laborer and remains a farm laborer, and that of a unique kind—unique for America. For he comes in the majority of cases as a peon. The consequences are very significant for Texas agricultural life. The Mexican agricultural laborer has come to Texas in those parts where the soil has been too depleted to maintain an American tenant farmer paying rent on the land. The Mexican works for less, he can be supervised more easily, and the problem of labor is solved by his working the whole family and living under conditions which the American farmer would not tolerate. Even then his living and working conditions are better than he has been accustomed to in Mexico. The result has been a migration of the white farmer to the city and the concentration of large blocks of land in the hands of white owners who operate them with Mexican labor. In short, we are having a modern plantation system, or a European agrarian capitalism. In other parts, particularly those of recent speculative growth, where immigration

is the chief factor, Mexican labor used to the manner of working on irrigated land has made possible this speculative growth. Without cheap Mexican labor this would have been impossible. The Mexican is also displacing the Negro on the farms. The Negro, because he has greater mobility due to his knowledge of English and familiarity with the American environment, will not work under the terms and conditions under which the Mexican works. He will move to the city or perhaps acquire land of his own. It is interesting to note that the Mexican farmer peon is not slow in acquiring an automobile. The working arrangement is the share plan, the white owner supporting him during the winter. The difference between this form of tenancy and the Negro tenancy is the greater control which the white owner exercises over the farmer and the very unstable economic relationship. On a farm in central Texas where there are nearly forty tenants, when a drought came last summer every one of the tenants packed his family and belongings into his automobile and moved off to another part of the state where there was a crop and where he could make a living by picking cotton.

One fact in connection with the Mexican agricultural invasion, although incidental to this discussion, yet stands out as of considerable interest. Texas has a number of farming groups made up of Polish and Bohemian immigrants. The Mexican tenant and laborer has encircled these groups and practically surrounded them, but has not been able to penetrate into the interior. The reason is simple enough to anyone who is familiar with Polish and Bohemian farmers. Their land hunger is so keen that they will never let go of a piece of land once they have acquired it. What is more, they will work and dig—every member of the family—and save and skimp, in order to acquire more land, so that every male member will have a forty-acre farm to start his housekeeping and family life.

This increase in numbers of the Mexican farmer has had some very disastrous consequences upon the effort of the American community to keep up its school system. This is partly because of the gradual moving away of the white farmer with his tradition of schooling and self-help in matters of schooling, and partly because of the concentration of land which will accumulate taxes on him who has accumulated land. The rural schools in many Texas communities have thus been disrupted, and the result would have been even more tragic if the state had not come to their assistance by means of a form of state aid. In other places it has been necessary to keep up two separate schools, one for Americans and the other for Mexicans, entailing a greater financial burden than the community is able to shoulder. In still other places it has worked out advantageously to the American community, by utilizing the whole of the state aid given on the basis of the total number of scholastics, American and Mexican, solely for the support of the Americans.

A further point is the possibility of utilizing cheap Mexican labor in industrial occupation, either under sweat shop or factory conditions. This development is beginning to take place, but is not sufficiently advanced for us to say

much about it. The displacement of the Negro by the Mexican on railroad construction is proceeding at a rapid pace.

But the thing that is of greatest significance is not the casual Mexican, but the sedentary Mexican. When he settles down and decides to become a part of the American community, then he presents a most serious difficulty.

America has no technique for handling colored, or partly colored, persons as anything but a subordinated or isolated group. In Texas, where the Negro is such an integral element of our population, the usual southern view prevails. The Mexican presents shades of color ranging from that of the Negro, although with no Negro features, to that of the white. The result is confusion. A Mexican girl enters a street car and sits down among the whites, and the conductor tells her to sit among the Negroes. She refuses on the ground that she is "no nigger." A Mexican worker on a city job where both Negroes and white men are employed refuses to drink out of the Negro drinking cup, and the foreman beats him up. A party made up of the Mexican consul and his suite reach a small town for a celebration. After the celebration they adjourn to a restaurant to eat, and the restaurant keeper refuses to serve them in the dining-room, but offers to serve them in the kitchen. In a rural community some of the Mexicans refuse to send their children to the special Mexican school when they are not permitted to send them to the American school. In the main, the Mexican has been keeping to himself, but as he begins to share more and more in the occupations and activities of his American neighbor, even though in a subordinate capacity, the situation is becoming strained. The theory that the Mexican is a white man is receiving its acid test. At the same time we have a curious loss of perspective in the contact between the races. An American schoolgirl was scolded by her teacher for having been seen riding in an automobile with her arms around two boys. She replied in an offhand way, "Oh, well, they were only Mexicans!"

Yet gradually and inevitably the Mexicans in Texas are settling down to become a permanent part of the community. The process is visibly beginning, even with the semi-nomadic peons. Many of them buy property in San Antonio, little houses or huts which they close while they are away working and return to occupy when the slack season has set in. Some of them buy small plots of land on which they erect houses as good as they can afford. Others, in rather large numbers, are falling in with the American idea of home owning, and real estate companies are doing a flourishing business in opening up Mexican additions in the new parts of town. The further tendency on the part of the Mexicans is to come with their families, leave them in San Antonio, go to Michigan or Mississippi to work, and return to them when work is over. Others take their families with them, and return to put the children in school as soon as they can. They show a decided interest in the schooling of their offspring, in some instances amounting to a passion. The children themselves are almost addicted to it.

Voluntary truancy is quite unknown. The cause which makes for truancy is usually the poverty of the parents who cannot afford to supply the children with the necessary clothing for a decent appearance, or with money to buy school supplies. Yet this interest in schooling gives way as soon as the child is able to add to the family income. The Mexicans do not exploit their children, but they cannot see any use for more than a little education when the making of a living is so hard. School teachers seldom complain of the Mexican child. He is usually obedient and appreciative, with a tendency to show extreme devotion to the teachers.

In point of intellectual outfit the Mexican child presents a serious problem in the age of distribution. He usually ranks lower in grade and higher in age than the American child. Yet a very interesting conclusion was reached by mental tests carried on in connection with the recent school survey of Texas. Investigators found that the city Mexican ranks higher than the rural American, although he ranks lower than the urban American. The rural Mexican ranks below the rural American. It is also interesting to note that the Mexican does better in non-verbal than in verbal tests. All this leads one to look for a greater influence of psycho-environmental causes than is usually the case. The inability to speak or understand English adequately, irregular attendance due to casual labor conditions, and a general timidity in meeting the American school environment may have something to do with it.

In matters of health the Mexican presents a serious problem. Tuberculosis, syphilis, and genito-urinary diseases take an exceedingly heavy toll. Of course, the terrific overcrowding has something to do with it. Also the exceeding sensitiveness to cold of the Mexican, and his insufficient and unwise clothing. Apparently he comes with a predisposition for tuberculosis, to judge by the mortality in Mexico City from that cause. Gastro-intestinal diseases play a greater rôle in Mexico than they do here, probably because of the better feeding here than in Mexico. An addiction to meat and coffee are the chief changes in his dietary habits. In the summer time in San Antonio there is a great increase of gastro-intestinal diseases among children, owing to the consumption of spoiled milk, since most Mexican homes have no refrigeration facilities.

Family life shows strong patriarchal traits. The family ritual, particularly in the care of girls, is just as strong in the peon class as it is among the upper or middle classes. Yet the physicians with whom I have talked complain of a very large number of illegitimate births, and the court records show echoes of that situation. This is probably the result of a strict family code with a rapid substitution of a city environment for a village environment and a large number of unmarried men taken from their family moorings in search of work. Some very interesting observations could be made, in connection with family life, on the attitude between the Texanos, or Texas Mexicans of two or three generations, and the newcomers. The former have adjusted themselves to the new environ-

ment and are keeping their families intact. The latter, although they look with contempt upon the family relations of the former, are yet suffering the greatest devastations.

Religiously, the Mexican immigrant shows not quite the same devotion to the church that he did in Mexico. Protestant denominations are making some inroad into the traditional faith. A partial survey of Dallas, where some 350 families were visited, showed nearly fifty Protestants. However, one should not take this too seriously, as the interest in the Protestant faith is often the outgrowth of some Protestant dispensary or kindergarten. Yet it is not without significance that San Antonio has five or six Protestant Mexican churches where services are carried on in Spanish to an audience that is attentive and apparently appreciative.

I shall have to hasten over the other factors—the interest in American newspapers rather than Spanish, in English books and magazines, and, of course, in American movies—and come to the crucial situation, which is the possibility of accepting the Mexican group as a permanent and integral part of our population. Here I have very little good to tell. A group that is brought or lured here for purposes of economic exploitation will be branded with the stigmas of that exploitation. It is wanted for no other purposes, and it will soon find that there is no place for it under any other conditions. Yet the Mexican cannot be kept forever in subordination. He is not a Negro, and he will refuse the status of the Negro. The only road open to him is to form a third, separate group, on the borderline between the Negro and the white man. Such a situation cannot last for long; it soon becomes intolerable, because the temptation of the American group is to push him down into the Negro group, while the efforts of the Mexican will be directed toward raising himself to the level of the American group. The result will inevitably be bitterness, animosity, and conflict. The Negro-white situation is difficult enough, but it is simple. The Negro has his place in the scheme of things. He is disfranchised and he accepts it—for how long, I do not know—but he accepts it. He is limited in his educational opportunities and in his occupational field, and he accepts that also. But the Mexican is theoretically limited neither in his educational opportunities nor in his occupational field. Neither is he disfranchised. He is educating himself rapidly, only to find that his education above the literacy line is quite useless to him. He will soon be going to college in large numbers, and he will soon wield an emphatic and brilliant English pen. He will organize his group politically, and then what? Will he tolerate a school system which gives American children a good school building and nine months of schooling, but gives the Mexican children in the same community five months of schooling and a miserable wooden structure, and which spends on 58 American children \$1,669.00, and on 182 Mexican children \$724.00? I am not afraid of social conflicts, but social conflicts waged on the basis of race or nationality are the most cruel, the most intense, and the most useless. For the sake of a speeding up in the exploitation of our natural resources and the crea-

tion of a handful of newly rich and a greater consumption of high-priced automobiles, are we creating for ourselves a social problem full of dismal prospects, of race hatreds, of bruised feelings, of social ostracisms, and, perhaps, of lynchings and the race wars of a twentieth-century American city?

TRADE UNIONS AND THE FAMILY WELFARE AGENCY

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The fundamental difference between the objectives of trade-unions and of social agencies is that while the case worker is interested in the individual family, and formulates a program to meet its problems, the trade-union, on the other hand, is concerned with the membership at large. It aims to secure such standards in industry as will give to all wage-earners an adequate economic basis for life. It is concerned, not with individual problems, but with the problems of a large group. This distinction is not altogether correct, for most social workers realize that the cause of many of the ills of the family they are called upon to deal with is social, and not individual; that housing, low wages, unemployment, and so forth are not the worker's individual responsibility, but rather that of society.

In one respect, trade-unions and social agencies have similar objectives. The union is organized to maintain the integrity of its members, of the families in a given group, so that they can meet their problems through the use of their own resources. Relief agencies are organized to promote the happiness of the individual and his family, to enable him to rely on his own resources, to develop his self-reliance, his respect for his personality, and to increase his usefulness to the community. Assuredly only those who possess the bare minimum of food, drink, health, housing, and clothing can really be useful or happy. Both the union and the agency, in short, are working to provide this bare minimum.

Let us note for a moment what the trade-union movement in America has accomplished to improve the condition of the wage-earners: first, through constant struggle for increases in wages the unions have undoubtedly succeeded in raising the standard of living of the workers, which is important not only because it enables the worker to live in a cleaner and more sanitary home, and thereby improves general health conditions, but also because high wages make possible a reserve for a period of unemployment and sickness, so that the worker is not forced to apply for assistance when such emergencies arise; second, by gradually decreasing the working day the worker is able to enjoy a little more leisure time to devote to recreation and education; third, many trade-unions, as is well known, make provision for sickness and death benefits, and some also

provide for superannuated benefits for members who are incapacitated because of old age; fourth, forty-two states now make some provision for payments to workers incapacitated as a result of industrial disabilities, the trade-union movement having been in the vanguard of the forces working for such legislation; fifth, the American Federation of Labor has recently organized the Labor Life Insurance Company, which is preparing to sell insurance on an individual or against sickness or death; sixth, many of the large labor unions have gone into banking, and they now have a total resource of \$95,000,000; seventh, the American Federation of Labor has encouraged and helped to finance many experiments in adult education, realizing the importance of broadening the interests of the workers so that they may be not only more efficient and intelligent in the management of their unions, but also better trained citizens.

Socialists, and to some extent trades-unions, have tended to look upon social work with suspicion and scorn, when they were not openly hostile. This attitude has been undergoing a change in recent years, especially as regards the trade-union, as those who have had intimate contact with unions well know. This earlier attitude is due to the feeling that the gifts of the wealthy, as Stuart A. Queen puts it, were offered with the hope of silencing the demands for thoroughgoing reforms for fundamental wrongs. "Not infrequently," he says, "the motive was merely a cowardly desire to escape the repulsive presence of misery." This feeling on the part of the trade-unions was further strengthened by the fact that the poor were accepted by the wealthier class as a separate grade in the social hierarchy.

It is interesting to note that the attitude of social agencies toward the union has generally been sympathetic and friendly to an unusual degree. The family case work agency very quickly realized that the union is its ally in its effort to raise the general level of family life. A very striking illustration of the attitude of the family agency to the problems of the trade-union is furnished by a report of the Industrial Problems Committee of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, issued January 14, 1926. This report is an account of a problem presented by an unemployed union carpenter, accustomed to earn \$1.10 an hour, who applied for relief to an agency. When offered a job, presumably in a non-union plant, which would pay 85 cents an hour, he refused to accept, and the following questions were presented to the members of this community to get from them an expression of opinion as to what the attitude of the agency should be in the treatment of this case: first, should the family agency uphold John in his refusal to break a union ruling and assist his family when he turns down a job offering him 85 cents an hour? Second, should he be urged to find some other kind of employment temporarily until he can find work along his own line which pays the union wage? Third, how long should John be given financial aid in case a union job is not readily secured?

The following is a consensus of opinion of the members: first, that John should not be compelled to accept the job offered at 85 cents an hour if by so

doing he will lose his union standing; and the society should therefore assist him in his refusal to break a union rule; second, that he should be urged to find some other work temporarily, providing this will not affect his union standing, the family agency supplementing the income during the interim; third, that assistance should be given until John secures a position at his union rate or until the society decides that no progress is being made in the solution of the problem.

In an effort to learn what the attitude and relation between the family agency and the union actually are, the following questions were submitted to a number of the most prominent executives, non-Jewish and Jewish, of family case work agencies in the large cities: (1) To what extent have you been called upon to help workers while on strike for the purpose of enforcing demands for increases in wages, improvement in working conditions, or the protection of existing standards? Have you found it necessary to refuse to grant assistance at such times, and for what reason? (2) To what extent would the legislative enactment of social insurance measures, including unemployment, sickness, and old-age pensions, decrease the demands made upon the resources of private agencies? (3) Would the existence of a generally high level of wages, in addition to unemployment insurance, and so forth, eliminate the necessity of the wage-earner and his family making use of the kind of services which the family welfare agency is prepared to render, or would a body of family problems still remain in spite of such satisfactory economic conditions? (4) If this is the case, should trade-unions develop facilities of their own for the handling of these problems, or should they be encouraged to cooperate with the family welfare agency? How can this best be done in the view of the more or less general feeling that the welfare agency is a "charity" organization supported and managed in the main by the business and employing group? What do you consider to be the possibilities of getting the trade-unions to look upon the family welfare agency as a disinterested organization of professional workers, similar to school teachers, for example? (5) Trade-unions generally make their wage demands on the basis of the typical American family of two adults and three children. As a matter of fact, such "typical" families are few in number. Should the agency urge the adoption of the "family allowance" system, as advocated by Professor Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago, in order to meet the problem of the large family? (6) What is the approximate extent of the union membership among your clients? Have their unions any provision for unemployment, sickness, or relief?

As in the case of the Industrial Problems Committee, we again find that there is considerable unanimity of opinion, which may be summarized as follows: (1) Family agencies are rarely called upon by union members for assistance. When such requests are made, assistance is usually granted in individual cases. Generally the agency will consult with the union to decide on a plan. (2) The legislative enactment of social insurance measures would not materially decrease the demands made upon private agencies, judging from the experience of

agencies following the enactment of workmen's compensation and mothers' pension legislation. (3) Neither would the existence of a high level of wages greatly decrease the necessity of the worker making use of services which the family welfare agencies are prepared to render. (4) There is some difference of opinion as to whether the trade-unions should develop their own facilities for the handling of the various personality and family adjustment problems which it is felt would continue to exist. There is expressed the feeling that unions do not look upon agencies, as now organized, as disinterested organizations, due to the fact that they are supported by the employing group to a very large extent, and because the unions have no voice in the management or in the determining of the policies of family agencies. With one or two exceptions, there is a feeling that it would be unwise for the union to set up a separate apparatus for the handling of problems which the agencies are already equipped to deal with much more efficiently. (5) Eight of the fourteen executives express no opinion on this question, generally because they are not familiar with its provisions in detail. Only four are sympathetic, and two are opposed to it for various reasons. (6) Very few of the clients of social agencies are union members. In but two cases was any definite information given. The Charity Organization Society of New York shows that 322 men out of 2,366 were members of the unions, or 13.6 per cent. One hundred fifty-two individuals out of 5,319 (1,191 families) belong to unions, in the case of the Jewish Social Service Association of New York. Others estimate union membership as about 5 per cent.

Quotations from some of the answers received will perhaps make clear the attitude of prominent social workers, in both the non-Jewish and the Jewish field, toward the trade-union and its activities:

First, action on the part of our organization in regard to assisting strikers is not controlled by principle, but depends upon the individual case. Recently aid was refused to a striker because his union would not allow him to do any work even outside of his trade. Generally we try to secure positions for strikers outside their trades. Material assistance is given at times, or incomes are supplemented.—FRANCES TAUSSIG.

Second, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which social insurance measures, including unemployment, sickness, and old age, will decrease the demands upon social agencies. Such measures tend to stabilize employment and prevent sickness, and thus limit demands for assistance. There seems to be no doubt that the history of other social insurance measures, such as workmen's compensation, would be repeated in the enactment against unemployment and sickness.—FRANCES TAUSSIG.

This represents the attitude of practically all the executives on this question, with the exception of three. The following is the position of one who does not agree:

Experience in this field has been that an increase in mothers' pensions and other forms of public assistance have not diminished demands for relief, or other service from the private agency. I am doubtful of the efficiency of any pension plans unless these are administered by skilled case workers free to increase or reduce amounts of relief granted.—J. C. COLCORD.

Third, letters received in answer to this question are interesting in the unanimity of feeling that favorable economic conditions will by no means decrease the demands upon private agencies.

Problems, group and individual, will always remain. A release from economic pressure would bring to the surface vast numbers of hitherto unrecognized problems and would facilitate the development of methods for more adequate handling.—M. J. KARFF.

A high level of wages is the greatest corrective of social ills. It would reduce sickness, but would not dispose of all problems. There would remain desertion, the handicapped father, whether mental or physical. It would reduce the demands of the tuberculous family now receiving one-third of the relief granted by our organization.—BAILEY B. BURRITT.

Fourth, the various replies received to this question bring forth a number of interesting facts. In spite of the feeling that there is little possibility of the development of cooperation between the trade-union and the agency as long as present conditions remain, nevertheless there is implicit a recognition of the possibility of such cooperation. The attitude of the union toward the agency is perhaps well expressed in the following letter.

It would seem futile to try to eradicate the suspicion that welfare agencies are not disinterested in their attitude toward the dependent, as long as policies governing agencies are controlled by a group whose basic economic interests are antagonistic to another group which is threatened by the possibility of its becoming a beneficiary of an inadequate and insincere bounty. It does not seem possible to get trade-unions to regard agencies as disinterested. At one time I thought that unions should be represented on boards in order to remove the unfounded prejudices against organized charity, but I soon felt that there were so many legitimate prejudices that I was forced to conclude that such a highly democratized institution would not achieve its purpose.—S. RABINOWITCH.

Trade-unions will not, and should not, look upon agencies as now constituted as a disinterested group of professional workers. When its money comes from the general public and the control is on a civic basis, it may be so looked upon.—R. W. KELSO.

A number of social workers realize the possibility of some form of cooperation between these two forces:

In this connection it should be noted that in Chicago the Milk Drivers' Union, the Electrical Union, and the Steamfitters' Union each recently contributed \$100 to the United Charities.—J. D. HUNTER.

That the support of family agencies is no longer entirely limited to the wealthy group is attested by the following:

Much progress has been made in the direction of liberating charities from the position of the rich man's instrument. Working people as well as employers are now supporting federations and chests. The community of Detroit enrolled 270,343 subscriptions. The number giving \$25 and upwards is only 8,766, or 3 per cent of the total number of subscriptions.—M. WALDMAN.

That in some cases unions are beginning to turn to the agency for the sort of service which it is in a position to render is attested by the following:

In New Bedford, I was told by the Secretary of the Council of Social Agencies that definite consideration was being given to the proposal that the community fund should in-

clude a sufficient sum of money to take care of all cases of sickness among the union men and their families. The unions want to participate in the Community Chest and have the social agencies of the city, including the health agencies, serve their interests. This I believe is a step in the right direction.—J.P. SANDERSON

A very striking example of the manner in which unions do in practice recognize the value of the agency is furnished by the experience of the United Mine Workers of America during the 1922 mine suspension. In order to deal properly with the many requests for assistance that were arising, the Welfare Federation in Wilkes-Barre developed a plan whereby a joint committee composed of representatives of the chamber of commerce and the United Mine Workers sat in conference with the workers of the Welfare Federation and passed upon the cases of needy miners' families, basing their decision for or against relief upon the social histories presented to them by the Welfare Federation. As described in a recent article in the *Survey*: "The social workers from all agencies, public and private, worked outside their regular hours at making their calls and writing up the case histories. The joint committee worked together in accord for many months."

Let us consider somewhat in detail what has been accomplished by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the two unions in the clothing industry with whose work we are most familiar. Both these unions have rendered considerable service to their membership entirely outside of the orthodox trade-union lines, and a good deal of it is work which the family agency is attempting to do for those families that come to its attention.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.—The Joint Board of Sanitary Control was organized in 1910 by the manufacturers and the union, and had been maintained ever since in spite of the frequent breaks in the relations between them. The Board of Sanitary Control was established for the purpose of improving the sanitary conditions in the shops through mutual agreement between employers and workers, without calling upon the interposition of the state. Twenty-eight sanitary standards were established, with machinery for enforcing them. There are now over 4,000 shops which operate under the supervision of the joint board. At present all garments manufactured in such shops have what is called a "Prosanis label," which is a guaranty that it is manufactured under sanitary conditions. The Union Health Center operated by the union is the only one of its kind in the American labor movement. All union members receive regular annual medical examinations, as well as health information. There is also a dental clinic where union members can receive necessary treatment at cost. About 35,000 workers are covered by the plan of unemployment insurance now operating by the cloak, suit, and shirt industry in New York. All of the 1,500 employers are participants in it, all working under one committee and one common fund. If a group of employees find themselves out of work they apply, not to their individual employer for unemployment benefit,

but to the central committee. Each worker contributes 1 per cent of his weekly wage, and each employer doubles the total contributed by his employees. Three per cent of the general pay-roll is thus donated to the central unemployment fund. According to this plan, the working period of the industry is divided into two seasons, from February to August and from August to February. Each season is divided into a normal busy period and the normal slack period. There is allowed a working period of seventeen weeks in a season of twenty-six weeks, and a slack period of nine weeks. A worker is not entitled to unemployment benefit during the normal slack season. The tenth week the employment pay begins. It is \$10 a week and may be drawn for six weeks a season. The maximum is twelve weeks a year, or \$120. To get this it means that the worker has been out of work for thirty weeks, making his average unemployment pay \$4 per week for such a period. Mr. Sigman, president of the International, considers this fund a very valuable and necessary institution. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union does not grant any relief in cases of sickness. This is a local matter to be taken care of by the local union. The majority of the local unions maintain sick benefit funds to which the members apply when in need. This is a very important matter for the New York local because of the susceptibility to tuberculosis.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers.—A credit union was organized for the purpose of lending sums up to \$2,000 at an interest rate of slightly less than 6 per cent. Union members may join by buying a share for \$10. They can borrow up to \$100 without any interest. There are now 1,300 in the credit union. During the past year \$210,000 was borrowed, paying a dividend of 9 per cent to the members. What is most important in granting the loans is a man's character and his standing as a union man. The credit union also engages in some cooperative ventures. During the past year it bought coal on a large scale for its members at a saving of 50 cents a ton. The union unemployment insurance experiment thus far is confined to Chicago, where the union is highly organized. Three per cent of the pay-roll goes into an unemployment fund placed in the hands of a group of trustees appointed by the representatives of each shop. During periods of unemployment each worker draws benefits at the rate of 40 per cent of his weekly wage, but in no instance can he draw more than \$20 a week. The unemployment plan does not begin until two weeks after his work ceases. In no instance may the unemployment payments exceed five weeks' benefit, or a maximum of \$100 a year. A strike or stoppage of work due to labor disagreements is not covered by a benefit. The sum of \$2,000,000 has already been paid out in Chicago for unemployment insurance. Shortly the unemployment insurance feature will also be introduced in the New York and Rochester clothing markets. Recently the New York local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers developed a plan for health insurance for its members. Briefly, the provisions of this plan are as follows: a member can be insured by contributing \$5 a year to a fund; he will receive in case of sickness \$10 a week for a maximum of ten

weeks a year, beginning with the second week; in case of a major operation, a member will receive \$100 in addition to his sickness payments; this will enable the man to defray the cost of an operation without becoming a charity patient; in case of tuberculosis, \$100 will be granted in addition to the sickness insurance; free health examinations would be given every year.

A letter similar to those sent to the executives of social agencies was sent to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, and the American Federation of Labor. The union officials were unanimous in stating that members of the union are never advised to appeal to agencies for help. Members in need of help are always referred to their local organizations. Labor officials all admit that trade-unions are not in a position to handle a great many problems that are constantly being dealt with by the family agency, such as desertion, personality difficulties, and family and group adjustments.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, of the Amalgamated, feels that in time the union will make such problems as parent-child and vocational guidance a part of their general workers' education program, because his union is anxious to assume as many responsibilities in behalf of the workers as possible. Mr. Morris Sigman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, however, is convinced that personality problems would be handled better by a body of professional workers through a family agency. He takes the position that a union cannot delve into the private lives of its members or concern itself with their personal affairs outside of their contact with the union. The problems of a union, he adds, are too many to give its attention to such matters. Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, likewise agrees in this respect with Mr. Sigman, but adds: "The unions have pronounced views that many of these personality and family and group adjustment problems are directly related to child labor, low wages, preventable sickness, occupational diseases, and preventable accidents. You can appreciate that under present conditions, with the forces that yet combat trade-unions, these organizations cannot become interested in problems which the unions believe are the result of conditions which they oppose."

THE INDIVIDUAL OR "YELLOW DOG" CONTRACT

*Thomas J. Donnelly, Secretary-Treasurer, Ohio State
Federation of Labor, Columbus*

What is this law of contract as it applies to the wage-earner's relationship to his employer? Whatever it may be, it cannot be accepted as something which subordinates or nullifies those essential human rights and liberties which are the basic guaranties of our American Constitution and bill of rights. Without attempting to develop the principles involved, because this is now unnecessary, let me remind you that before the Civil War the right of contract was the legal

medium by which the black man's body was bought and sold in the same manner as any inanimate commodity or article of commerce. It required a civil war to destroy the legal conception that the law of contract was so broad and far-reaching that it could be used to perpetuate human slavery. What is this law of contract; from what source is it derived? It is a part of the common law which we inherited from the mother-country. Its legitimate application makes the ownership of personal property possible. Without this law modern commerce and industry could not function. It is one of the cornerstones of civilization. But it does not follow that this beneficial and essentially necessary law applies with equal force and justice to every condition to which cunning men have endeavored to apply it.

So far as men's labor and the workmen's relation to employers is concerned, the common law of master and servant had its origin in slavery, and its development among English-speaking people during the Middle Ages, when special privilege existed under the law and the mass of the people were serfs, tied to the soil and in every way subject to their masters. Under the common law and its development by Parliament and judicial decree the master was given all rights, while the rights of serfs were ignored. It was from this condition that the common law of master and servant developed, and made it possible for the shadow of serfdom to cast its sinister influence on our free institutions, the priceless inheritance won for us by those who, overthrowing tyranny, established the free institutions of our country. In the human relationship, because of the evident gross injustice of some of the common law, our states have one by one declared that it shall no longer be recognized by our courts.

Only a few years ago the common law was constantly depended upon by the employers' attorneys as a certain infallible defense when workmen were injured during employment. When accepting employment the workman was assumed by this medieval law to have accepted every risk. He was expected to suffer, without opportunity of relief, from the carelessness of any fellow-workman. He was supposed in almost every case of accident to have in some way contributed to it through his carelessness. The law of contract was so applied, and so perverted through legal construction, that the employers' defense of assumption of risk, fellow-servant, and contributory negligence prevented hundreds of thousands of workmen from receiving the compensation due them. In time public knowledge, public indignation over the apparent injustice of any such common law, led state legislatures to declare these common-law defenses no longer available. They were repealed, and so will legislatures, through legislation, repeal and nullify other sections of the common law which in their application today work injustice or operate in a manner which limits or destroys any of the essential human rights of free men.

The individual contract, or so-called "American plan" of employment, is but another instrument fashioned by those employers banded together to deny to industrial wage-earners their inherent, constitutional, and essential rights and

liberties. The individual contract, or American plan, is a new masquerade assumed to promote that discredited and exposed fraud, the open shop. When industrial and political exploiters and autocrats run counter to all the fundamentals of liberty and equity and the natural aspirations of mankind for freedom, they must of necessity offer nauseous doses in such form as will deceive as to their real character. So with the individual contract or American plan of employment, so called. Here it is attempted to conceal the real purpose through an appeal to individualism in the words "individual contract," and it is sought to place the halo of patriotism over the scheme by the term "American plan." This new instrument and phrase was sprung upon the public immediately following the close of the world-war; no doubt consideration was given by its originators to the psychology of the moment, which affected all of us more or less, by which "American" became a slogan that was symbolic of all that was just and idealistic. We are all familiar with the quotation: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." It was called forth from vitriolic Dr. Samuel Johnson because of the use which was being made of the term "patriotism" by the unscrupulous and dishonest men of his time. The attempt to engage the attention of the American people and secure their support of this most un-American plan and employment by calling it the American plan is an insult to their intelligence and comes as near scoundrelism as may be imagined.

Before proceeding further to discuss the proposition it is perhaps advisable to present to you two or three of these contracts. The first is one put forth by the firm of Shell-Wolfe Company, Mansfield, Ohio, and the following is a copy thereof:

AGREEMENT OF EMPLOYMENT

MANSFIELD, OHIO, April 14, 1921

It is hereby agreed between the Shell-Wolfe Company, as employer, and the undersigned, as employee, in consideration of the mutual obligations of the parties hereunder, that said employee from and after the date hereof is employed by said employer upon the following terms and conditions:

1. As a carpenter on the operation of the employer, at a wage of 75 cents per hour, eight hours to constitute a day's work and 44 hours to constitute a week's work, and with time and one-half for all over work done on Sundays and on the following named Holidays, to wit: New Year's Day, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas Day. Said rate of 75 cents per hour may be increased or decreased, any such increase or decrease leaving the remaining provisions of this agreement unaffected.
2. The employment of said employee under this agreement shall continue until either the employer or the employee shall have given the other two days' written notice of his intention to terminate it, except in the case of misbehavior or incompetency of the employee, which shall be ground for an immediate termination of the employment by the employer. In case of any termination of the employment or cessation of work by the employee for any reason, said employee agrees that he will not then or thereafter, in any manner or at any place, annoy, molest or interfere with the business, customers or employees or prospective customers or employees of said employer, or with the members of the families of such customers, employees or prospective customers or employees, and that he will not attempt to persuade or coerce others in refusing to work for or deal with said employer.

3. The employer shall and hereby agrees to maintain an open shop, employing union or non-union employees without discrimination during the continuance of said employees' employment under this agreement, and the undersigned employee shall and hereby agrees that he will take no action at any time designed or intended in any way to unionize the employer's employees or to make any of its operations or plants or departments a closed shop.

4. The rules and regulations of the employer not in conflict herewith, as posted upon a bulletin board from time to time shall become and are hereby made a part of this agreement.

[Signed] SHELL-WOLFE COMPANY
per V. D. WOLFE

These contracts, upon their face, are fraudulent: first, because they are not intended to, and do not, protect or promote individualism or Americanism, but are intended to compel applicants for work to sign away their rights and liberties before they will be given employment whereby they may support themselves and families; second, because they have none of the ideals of Americanism in them, in that there is no condition of equality between the contracting unorganized necessitous workmen and the organized employer, prepared and willing to take advantage of the worker's necessities to force him to surrender his rights and privileges; third, because they permit the employer to change them at will in important respects without the consent of the workman. None of these individual contracts are for a fixed wage rate for a definite period. None of them guarantee permanent employment for a definite period of time. Under their provisions the employer is at liberty to discharge for any cause satisfactory to him. In other words, the workman has no guaranty as to wages, hours of labor, or any of the other conditions of employment. At any moment he is subject to discharge.

Speaking for the employers, the individual contract says, in effect, to the worker: You must surrender every right, give up every association you have had with your fellow-men, that you may secure employment to support yourself and family, and if you do not, we will use our organization; we will blacklist you; we will make you sacrifice your home; and we will make a sojourner of you from place to place, seeking employment where you can, only to find that you have been blacklisted because you would not surrender and sign away everything so dear to you as an American in the contract of employment offered you in this most un-American individual or "yellow dog" contract.

All hail America, its ideals of liberty and equality, and its red-blooded men and women citizenry. May they continue and perpetuate themselves industrially and politically. Trade-unionists face realities, and they insist that other citizens do likewise. Labor asks no more for itself than it concedes to capital as represented by employers. We believe in safeguarding the constitutional right to voluntary association. Without the exercise of this right civilization would be impossible. Without its practical, everyday application there would be no religious, scientific, fraternal, political, or other organizations. We believe in the right of labor to organize. We likewise believe in the right and the necessity of employers to organize. We further believe in collective agreements be-

tween employers and workmen governing wages, hours, and conditions of employment. Not so the labor baiters masquerading under the titles of "open shoppers" and "American planners." They are vociferous and emphatic in their demands for their rights, while at the same moment organizing to deprive their workmen of their rights and liberties. They have the audacity to assert that their principal object is to insure the wage-earner in the exercise of all of his rights, while their deliberate purpose is to take from the wage-earner his most essential right, his right to voluntary association. It has been said that the power to tax is the power to destroy. With equal truth we say that the control of employment is the power of life or death.

In 1925, in its final report to Congress, the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, which commission was appointed for the purpose of studying the causes of industrial unrest, among other things, had this to say upon the subject of the power exercised by the employers' associations.

The instruments of industrial force belong chiefly to the employer, because of his control of the job of the worker. Their use is more common and more effective than any other form of violence at the command of the employer. The most powerful weapon is the power of discharge, which may be used indiscriminately, upon mere suspicion, which under certain conditions may be almost as potent, either in use or threat, as the power of life or death. It is the avowed policy of many employers to discharge any man who gives any sign of dissatisfaction, on the theory that he may become a troublemaker or agitator.

Our legislative bodies have recognized the power of coercion which may be exercised upon the workmen and have enacted laws providing a penalty for such coercion, and these laws have not only been in respect to workers' rights to become members of labor organizations and retain membership therein, but legislation has also been necessary and in the public interest to protect the workmen from coercion on the part of employers in the exercise of their franchise. Certainly the nation, either through state enactments or a federal law, must awake to these attacks by employers upon the rights of the industrial workers and provide a proper and adequate remedy against such instruments as the fraudulent so-called "individual contract." In 1925 the legislature of Ohio considered a bill proposing to declare such contracts to be contrary to public policy and wholly void. Labor advocated then, and advocates now, the enactment of such a bill into law. It would put a stop, in Ohio at least, to this new effort to coerce.

But these pseudo-patriots shout, "You are impairing the right of private contract." Oh, no, my friends, we only purpose the safeguarding of the freedom of contract. The Supreme Court of the United States, as well as the courts in many of the states, have said over and over that the right to make contracts has certain limitations. It is not boundless. It is subject always to the welfare of the state when it is state legislation, and subject always to the welfare of the nation when it is national legislation. The sanctity of the right of contract has been raised again and again in connection with remedial and protective legislation for wage-earners. This question was first raised in respect to legislation

regulating the hours of labor for women industrial workers. Such legislation was sustained by the courts on the ground that it was a proper exercise of the police power of the state, and for the general welfare. We used to hear the same claim as to the right of contract in connection with the loan sharks. The legislation enacted to remedy that evil has also stood the test of the courts. In the making of contracts the courts have said that contracts which are entered into under duress, which perpetrate a fraud upon one of the parties thereto, which take an unfair advantage of the necessities of one of the parties, which are contrary to the public welfare, or in which one of the parties entering into the contract is not competent to do so, will not be declared valid as instruments entered into with freedom or in accord with public policy. Labor is not attempting to destroy the right of contract, but rather endeavoring to prevent the law of contract from growing into disrepute because some employers make use of it for the purpose of destroying our essential right to organization. In addition to the attempt to force the individual worker to surrender his inherent, constitutional, and essential rights, once the surrender is made by him, such surrender is made the basis for the curtailment of the liberties and rights of others who are not a party to the so called contract.

The question is not a new one. There have been men who have sought to take advantage of their knowledge of American law to deny other men, American citizens, their essential rights. Immediately after the Civil War and the declaration that emancipated the Negro from a condition of slavery, some very clever constitutional lawyers said to many plantation owners, "Oh, that is all right. There is a way by which you can get around that Declaration of Emancipation. There is a sacred right of contract in the United States. Loan a Negro a few dollars, enter into a contract with him that he must work for you until he has paid his obligation, and you have got that Negro as firmly attached to the plantation as he was before the Civil War." In 1867, to prevent that misapplication and destructive construction of the law of contract, Congress enacted a peonage law, an antipeonage law, and in that law said that no contract entered into voluntarily or involuntarily to work for another to pay off a debt was valid. The United States Supreme Court, every time a question arising under the peonage law has been brought before it, by unanimous decision has held that law to be constitutional. Had the Supreme Court not done that, a condition of involuntary servitude would have been established, and not only the colored man but the white wage-earner brought under a condition where, bolstered up by the common law of contract, he would have been tied down for life to the man who had loaned him \$50.00. Instead of having loan shark Shylocks charging us 25 and 50 per cent, as they had done under their so called "legal right" to contract until the state said, "You cannot charge all the interest you want," we would have had these same gentlemen engaged in bartering us and our labor because we had at some period, owing to necessities, borrowed a few dollars to save our families from dire want.

PROGRESS IN REGULARIZING EMPLOYMENT

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In presenting this subject I am going to stress the social aspects of the problem more than the economic ones, because the economic returns are self-evident, positive, and sustained. More regular employment means less work for the social worker. This is of direct interest to you. Your experience of course would make this point obvious, but it is deserving of emphasis because it shows why all groups engaged in social work should get behind constructive attempts at regularization.

On all sides we hear talk of the budget—the government budget, the state budget, and the business or industrial budget. In many plants they are carrying the budget down into departments, and the hourly worker is becoming familiar with budgeting as it affects industry and government. How long will it be before he is going to present the point that if the budget is good for business and government, it is good for the worker? How long before he will find that he is surrounded by great difficulties in setting up a budget for his family? A government can establish a budget of needs and tax accordingly, or both it and industry can determine with accuracy the amount of income that will be realized during a period of from six months to two years or more from the present. The worker, on the contrary, in most instances can have no conception of probable income, and his budget must necessarily be based on an estimate consisting of averages of previous years' income. By no power of his own can he insure the accuracy of his figures or the realization of predicted income. He may be laid off tomorrow for six weeks or six months.

In the past, in controversial matters with regard to payment of workers, emphasis has always been placed upon rate per hour. As a matter of fact it is not true that the worker, like anyone else, is primarily interested in income per annum and has emphasized rate per hour merely because he has used it as a basis for computing probable income in the light of past experience with regard to the number of days worked in a year. Does it not seem logical, therefore, that the emphasis can be removed from rate per hour and placed upon income per annum as a more tangible and understandable figure, and that regularization is the thing which will make the change in emphasis possible?

Where regularization has been attained by scientific study, contented workmen are found and labor turnover is reduced to a minimum compatible with a healthy condition of the industrial enterprise. Although surprisingly few from a percentage standpoint, there are, however, many examples of industrial organizations which have made a sustained attack upon this problem. A number have made marked advances toward a solution of the problem. Some of the more outstanding cases will be touched on.

Colonel William C. Procter, president of the Procter and Gamble Company, sees no reason why, if the soap business can be regularized, other industries cannot be also. During the past three years they have maintained regular production, which means regular employment, and now have guaranteed regular employment to the fifty-five hundred odd employees throughout the country providing they meet certain qualifications which, in substance, are that all employees participating in the company profit sharing plan—which, by the way, inculcates thrift—are guaranteed full pay for 48 weeks in every calendar year. The plan provides against losses of time not controllable by the company, such as fire, flood, and other emergencies. The guaranty is not effective until employees have been on the pay-roll six months. This, like other plans, is being, and will probably continue to be, modified from time to time as experience defines the proper procedure.

The apparently simple expedient of finding out that a perishable commodity can be carried through a number of months by refrigeration has regularized employment for the workers of the Hills Brothers Company of New York, packers of Dromedary dates. Formerly the seasonal fluctuation was terrific, and the marketing problem acute. A simple determination of a scientific nature solved the problem for a company which had had to expand its force from 200 or 300 to 1,000 or more at certain seasons, then shrink the force back again to normal, with all of the certainty of inefficiency, poor workmanship, and attendant higher costs of doing business. With this company there has been an increase of earnings, an improvement in product, and a marked increase in satisfaction, as well as income, to the workers, who are now regularly employed. This is an excellent example because there was an additional direct gain to the worker in that there was an arbitrary increase in wages, so that the worker is now said to be financially bettered about 30 per cent per annum.

The case of the Dennison Manufacturing Company is also well known, and is mentioned primarily because that company has set up a fund which may be defined as an insurance fund against unemployment, a careful study of which would prove of considerable interest. No attempt will be made to elaborate Dennison experience or practice, because so much has been written about it and the technique is so generally understood.

The Leeds and Northrup Company at Philadelphia are attacking the problem of taking care of peak demand by the use of overtime. Then, during slack periods, they build up inventories and utilize surplus labor on plant maintenance work. They also have an unemployment fund built up from weekly deductions of 2 per cent of the production pay-roll. They pay 75 per cent of earnings per week of the individual worker to employees with dependents, and nothing to anyone earning over \$2,600 per annum.

The Walworth Manufacturing Company is another of our notable examples of what can be done toward regularization through a carefully engineered study of distribution. Through accurate sales analysis and forecasting they have been

able markedly to regularize employment in the various plants which they operate.

The Hood Rubber Company furnishes a splendid example of a regularization program made possible by scientific forecasting, and their accomplishments in matching production to predetermined sales have been nothing short of remarkable.

The David Lupton's Sons Company of Philadelphia loom up as one of the more recent examples of the application of sales engineering utilized to broaden their effectiveness. Diversification of line has here been introduced in order to flatten the demand curve and aid in the regularization program.

The railroads, too, are giving serious consideration to this problem, as evidenced by the work which Mr. Loree, the president of the Delaware & Hudson Company, has done with regard to various insurance funds. A sincere effort is being made to guarantee 48 weeks a year to the railroad employees and to safeguard their interests by recognized methods of group insurance, a number of which have been made available to employees.

The Sperry Gyroscope Company of Brooklyn use a system of training special groups of men to act as fill-ins on the highly skilled jobs of their organization. They furnish a splendid example of the flying squadron or utility operator plan for filling in weak points in an organization.

The American Radiator Company is attempting regularization by price differentials based on careful analysis of seasonal demand. It is changing buying habit by spreading demand. The base price exists for the months of February, March, and April, the time when the greatest demand for the product exists. During May, June, and July they offer a discount of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. During August, September, and October the discount is increased to 5 per cent. Then it drops again to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in November, December, and January. This naturally has had a direct effect in balancing production schedules.

Many other examples of marked progress in regularization can be cited, such as the Columbia Conserve Company at Indianapolis, Henry A. Dix & Sons Company in New Jersey, the Hickey-Freeman Company at Rochester, and others.

Careful investigation would disclose the fact that many industries not so well known nationally have been quietly and effectively solving their own problems. Such a case has just been reported by Dr. Feldman in the March issue of *Industrial Management*, where he cites the five-year full-time earning guaranty of the Crocker-McElwain Company and the Chemical Paper Manufacturing Company, both at Holyoke. These are associated industries which, for the first time, give a comprehensive report of a scientifically worked out program of regularization which has given five years of steady employment, at what has proved to be increased wages, to all members of the organization except office employees, executives, or other salaried people.

These examples which I have cited lead to the conclusion that there has de-

veloped among industrial executives a new kind of moral consciousness which has permeated a great part of the industrial fabric of the country, but which has failed as yet to lead to any group form of organized effort. On the whole we should feel greatly encouraged by the progress that has been made, despite the fact that we cannot as yet point to any of the examples cited as conclusive examples of the success of regularization programs. The test will come only after a period of time has elapsed during which we will have an accurate cross-section of all of the economic factors which unfavorably affect the industrial and commercial situations of the country. We hope, and many believe, that we will never again have to undergo such a drastic readjustment as that of 1920-23, but we probably will go through less serious cycles from time to time. Then will come the test of the soundness of the methods which we today call attention to as examples of regularization made effective. Until such a test is forced on industry we cannot positively affirm that the cases presented are demonstrated successes, no matter how profoundly we may hope that they are and no matter how much faith we may have in their soundness. But let us remember that even though in some instances breakdowns may occur, a major contribution has been made toward solving this great problem through even partial success. Even a few years of regular work in some industries would be a real step forward. The men who have been far-sighted enough to devise the programs for their firms have peered far into the future, and men of such vision, guided by both economic and altruistic motives, are not likely to be very wrong even under most adverse conditions.

Now let us consider another phase. What are the benefits to be gained from regularization? Some are obvious. Regularization reduces turnover, low turnover means fewer new workers to be taught, and this reduces training cost. New workers increase accidents, which means an economic loss of man-power and dollars. Then, too, the element of health enters in. Physicians recognize that there is such a thing as toleration to dust or certain irritating chemicals, some even semi-poisonous. Workers tend to become immunized against these things if constantly subjected to their action or influence. Put in new workers or take off old ones for a few weeks and then put them back, and the sickness factor enters in. The toleration to the irritant is partly lost, even by the formerly immunized worker when not regularly at the work.

Then consider the question of skill. Irregular employment affects skill in many ways. The piece worker is off for a few weeks and his rhythmic habits are adversely affected. It takes him hours or days to regain his swing. Then he tires more easily for a while, and he tries to speed up to his old speed and spoils work. If the job is one that is known to be irregular the workers may quite naturally, especially on day work, try to make it last as long as possible. Here they may get a superlative quality but a very low production. There is no denying that under such conditions output will be restricted. Then, too, many skilled workers are driven from a particular trade or industry into another trade or industry

where they are assured of more continuous employment, and in such cases the cost of training replacements runs into very high figures. Finally, in the long run, regularization increases the workers' income; it raises the wage level of industry on the logical grounds of increased gain from increased efficiency.

Now a thought as to how we shall solve the problem. The cases that I have presented offer a line of thought and show how others have solved their problems, but they are merely a few instances. In the first place take the question of simplification of style, size, kind, color, or shape. The work of Mr. Hoover's Division of Simplified Practice under the leadership of Mr. Ray Hudson cannot be too strongly commended. This Division is directly aiding the worker to attain regular employment through its scientific program of simplification and the determination of the waste resulting from failure to carry on a program of simplification.

There is the question of purchasing. We can stabilize our business by changing buying habits. The American Radiator Company has done it; the makers of B.V.D.'s, Hills Brothers, Sherwin Williams Paint Company, and many others have done it. As a matter of fact retail merchants are doing it during the Christmas holidays by starting their advertising campaigns early and urging the public to do their Christmas shopping early. They wish to change the buying habits of the public so that they will not have to crowd their stores with untrained, incompetent, and careless sales persons during a brief period of peak demand.

Industries whose product is purely seasonal are struggling with the problem of adding to their line some product which fills the gap. They want to make something for winter consumption in the summer if they are already making something for summer consumption in the winter. Here is the overlapping problem of buying habit, as in the case of the B.V.D.'s: winter manufacture for summer consumption, where a change in buying habit enabled them to flatten their production curve and distribute nearly as much in the winter as in summer.

Frequently a scientific analysis of the distribution problem discloses the fact that the leveling out of the production curve can only be brought about by adding to the line. Where such action is indicated an attempt is made to fill in slack periods by manufacturing a product which can be readily disposed of, even though there be only a normal profit or no profit at all on the fill-in. The argument that industry can afford to produce non-profitable lines in order to regularize employment is neither illogical nor without a strong following.

Whenever this question of regularization is generally discussed, it is customary for someone to ask how anything can be done for those trades which are directly affected by winter conditions and the seasons. The engineer has exploded the notion that concrete pouring, bricklaying, steel construction work, carpentry, and other outside jobs are seriously affected by weather conditions. As a matter of fact, records show that in and around the latitude of New York there are just as many good days for outside work in the winter as in the

summer. The problem is not one of the workmen being able to work; it is one of making it possible for them to work. It is one demanding a conscientious effort to change buying habits. The public must be sold on the idea that they can build their homes just as well in the winter as in the summer. The realtor must be sold on the idea that he can construct the apartment house or office building just as well in January as in July. The engineer must become a salesman to convince his superiors that he can build the bridge, factory, or power-house just as well in the winter as in the summer.

The *Railway Age* of December 5, 1925, carried an article on winter work in Canada and Alaska, where the author, Mr. A. M. Bouillon, testifies that the work of bridge building, including the pouring of the concrete and all of the erection work, could be done just as well and just as profitably in winter as in summer. As a matter of fact his actual figures showed that there was a financial balance in favor of winter construction, and he argues for such work and calls for the cooperation of contractors and the general public in changing their ideas and policies about winter construction.

Just a word now with regard to an immediate attack on the problem by an individual firm. Any firm which has not yet made a serious attempt to solve its problem can improve the situation within a reasonable time. It should give immediate consideration to budgeting, make a serious effort at scientific market analysis and sales predetermination, and simultaneously attack those problems within the plant which will lend direct aid to the program. Here are a few points of attack in the plant: more temporary transfers as helpouts where skill is not important; absolutely sound policies back of wage incentive plans which will encourage the worker to deliver maximum production of the right quality; the creation of utility workers competent to perform satisfactorily on many jobs requiring skill, to be used as helpouts where formerly temporary operators were employed; greater care in the selection of workers and in determining their physical fitness for the job; the utilization of students from high schools and colleges where there is a summer peak of labor demand; the utilization of farmers, workers in canning plants, and others of a like nature where there is a big demand for labor in winter; concentration of all layoffs to one period to be known as a vacation period, either with or without pay, as the circumstances may dictate.

In Wisconsin an effort has been made to effect employment legislation through the medium of what is known as the Huber bill. In this bill it is planned to place the burden of unemployment responsibility upon the employer in the form of unemployment insurance. Many of us will have to be sold on this matter of legislative action, regardless of the experience of the various countries of Europe which have dealt with unemployment not by preventing but by compensating for it. It does not seem to be the typically American way of going after the evil. There is already too much in the way of legislation, and too little of engineering investigation with regard to industrial problems. We do not

wish to see a return in this country to the employment of cheap foreign labor. We wish to substitute more efficient, skilled, highly paid, regularly employed men and women imbued with the American spirit and ideals. We believe that the American laborer and the American engineer or manager have at bottom the same hopes and aspirations; that one is no more interested nor less interested in solving industrial problems than the other; that there must always be leaders and followers. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has frankly asked the managers of industry to lead the way toward this cooperation. Such cooperation is not only feasible, but essential, and it is not going to be made smoother or better by a group of lawyers or professional politicians getting together and passing laws forcing the various groups to function in a certain way. There should be a tendency away from creating laws regarding industrial problems, and there should be a tendency toward solving these problems from an engineering or research standpoint, and on a factual basis rather than as a result of self-interest, passion, emotion, or even pure altruism.

Closely integrated with regularization problems are those legislative programs which are directed at solving some of the problems relating to the worker, particularly the woman in industry. All social workers should study, and no doubt most of them have carefully studied, the reports of the Women's Industrial Conference held in Washington last January. Note its high lights. The National Woman's Party cried for "equal opportunity" for women and for the elimination of labor laws that do not apply equally to men and women. Secretary Davis stressed the effect of industrial work on the health of women and its effect on future generations, and called for more adequate protective measures (legislation). Between these two were trade-union representatives desiring adequate protective legislation and equal opportunity. As a result of these divergent views a resolution was passed asking the Women's Bureau to "make a comprehensive investigation of all the special laws regulating the employment of women, to determine their effects"—certainly a most wise and judicious proceeding, an effort to ascertain the facts. If such action is defined by the problem of women in industry, is it not equally demanded by the problem of regularization of employment, affecting those of both sexes? Let us proceed slowly, carefully, logically, avoiding panaceas, legislative or otherwise, but promptly supporting legislative measures where analysis proves that such support is demanded by the circumstances.

I earnestly recommend that every person interested in employment regularization purchase and read Feldman's book, *The Regularization of Employment*, a work of 437 pages published by Harper & Brothers of New York. It is an encyclopedia of inspiration, as well as information, invaluable to anyone who sincerely desires to cooperate in attacking irregular employment. Your group has a deep interest in this problem. You should be missionaries of hope and promise, and at the same time you should be critical of the failure of industry and business and government to recognize it as one of the great problems confronting

the American people. It is a problem that calls for an immediate and sustained general attack, and the worker has a right to, and sooner or later will, demand that it be a direct responsibility of management to find a solution. We do not want this solution to be the result of lawmaking, of coercion; it should be by willing voluntary effort of industrial leaders, social workers, and engineers. For once let us lead the way to the attainment of an ideal because it is right.

Consider your own relations to this problem, the thousands of you who are directly affected by any approach at solution. Suppose that every wage-earner, capable of working and willing to work, could count with some degree of accuracy on a definite income per annum, would not the problem of the social worker be completely changed? Instead of the many phases of investigation, instruction, and relief now involved, more time could be devoted to the purely educational aspects of social work, such as family budgets, higher education for the children, organized saving, and such other phases of activity as are demanded by the changed conditions. Furthermore, you will then be dealing with people of higher intelligence, men and women interested through savings in manufacturing establishments as stock- and bondholders. The picture can be painted vividly, each of you lavishly applying whatever colors you may wish and in such manner as you elect, and you will still fall short of the reality. Our concepts of the possibilities are necessarily limited and stifled by our experiences of the past, which prevent us from realizing all of the changes that can be brought about in the social fabric by substituting that sense of faith and confidence and hope which accompanies security of employment for the fear and worry which must of necessity be the companions of insecurity.

I challenge you to think of any problem confronting industry the solution of which would give greater satisfaction to the individuals cooperating in its solution, greater economic returns, more real comfort and relief to the millions of workers in this country, than this. It is fascinating in its possibilities; it appeals to all of our instincts to do something for others, it brings together organized and unorganized labor, management, and invested capital in a bond of common understanding, motivated by the same idealism, cooperating to accomplish the same ends, and all working unselfishly, but with a certainty of direct return in more happy workers and a tremendous saving in dollars to industry and to the entire country. Why can we not organize for concerted action? Everywhere the subject is being talked about, written about, performed. Will the leaders in social engineering, those earnest, unselfish men and women here present or represented in spirit, further our efforts, and by their active assistance help us to inaugurate and sustain a nation-wide attack on irregular employment?

VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

WHAT ZONING IS DOING TO IMPROVE HOUSING CONDITIONS

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There have been three stages in our development of laws in relation to buildings. First we had building laws, which had to do with strength of materials and with fire protection for property. Our efforts in the latter respect have amounted to little. Then we had housing laws, having to do with lighting, ventilation, and sanitation. These laws amounted to little. They have decreased building and improvements, increased costs, and left the slum conditions, with ever increasing congestion, worse than they ever were. Then we developed zoning, which districts buildings according to use and, when properly developed, regulates bulk—that is, height and area—for the provision of light and ventilation and for the prevention of congestion. All these features are beginning to function; they are functioning far enough to show what is possible; but they need a much wider application. When applied to residential areas of considerable size values are stabilized, speculation is stopped, and people, with some assurance of protection, begin to build homes for themselves.

Zoning is doing more to lay a foundation for improved housing conditions than anything we ever have developed. Housing laws aimed at improving tenement living, but failed; they considered almost not at all the homes of the people, as distinguished from tenements. Housing laws set minimum sizes to rooms, to windows, to yards, and courts so far below the prevailing standard and the essential that these minimum provisions were at once adopted by practically all builders, surely by all speculative builders, to the infinite injury of the people. The "Model Housing law," so called, sets 90 square feet for a minimum size of rooms, with 7 feet as a minimum width, explaining that "7 feet is little enough." It is. The New York law sets 70 square feet as the minimum size of rooms, and that is the size of thousands of them. The Model law sets 4 feet as a minimum width for a side yard for a one-story building, with an increase of one foot in width for each story of increase in height, and above four stories a 2-foot increase for each story of height. The same law sets 6 feet for the minimum dimension of a court for a one-story building, with the same increases as in the case of side yards. It should be noted that the apparently generous pro-

vision of a 4-foot side yard and a 6-foot court for the first story applies to nothing, for one-story buildings with courts are not built. For four-story buildings the provisions amount to 1 foot 9 inches for side yards and 2 feet 3 inches for courts for each story of height. The model law sets 90 per cent as the maximum coverage for a corner lot and 65 per cent for an interior lot.

Zoning laws in many cases ignore the whole question of bulk regulation, that is, height and area of buildings, including regulation of yards and courts. Others cover these items but follow the old standards. One zoning law provides that "a side yard shall in no case be less than 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide for each foot of building height." That means 4 feet 2 inches for a building 40 feet high.

There are zoning laws, however, that recognize living standards and provide that no tenement shall be over four stories high, that it shall not cover over 50 per cent of the lots, and that all rooms used for dwelling purposes shall have windows equal to one-eighth of the floor area of the room and opening upon a street or yard or upon a court. Such courts shall be: for an outer court, 6 feet wide for the first story and 4 feet for each additional story; for an inner court, 10 feet wide for the first story and 5 feet for each additional story. With a 50 per cent coverage and the lighting and ventilating provisions outlined it may be said that the only satisfactory provisions ever made for tenements are to be found in zoning laws.

But zoning laws have a new accomplishment to their credit. They recognize the existence of the one- and two-family house. They provide for a coverage of the lot of often 25 per cent for a one-family house, 30 per cent for a two-family house, and provide front yards, often of 25 feet in depth, side yards of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 feet or more, and generous rear yards. That this movement is spreading may be evidenced from Massachusetts, where there are ninety-one planning boards and where 61.7 per cent of the people live under zoning.

Zoning laws are doing more than all these things for housing. These have to do with bulk provisions. Use zoning is making a distinct contribution to improved conditions for housing of all kinds. The home, whether for one family or twenty families, which is located between a garage and a laundry isn't a home. It is a place where life and limb, nerves, morals, education—all that distinguishes between living and existing—are in jeopardy. Until we adopted use zoning no dwelling of any kind and no use of any kind had any protection from any other kind of use, except under the slow-working nuisance law. And the lawyers say you can't prejudge a nuisance. You have to let it grow up and then stop it if you can. Zoning, thus, has established standards that mean something. When all zoning laws embody these standards we will have made some general progress, just as we are now making it in a few places.

Zoning laws are pushing us ahead in other respects. They are a part of city planning, and they are emphasizing the importance of the plan. We plan in some way every little element of the community—the house, the store, the factory—

but we have no planned communities. We are just beginning to plan them. Zoning laws give the man of little means the first protection he has ever had from the intrusion of uses which would injure his home life and reduce property values, thus wiping out his equity. The speculator harps on the right of the poor man to build on a small lot, then he lays out lots which injure the poor man and charges as much for them as if they were of a usable size. When the speculative builder has to build on a lot of decent size, with a proper set-back and proper side and rear yards, the workingman has a chance to have a decent home. Zoning laws offer these things and will provide them whenever properly drafted and supported.

As to the housing problem, we have made and catalogued all sorts of studies of terrible conditions, but we have proposed almost no programs for getting at the causes and shutting off the production of bad conditions, which are the symptoms of the disease that lies behind them.

As C. H. Whitaker said on the wrapper of his book, the only book we have produced dealing with the fundamentals of the subject: "The more houses we built in the United States, the more houses cost to build; so the poorer grew the quality, so the smaller grew the size, so the smaller grew the rooms. Then came flats and apartments: the more we built, the poorer they grew, the fewer grew the rooms, the smaller grew their size. And all the time, rents grew higher, and higher, and higher; and the process still goes on as far as rents are concerned, and will still go on, unless—Is it a joke? Or do you think that we must continue to live in houses?"

The four- and eight-room apartment of the beginning of the century has been replaced by the one- to four-room apartment, the latter having a higher rental than the former. So it goes, and so it will continue to go if we do not get at the basis of the problem. The only thing that will keep apartments from being built in one cubic foot of space is the fact that humans can't get into them, and, under the present system, when the irreducible minimum has been reached, the rentals per apartment will be higher than they are now for one- to four-room apartments, just as the present rentals of one- to four-room apartments are higher than they formerly were for four- to eight-room apartments.

Why is it? It is because we have turned over to private speculation the only commodity without which we cannot live, which is not perishable, and which cannot be increased. So, when a man gets some of it and doesn't want to use it, he can keep it as long as he likes and he knows that would-be users will ultimately pay him his price, for they cannot make land for themselves; it can't filter in like air, and it isn't publicly provided, like water.

This is recognized by European, English, and Canadian officials and social workers. It is recognized by some people in this country. But only Pittsburgh and Scranton in this country have done anything about it. It is our right to speculate in land and to appropriate to our private use the increments of value

created solely by community activities; while the rights of the people to life and happiness, asserted in the Declaration of Independence, were not carried into the Constitution, and are at present of very little potency.

In the meantime this great conference and thousands of workers are giving themselves to the care of the by-products of our system of things with little thought of the cause of all their problems, but often, in the back of their minds, the unexpressed prayer that God will continue to give them such noble work to do. There are doctors and other types of workers who do the same.

What are planning and zoning? Planning and zoning are the orchestration of community living, of all the physical things needed in community life. Take a modern orchestra as an illustration. There are the violins, the violas, the cellos, the basses, the harps, the wood and brass instruments, and also the drums, the cymbals, the triangle, and the tambourine. Let these instruments be placed hit-or-miss, where they will, and let each one play what it likes, how it likes, when it likes, in the effort to assert its constitutional rights, then there results disharmony, painful and nerve-wrecking chaos. But let all these instruments be properly grouped, let them all contribute, each its part of a grand symphony, and the result, with every instrument exerting itself to the utmost, is pleasing concord and harmony.

Most of these instruments alone may function exquisitely. Some do not. One seldom hears of a drum or triangle solo. Such instruments have their function only in relation to the whole. So it is with the parts of the physical city. Many of these parts work splendidly alone. Some of them do not, as may be said of the drum, the cymbals, the triangle, and the tambourine. They play their part in a well-rounded, comprehensive community life. But when all parts of the city are properly grouped, when they all supplement and complement each other, we get that symphonic result which is genuine community life. Community life, well rounded, abundant, satisfying, harmonious, is the object for bringing all these parts into being. They should not be brought into being for themselves alone; and yet how long we have been in learning the importance of their arrangement and their proper functioning—of their orchestration, which we call planning and zoning.

The aim of every social movement must be to get us somewhere, sometime. If it is not we justify Professor A. W. Small's assertion that "if it were not commonplace it would be astonishing that after so many thousands of years of human history we have no consensus as to why we are living at all." Our planning and zoning movements are promising to get us somewhere along the line of human progress. Their ultimate fruition will depend upon all of us. If we more and more work on constructive lines, and less and less on no-thoroughfares, on the many culs-de-sac which now absorb so much of our attention, planning and zoning and many other useful things may be brought to fruition, with benefit to humanity.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT COURT
DECISIONS ON ZONING*Alfred Bettman, Lawyer, Cincinnati*

In our country every piece of legislation or administration act has to run the gauntlet of the courts and has to meet a challenge as to its constitutionality. There are in our written constitutions some vague clauses, generally referred to as the "due process of law" provisions. To supply some sort of standard or test of compliance with these vague constitutional requirements, the courts and lawyers have developed the formula that legislation regulating persons or property must, in order to be held constitutional, bear some substantial relation to the promotion of the public health, public safety, public convenience, public morals, public prosperity, or general welfare.

This customary sequence of events has taken place in the case of zoning legislation. Zoning is the control, by means of a comprehensive plan of development, of the height of buildings, the lot occupancy of buildings, such as set-back lines, side yards, rear yards, and courts, and the uses of buildings, such as residential, commercial, and industrial. Street congestion of an intolerable magnitude, the premature blighting of residential districts, leading, in acute cases, to slum conditions, and other familiar phenomena of growing cities made some control obviously imperative. It was not, however, the social scientist or the social worker who either foresaw these developments or called attention to the need of doing something about them. In fact, the first pressing and effective promotion of zoning came from the economic interests of groups, such as the owners of property on Fifth Avenue, New York City, who realized the avoidable destruction of real property values incident to unregulated building development. Then the city planners and zoners set themselves to the task of studying the problem and meeting the need, having some precedents in similar regulations in European countries as a starting-point. Inevitably and from the very beginning, zoning legislation was attacked in the courts, and the lawyers professionally called upon to defend these measures sought to discover and state the relationship of zoning to the public health and welfare and the other public benefits traditionally considered as within the scope and purposes of that legislative power known as the police power. The courts, in passing upon the cases, gave judicial expression to some of these relationships.

Naturally, this study given by the lawyers and courts to the relationships between zoning and social welfare have reacted upon the city planners and the zoners, with the result that these latter, in the preparation of their zone and city plans, have become increasingly conscious of the social purposes of zoning and city planning and have, to an increasing extent, molded and made their plans with the conscious and deliberate purposes of promoting the public health, welfare, and so on. Consequently, in the course of the zoning movement the

zone plans have become increasingly, genuinely, and thoroughly related to the social welfare. That is the present state of the movement, so that the briefs of the lawyers and the opinions of the courts constitute today the places where these relationships have been studied and stated, rather than the essays of social scientists or the literature of the social sciences.

While for a short time there may have been some doubt about the constitutionality of zoning, particularly use zoning—that is, the regulation by districts of the uses of property—and while a few courts may still be hesitant, the overwhelming weight of authority is today in favor of the validity of this legislation. The National Conference of Social Work will therefore be interested in some of the expressions of the courts upon the purposes and constitutional justifications of zoning. In this paper five decisions of the highest state courts will be referred to and quoted.

In *State ex rel. Civello and others v. New Orleans*, 97 *Southern Reporter*, 440, a group of six cases, all on the New Orleans zoning ordinance, involving residential district regulations, and arising out of the exclusions of a grocery store, a fruit stand, an oyster counter, a filling station, and an ice factory, the Supreme Court of Louisiana, in that part of its opinion relating to this problem of the relationship of the ordinance to public health, safety, comfort, and public welfare, said:

In the first place, the exclusion of business establishments from residence districts might enable the municipal government to give better police protection. Patrolmen's beats are larger and therefore fewer, in residence neighborhoods than in business neighborhoods. A place of business in a residence neighborhood furnishes an excuse for any criminal to go into the neighborhood, where otherwise a stranger would be under the ban of suspicion. Besides, open shops invite loiterers and idlers to congregate; and the places of such congregation need police protection. In the second place, the zoning of a city into residence districts and commercial districts is a matter of economy in street paving. Heavy trucks, hauling freight to and from places of business in residence districts, require the city to maintain the same costly pavement in such districts that is required for business districts; whereas, in the residence districts, where business establishments are excluded, a cheaper pavement serves the purpose. It is pointed out too that the fire hazard is greater in the neighborhood of business establishments than it is in residence districts. A better and more expensive fire department—better equipment and younger and stronger men—are needed in the business centers, where the buildings are taller, than in the residence districts.

Aside from considerations of economic administration, in the matter of police and fire protection, street paving, etc., any business establishment is likely to be a genuine nuisance in a neighborhood of residences. Places of business are noisy; they are apt to be disturbing at night; some of them are malodorous; some are unsightly; some are apt to breed rats, mice, roaches, flies, ants, etc.

State ex rel. Carter v. Harper, Building Inspector of Milwaukee, 128 *Wis.* 148 sustained the Milwaukee zoning ordinance over the contest of one who wished to enlarge a dairy and milk pasteurizing plant located on the border line between a residential and industrial district so that the enlargement would fall within the residential district. Amongst other things, in the course of its opinion, the court stated:

It is thoroughly established in this country that the rights preserved to the individual by these constitutional provisions are held in subordination to the rights of society. Although one owns property, he may not do with it as he pleases, any more than he may act in accordance with his personal desires. As the interest of society justifies restraints upon individual conduct, so also does it justify restraints upon the use to which property may be devoted. It was not intended by these constitutional provisions to so far protect the individual in the use of his property as to enable him to use it to the detriment of society. By thus protecting individual rights, society did not part with the power to protect itself to promote its general well-being. Where the interest of the individual conflicts with the interest of society, such individual interest is subordinated to the general welfare. . . .

The purpose of the law is to bring about an orderly development of our cities, to establish residence districts into which business, commercial, and industrial establishments shall not intrude, and to fix business districts and light industrial districts upon which heavy industrial concerns may not encroach. This is no new idea, although it has but recently taken the form of legislation. Everyone who has observed the haphazard development of cities, the deterioration in the desirability of certain residential sections by the encroachment of business and industrial establishments upon and into such sections, resulting in the consequent destruction of property values and in the ultimate abandonment of such sections for residential purposes, has appreciated the desirability of regulating the growth and development of our urban communities. The home seeker shuns a section of a city devoted to industrialism, and seeks a home at some distance from the business center. A common and natural instinct directs him to a section far removed from the commerce, trade, and industry of the community. He does this because the home instinct craves fresh air, sunshine, and well-kept lawns—home association beyond the noise of commercial marts and the dirt and smoke of industrial plants. Fresh air and sunshine adds to the happiness of the home and has a direct effect upon the well-being of the occupants. It is not uncommon to witness efforts of promoters to preserve the residential character of their additions by placing covenants in their deeds restricting the use of the property to residential purposes and, in some instances, requiring the erection of a home according to specified standards. It cannot be denied that a city systematically developed offers greater attractiveness to the home seeker than a city that is developed in a haphazard way. The one compares to the other about as a well-ordered department store compares to a junk-shop. If such regulations stabilize the value of property, promote the permanency of desirable home surroundings, and if they add to the happiness and comfort of the citizens, they thereby promote the general welfare.

When we reflect that one has always been required to use his property as not to injure his neighbors, and that restrictions against the use of property in urban communities have increased with changing social standards, and that the luxuries of one decade become the necessities of another, can it be said that an offer to preserve various sections of a city from intrusion on the part of institutions that are offensive to, and out of harmony with, the use to which such sections are devoted is unreasonable? The present standards of society prompt a revolt against such unbecoming intrusions, and they constitute such a recognized interference with the rights of the residents of such sections as to justify regulation.

The benefits to be derived to cities adopting such regulations may be summarized as follows: They attract a desirable, and assure a permanent, citizenship; they foster pride in, and attachment to, the city; they promote happiness and contentment; they stabilize the use and value of property, and promote the peace, tranquillity, and good order of the city. We do not hesitate to say that the attainment of these objects affords a legitimate field for the exercise of the police power.

This opinion of the Wisconsin Supreme Court shows a realization of a number of conceptions which should rejoice the heart of the social worker. Note that the court points out the social advantages of order; not order in the sense of the absence of violent crime, but order in the sense of orderliness—the architect's

or planner's sense of order. Note also the emphasis on the social value of the home, particularly the single-family or individual home.

Similarly, the Supreme Court of California upheld the single-family district, that is, the district zoned not only against non-residential uses, but against the multiple-family residential structure. In the case of *Miller v. Board of Public Works of Los Angeles*, 234 *Pacific Reporter*, 381, regarding the elastic, so to speak, nature of the police power, based on the fundamental right of the community to promote community welfare, the court said:

In short, the police power, as such, is not confined within the narrow circumscription of precedents, resting upon past conditions which do not cover and control present-day conditions obviously calling for revised regulations to promote the health, safety, morals, or general welfare of the public. That is to say, as a commonwealth develops politically, economically, and socially, the police power likewise develops, within reason, to meet the changed and changing conditions. What was at one time regarded as an improper exercise of the police power may now, because of changed living conditions, be recognized as a legitimate exercise of that power.

The court realized that the police power must be sufficient to meet new and growing needs arising out of urban development, as, for instance, in the following passage:

The increase of our urban population makes regulation necessary. As the congestion of our cities increases, likewise do the problems of traffic control and police, fire and health protection. Comprehensive and systematic zoning aids in the successful solution of these problems, and obviously tends thereby affirmatively to promote the public welfare.

The Supreme Court of Ohio has also had occasion recently to pass upon the validity of zoning ordinances in the case of *Pritz v. Messer*, 113 *Ohio State*. The court, speaking through Judge Florence Allen, well known to the members of this Conference, expressed some particularly illuminating thoughts upon the justification of zoning as a means of prevention of the growth of evils, as distinguished from a mere suppression of existing evils. For instance, Judge Allen said, in the opinion of the court:

Reverting to our original consideration, we have to remind ourselves that the question is not whether the slum will certainly be eliminated by such zoning, but whether such zoning reasonably tends toward the elimination of the slum; not whether congestion of traffic and enhanced public health and improved public morals will certainly result from the enactment of such measures, but whether there is a reasonable connection between such measures and the public health, morals, and safety.

Upon mature consideration, after two exhaustive hearings given in this case, we cannot say that there is no relation between the legislation enacted and the public health, safety, and morals. It is true that the slum roots in causes deeper than the mere kind of building found therein. It is true that non-nuisance businesses might better, so far as the health of their own inhabitants is concerned, be conducted in districts where there are no apartment houses and where there is no business life. It is also true, however, that family life is promoted by the separation of families, and by their residence in districts where the open spaces, the possibility of gardening, and the freedom from the society which presses around one in a partial business and tenement district, make for health through recreation and peace of mind.

The entrance of business blocks into a residence district tends to "blight" the district and gradually to invite therein the hazards, both physical and moral, which exist in the sections which combine business with home life.

We cannot say that there is no reasonable relation between the public morals and an attempt to set off for the people of a great city ample parts of the town in which they can always maintain residence districts, unblighted by industry and by the old style of tenement.

Judge Allen also pointed out the importance to healthy social life of spaces, that is, of air and light, as, for instance, in the passage:

If a law regulating the air space which must be allowed in a tenement house has a reasonable relation to health, we cannot say that a measure which will save considerable districts for the city in which the air space is unblocked by massed building construction has no reasonable relation to health. The mere fact that the economic factor looms largest in determining the choice of a residence does not mean that restrictions which give space and air, light, and separation to houses will not eventually shape the kind of building which is done, and benefit the public health.

The opinion concludes with the following passage, again showing the realization of the importance of protecting the future:

This problem must be viewed from the standpoint of coming generations. Regarded from the limited outlook of the immediate present, it is easy to claim with some degree of cogency that there is no relation between these measures and the public health, safety, or morals. Taking a long view into the future, however, and looking back into the past, to remind ourselves what detriment the unrestricted congestion in city life, both of traffic and housing, has already done the public welfare, we do see a real relation between the substantial material welfare of the community and this effort of the city to plan its physical life.

The last of these recent decisions of the highest state courts upholding zoning has been that of the highest court of New York, in the case of *Wulfsohn v. Inspector of Buildings of the City of Mt. Vernon*, 241 N.Y. 288, also dealing with the creation of single-family districts. The Court quoted a valuable and significant sentence from the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Bacon v. Walker*, 204 U.S. 311, where, speaking of the police power, that highest of our courts said:

It is not limited to regulations designed to promote public health, public safety, or to the suppression of what is offensive, disorderly or unsanitary, but extends to so dealing with conditions which exist as to bring out of them the greatest welfare of the people by promoting public convenience or general prosperity.

This is a classic expression of the thought that legislation is not merely negative and suppressive, but that it may have the constructive purpose of bringing out, that is, of promoting, the social welfare.

There is room and there is need for much deeper and more thoroughgoing study of social forces in urban development and the extent to which they can be, and should be, controlled by community legislation and community administration. There remains, therefore, a field for tillage by the social workers and the sociologists and the political scientists, the field into which they should have penetrated before, but in which the lawyers and the courts have been permitted to be the pioneers. The city planning and zoning of the future should reflect the lessons resulting from more intensive studies by the social scientists of how, by means of community control, the health and safety and welfare of the people of American urban communities can best be promoted.

A PROGRAM FOR THE AMERICAN CITY

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My subject is overambitious, hence this paper will attempt not so much a program for the city as a program for developing a program for the city.

The large American city was partly inevitable and partly the result of a historical accident. It was inevitable to the extent that humans are social creatures and find their fullest life in being together; it has been accidental by reason of the fact that the steam engine was invented before the significance of electricity had been established. The steam engine works at close range. It pulls people to it, makes them live near by, piles them up in heaps about its own location. The steam engine took advantage of man's native sociability and piled us up in these great cities before we became aware of what was happening.

Electricity, on the other hand, can work at almost any distance, up to some hundreds of miles, thus making room for the building of homes, the maintenance of open spaces for play and recreation, and the secure roo tage of a social world. If, then, electricity had been exploited before the steam engine was invented, the most aggravated evils of modern city congestion might have been avoided. But the steam engine came first: it got in its centralizing work when there was no equally powerful countervailing force; and even though the steam engine may, to a greater or less degree, be presently discarded as the dominant instrument of industrial energy, yet its economic and social results have already become "vested"—intrenched in our economic order and dominant in our mental attitudes. Our economic destinies are now tied up with cities; and, for most of us, no matter what the privations or the inconveniences may be, "we can't live anywhere but in the city!" The future of our civilization cannot be separated from the future of cities.

Evidently, then, if human living is to be tolerable at all, the city must be redeemed from at least the grossest of the evils that have come of the century of the steam engine. Such redemption can come to us in one way only, namely, by escaping the mental bondages that now bind us to the task of uncritically accepting and defensively maintaining all these things which the steam engine has produced in the city and in us.

Those bonds are of two sorts: cultural and economic. Almost all of us, whether we live in cities or not, are caught by the cultural glamors of the city, its excitements, its personal and social stimulations, and we enjoy the temperamental outcomes of living in close associations with our fellows. We get used to these things and we do not care to give them up. It may be we cannot.

But existent economic interest hold many of us, at least, still more firmly to the city. The rising prices of real estate hypnotize all but the most intelligent men and women; and other similar chances to make a fortune easily are many—including the opportunity to make a killing, in more senses than one, in some spectacular crime. But, beyond all this, in what we may describe euphemistic-

ally as the legitimate side of city industry, for most of us "making a living" is easier in the city than in the country or small town, as things go. The city dominates its world, economically, today; it pays the highest market price for all common forms of labor, and it holds out promises of exorbitant rewards for any unusual forms of labor, or service, or what we may call loyalty. Most of us have no intention of turning down the chance to "make a living," whatever the incidental terms of the contract may be. That is the city as it stands.

But does it need to stand that way? Modern inventions make pertinent the suggestion that some of these formerly binding factors no longer possess the inescapable power that they once exercised over men's minds. The dominance of the steam engine can now be escaped in respect of our chances for making a living; industry need no longer pile itself up about a steam power plant. It can, by the use of electric power, be decentralized to any required degree, and be made subordinate to the happiness of workers living in smaller units of population. There is, today, no inescapable economic barrier to such industrial decentralization: the only actual barriers are those of the mind—the habits of individual minds and the customs and grooves of community mind. And, since these mental barriers are not natural, i.e., not metaphysical, but are the structures of the last hundred years, they can be torn down and replaced by other habits and customs—if we want them and if our intelligences and wills can be enlisted in the processes.

There is, to be sure, a pseudo-economic aspect to this situation, namely, the enormous investment in city property, the piling up of wealth which is the capitalization of the congestion of population, and the enormous financial streams that pour through city channels. All these things give us all a sense of the power of our own age, of our own cities, of our own nation, of ourselves as a people, and we do not like to think of seeing these great structures disturbed. But these things have been a matter of drift. The control of the economic life of the country has gradually drifted into the hands of the city; the life of the country is dictated from the city; and all the rest of the nation must pay its appropriate toll to the city. Of course, the city likes this, and claims it as its right, but the rest of the country, for all its occasional whimperings, likes it too. The quarrel between the city and the country is not a real conflict. It is a stage battle, mostly.

For example, when, some four or five years ago, the city of X was severely challenged by a rural revolt in the state of YZ, the financial interests of X were in no wise cheered by the thought that the farmers and villagers of YZ were likely to achieve a larger independence; they were amazed at the temerity of a people that dared to call in question the provisions which a great city had made for its dependencies; and there is no current record that the social workers, or the civic leaders, or the educators of X expressed any sympathy for the rebels of YZ. Moreover, presently, when the citizens of XY had the chance to decide whether they would fight for their freedom—and take the consequences—or

would return to their ancient status, they overwhelmingly voted themselves back into financial subordination to the city. That was a surrender to the ancient habits of mind; there was in this whole situation no ultimately irreducible economic factor which the rural areas had to obey. To be sure, the ancient habit of mind could easily be made to appear as an "economic law," which anyone would violate at his own peril. But the fundamental fact was that the people of the rural areas felt sure that the city could save them more comfortably than they could save themselves.

Mostly, today, our great cities are precariously established economic institutions which maintain their permanence only by maintaining a certain habit of mind in their citizens. In other words, our cities are now predominantly psychological entities—platonian ideas existing mainly on the blue prints of real estate promoters, and having only the most shadowy "realizations" in the forms of skyscrapers, apartment houses, industrial buildings, and transportation systems. How unreal these "economic" factors are can be seen on any street any day, but these temporalities are substantiated by means of orthodox, and therefore most likely fallacious, economic arguments. The thing that actually holds them together is the habit of mind of the people. We want social life, in intense forms. We want to be amused. We do not want to amuse ourselves; we have lost most of our ability to amuse ourselves; we want to sit in at the spectacle. We want to be educated; we do not want to educate ourselves; we have lost most of our power to educate ourselves; we want scholars to study for us, give us credits, and a degree, which, if it guarantees in us no intellectual power, does afford us a social position of a sort. We are ready to put up with whatever happens to us on the streets, in the subways, and in most of our industrial relationships—if only we can spend our leisure in the city. We have been compelled—in spite of the earnest antisocialist teachings of our conservative groups—to believe that we must take things as they come; we must take the goods the shops offer us, the amusements the movies bring us, the books the publishers print for us, the knowledge the schools provide for us, the clothes the syndicate cuts for us, the music the radio broadcasts to us, the funeral the undertakers' trust dictates for us. The city can tolerate little in the way of departures from set standards, for the city mind must never get out of bounds, lest it should begin to question the ultimateness of the city itself, and should escape.

Now, all these things *are*: but these things *do not need to be*: The mechanisms of escape from these congestions exist. Power, in the form of electric energies, can be decentralized to any desired extent. Why should workers work in the smoke and grime of the steam engine when they could just as well work in the silence and cleanliness of the electric power-driven industrial plant? There is only one reason: we lack the will, at present, and the critical social and industrial intelligence to break through this present economic disorder of the modern city and build for ourselves the structure of a new order—in smaller cities, in garden cities, in regional communities, in states and a nation ordered by social

intelligence and made real in the industrial mechanisms of the new day. If we should all talk and think electric power in place of steam power, we should presently find sunshine and pure air in our city streets.

Why should children be educated to depend upon others for all their amusements and pleasures, when normally the thing they most want is self-expression? Why should we permit ourselves to feel that the professional actor alone can provide us amusement, when the materials of all our culture come from the most unexpected sources? What the city needs today more than any other one thing is to escape from the set molds of its own petty thinking—its fear of alienating the affections of its industrial tyrants, its owners of vested rights in city-made excitements, cultures, amusements, and propaganda. What the city needs is a realistic cultivation of critical intelligence. What the city needs is less instruction and more mind; less schooling and more creative thinking; less imitation and more imagination; less reposing on existent goods and more search for the conditions under which humanity can live a good life. These things wait upon the development in our cities of civic statesmanship that can see life, and not the mere forms of life; men, and not the mere prestige of the city; children, and not profits that come from piling up real estate prices; humanity, and not the mere shell out of which the human spirit has been more or less completely driven.

The great task, then, of social statesmanship today in city or community or nation is that of discovering and releasing the intelligence that is in us, but that, under modern conditions of life and schools, is not being released or used. Professor Stuart Paton, of Princeton, recently declared that even the college student of today is using not to exceed 25 per cent of his available mental energy. The other 75 per cent is undeveloped. We have built, he says, our present civilization by the use of this 25 per cent or less of our brain power. If we could get the other 75 per cent released and disciplined to critical and realistic uses we could solve these problems that now confront us. How shall we get that extra increment of intelligence that we all need?

Here is the hope of the city of the future. We pass laws for endless improvements, and cannot get the laws into operation. We pass resolutions, and later find them written in the minutes—and nowhere else. We need minds that can understand, that can be interested, and that can act, not sporadically and momentarily, as if a city could be made overnight, nor violently, as if the Kingdom of Heaven could be brought in by force, but intelligently, critically, persistently, good humoredly, as the forces of nature work, as if they understood that a city is an organic function of human living, to be produced or modified by organized effort working intelligently through the years. Such possible minds are all about us in our young people. The great task of the American city is to find means of locating and releasing these incipient minds and helping them to find the realistic, freeing discipline they need in order to make them tools of city building, or unbuilding, or rebuilding, as the needs of the times may re-

quire. And when such minds have been released and developed in numbers more nearly proportionate to the resources nature has undoubtedly provided, and in numbers more nearly adequate to the needs of our complex world, a real program for the American city will be forthcoming.

For such release of minds we need expect little help from schools of any sort. Our own adult ignorance does not become wisdom when it has been transmitted to children. We adults do not understand the city. We were educated in villages, and our minds still deal with world-problems in village fashion, with the village intelligence that was inevitable from our training.

We must find teachers who can understand this modern world, whose minds have become great as the city, and who feel that the city in its present form, sucking the life blood out of the countryside and destroying it in the needless smoke and grime of city industry, is not the end of man.

And we must let such teachers in free centers of intelligence, such as our social settlements might be, do their work with the hopeful young. There is small use in trying to make over the men and women who are above thirty years of age and whose souls have been seduced away by the lithographed promises of a fortune in real estate by the time they are fifty. Nor is there much use in trying to develop wisdom in the younger children of such parents, who must go home from school evenings and report upon what they have learned during the day.

But in our youth, who are still young enough to learn and yet old enough to fight for what they have learned, we might, if we were wise, be building the realistic ideal of a city decentralized enough to let in light and air and a bit of grassy lawn; a city quite as effective industrially, or perhaps more effective—but without so much noise and dirt. The state housing and regional planning commission of New York has recently shown that big cities are too expensive and that villages are too expensive; the most economical sort of city is one of from 75,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. If we could get that fact generally known, then our cities of moderate size could take heart and begin to make themselves economically secure; culturally self-respecting; beautiful in their natural settings; and independent in their community purposes, so that each of them would stand for its own specific identity, and not for a mere imitation of some other city.

From the standpoint of real mechanism all these things so briefly indicated are possible, today. But our minds are steam engine minds; hence our cities are still steam engine cities. I plead for an education of our youth that will quite realistically place before their plastic and choosing minds the two pictures: the city of the engines, the city that now is, and the city of electric power that might be—the cultural conditions of the present city honestly contrasted with the cultural possibilities of that future city in all details, so that the youth of today may have a share in the making of the future and the share that comes of choosing between alternatives; the share that comes of understanding; the

share that comes of developing minds that are the products of choosing and understanding.

To such youths I am quite willing to transmit the problems that we have unwittingly piled up and, because we are unwitting, are unable to solve. This is not a counsel of defeat or despair. It is the recognition of the two great unused resources of our age, electric power as the basis of industry and of life, and the youthful mind as the future master and director of that power. The steam engine, the steam city, and the steam engine mind have all done their work. The future belongs to clean electricity and the mind that can think as cleanly. We shall make little progress with programs until we learn to include electricity and the mind of youth in those programs.

THE FAMILY AS AN INSTITUTION IN SOCIETY

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We might take it as a hopeful sign that we are deeply concerned about the status of the family in present-day civilization. The high sanctities of your lives and of mine are assembled around the home. Reverence, gratitude, and outlook on life as we have all three keep it as a sacred and enduring factor in our development, central and supreme in our social and spiritual experience. The beginning of our thought about the family should be in our own homes, in our own lives, in the cultural services that have given us refinement and strength. Any other approach to the study of the family would lead the social worker into the way of missing the most intimate meaning of the home in our cultural development.

Broad approaches, impersonal reviews of social evolution, comparative studies of wide social surfaces give us much valuable information and helpful insight. But no evaluation of the family as a social institution possesses practical authority in relation to present-day policies until we have sounded the depths of personal experience and observation of contemporary life. We must understand what the ideal of the family means today, how we have failed to safeguard it, how we may make the effective protection of it an overhead charge upon civilization. Our present concern is to find a way to so constitute and protect family life as to assure its expected benedictions to parents and children throughout the world.

The site of this city of Cleveland was in remote geological times under marine waters. It may be that in a geological future the waters will again assert their jurisdiction and return to wipe out the city and make its wealth and grandeur a geological memory. But no investor, no corporation, and no architect will permit any thought of this to interfere with the erection of imposing build-

ings and the ordinary course of business in normal life today. Years ago I was told that a New York daily paper published a startling headline, "New York City sinking into ocean." The speed indicated, as memory now serves me, was something like an inch in a thousand years. No one was worried. No habits of life or business were changed. No policies were affected. No new philosophy was formulated as of any importance now.

And so when we meet thinkers coming in from the broad spaces of ethnological, sociological, and cultural history with an impression that the family is a transitory institution, we are respectful and interested, but we can scarcely afford to shape the policies of today in social work upon such generalizations. In fact, ethnologists tell us that the evidences of broad cultural interpretations indicate as a fact that there is something enduring and stable in the family, back of every modification that we know. I know that purely social institutions are not final. But while they operate contemporaneously, they assume finality and operate for the time on that assumption. No form of the state is final, but the form we now have acts as a finality today, and that finality must be asserted with sovereign power until orderly methods of gradual change are provided or revolutionary change overturns the established order. We must have stable methods of thinking, social categories that are stable and authoritative, if we are to have orderly life at all and if we are to serve the practical ideals of life with good effect now.

What is the present duty of social workers, then, in respect of the family as a social institution, primary in the tradition of culture, primary in morality, primary in the training of children, primary in our thinking and our policies, primary in ennobling parents through sacrifices, forethought, and kindly service to the race? In attempting to suggest or to interpret the present-day duty of social workers toward the family I am not unmindful of many distressing facts. Our civilization has thought that it loved and cherished the family as a fundamental Christian institution of life. Yet it has very badly prepared parents for parenthood. This most sacred of all human obligations has been entered upon most frequently without understanding and information, without reverent insight upon which the effective performance of its human, divine, and cultural functions depend.

We have builded our cities with little forethought for children, with little foresight as to housing, protection, and play. We have allowed economic pressure to crush countless homes and to blight the lives of fathers and mothers and children with relentless compulsion. We have allowed ignorance to have undisputed sway—ignorance of health, training, morality, and parental responsibility. We have reserved the best room in the house for visitors—the impossible spare room—and we have sent children to play upon the streets. We have seen a lamentable social philosophy of individualism pervert the wholesome understanding of home life, leading to easy divorce, with little thought of the Christian sanctities, of impulses toward self-discipline, race service, and high Christian feeling

upon which the integrity of the home depends. We have allowed a property system, admirable in itself, to develop abuses and tyrannies which decreed inadequate income or an income at excessive sacrifice of health, home, and life as the portion of countless families, whose pitiable efforts to be noble and adequate invite the grief and shame of the world. We have seen selfishness and self-indulgence, undisciplined by spiritual values and high ideals of race sanctity, pervert the whole theory of sex as a race function and make it the instrument of arbitrary and irreverent passion.

I know how confused we are. I am aware of the freedom with which we may discuss every foundation of the institutional and disciplinary direction of life. I recognize the colossal problems in the safeguarding of the family, which confuse our wisdom, challenge our strength, and lead us almost to despair. With Harriet Martineau I place my feet firmly upon the common trusts of mankind and seek for this moment no learned demonstration of them. I accept the Christian concept of the family in a doctrinal and historical way, as an ultimate category of thinking and I ask our civilization to clarify and defend this view of the family as an essential condition to the spiritual and cultural progress of the race.

The elements that I see in this idea of the family are the following: reverence for it as a race institution ethnologically and as a divine agency in the plans of God; indissoluble union of one husband and one wife with fidelity, reverence, and devotion as the elements of that union; respect for the laws of nature, of the God of nature, and of the Christ, King of the World, in the exercise of its primary function of propagation; trained parenthood which recognizes and exercises parental authority intelligently; protected opportunities for children in order that they receive the filtered traditions of faith and culture in their homes. I would sketch the ideal of family life in a way something like that. I would ask research to help to establish it. I would ask the property system to accept this ideal as a discipline in the Christian conduct of industry. I would ask the state to come back to policies and laws that this ideal demands. I would ask the schools to write down this ideal as a first charge upon their paramount influence and solicitude. I would ask the church to seek new and effective ways of giving to this ideal the social compulsions of Christian faith. I would ask the world and all lovers of humanity to find in Christ the all reconciling and inspiring motives which will marshal the resources of the world to the defense of the Christian family as the fountain of everything noble in life. If we place this concept of the family as an ultimate category of thought and as the point from which everything else in civilization receives direction, measure, and value we shall begin to do our duty in this Christian civilization toward the sanctity of the home.

There are two fundamental attitudes in this as in other fields of life. The drift of life is always in conflict with the direction of life. Insight, power, foresight, and determined faith are given to us in order that we perceive ideals and discipline the drift of life toward them with authority and effective sanction.

It may be that the family is drifting in the currents of passion, in the confusion of values, and in the uncontrolled social freedom that we have claimed, toward the rocks. If the family may be made an ultimate and unchallenged category of thought and aspiration we shall discover the social and personal discipline of which we have need if we are to safeguard it. Paul Boreget says with striking effect that unless we live as we think, we shall think as we live. If we think of the Christian ideal of the family into its authentic eminence, we shall discipline the movement of civilization in accordance with it. Failing that, the family will drift, God knows where, and we shall begin to think in obedience to every whim of selfishness. Institutions are a discipline of human nature, not a concession to its whims. The Christian family is a discipline of life, rather than a concession to it.

I said a moment ago that we must begin our study of the family with our own intimate experience in our homes. But that statement needs qualifications. In normal living, broad views, race perceptions, high and remote sanctities must be set forth as sources of reverence, principles of discipline and decision. Such views hinder the selfishness and localism which endanger our moral and social values. But social workers have a twofold attitude to foster; first, a personal attitude in the normal course of living; second, an attitude as thinkers, interpreters, and guides of social action in dealing with families that are weighed down by the agony of poverty and inert through its distress and confusion. In the performance of this latter duty social workers must remain close to the facts in patient industry, and they must relate the policies of social work to the preservation of the sanctity, integrity, and authority of the home.

I think that it was Charles Reade who said that a philanthropist loves the race, but is mean to his wife and children; that a misanthrope hates humanity, but is kind to his wife and children. Gorky says somewhere that a revolutionist should have no family ties to obstruct his enthusiasm for the race, and Peter Sterling says that a reformer should have no local ties to interfere with his devotion to the common welfare. Now, if there is a conflict between enthusiasm for the race and enthusiasm for the family, the supreme challenge to our wisdom lies in finding the solution. This is practically the fundamental problem in the upbuilding of any social order wherein the interests of the individual and of the race must be reconciled. Where we are seeking this solution I would ask social workers to concentrate in the present emergency of our civilization upon the plenary maintenance of the integrity of the home, and to reach attitudes on the larger problem after this first task is out of the way.

I would ask social workers to be on guard against taking an experimental attitude toward the family. I would ask them not to sacrifice the family in serving the individual members who compose it. The reconciliation of the interests of the family as a fundamental social institution with the welfare of its individual members is a problem which, even in its concrete form, will tax every source of wisdom that can be commanded. I would warn social workers against

the deceitful fallacy of concentration, which does so much to warp one's social views. Concentrating, as social workers do, on broken homes, on distressed families, on neglected children, on irresponsibility, on lack of morale, and on indifference, they may permit such experiences to lead them to think that the home is bankrupt and hardly to be saved. Evils must be seen in a wide view of life, in their challenge to ideals, and in actual place in the whole process of life.

A civil engineer once told me that no doctor could understand him because he was a normal man. Shrunken attention to failures in life may dull the mind to any understanding of success in life and make the mind indifferent to the authority of ideals. Corrective courses should, in every school of training for social work, safeguard students against the warping of views and the shaping of philosophy and policy around the concentrated failures with which social workers deal. I would warn social workers against all fallacies of system by which it is believed that a formula will solve a social problem and discipline the infinite complexities of life into orderly march toward happiness and peace. I heard Professor Wagner say many years ago that the fundamental mistake of socialism is that it takes human liberty as an axiom, whereas conservatism takes it as a problem. We must, however, make the Christian family an axiom, taken for granted, and relate all of our wisdom to it.

I gladly pay tribute to the superb contribution made by social work to the maintenance of the Christian family. As far as I know practice and intention, the great influence of social work today is in the direction of patient and kindly safeguarding of the integrity of the home. There is one danger against which I would utter a word of warning by way of conclusion. A dependent family may offer many obstinate problems to the social worker. The multiplied social resources which are now commanded may sometimes beguile social workers into ways that are actually in conflict with this accepted ideal of family life. It may be easy nowadays to transfer solicitude for health of children to a social agency instead of training parents to a recognition of their primary obligation in respect of the health of the child. It may be easy to separate the play of children in supervised playgrounds out of relation to the integrity of family experience. It may be easy to lead children to spend their leisure in a community house rather than in association with their homes. It is possible that social workers will from time to time forget the authority and demands of the integrity of home life and seek easier ways, through community resources, to deal with a problem in hand.

Processes of this kind have led many to fear that the multiplication of social resources threatens an invasion of the morale of the home. This problem was presented to the chairman of this committee by one of the committee members, who raised the question. The chairman asked me to attempt an answer. I am not familiar enough with actual practice in social work to know how much reason there may be for the solicitude which prompted the question. I have been able therefore to set forth only the points of view of which I was conscious, in a way somewhat remote from actual practice. But I have gladly accepted the oppor-

tunity to make this appeal for a fundamental position in social work, and to ask courageous and patient industry in doing what may be done to save the Christian family against the cosmic pressure which threatens it. I base my appeal upon the tremendous service that your homes and my home have rendered to us. I hope that we may do our measured share in securing to the children of today and tomorrow the blessed influence of happy home life and remembered joys of childhood, affection, trust, and protection which have been the springs of everything there is of noble promise and happy memory in your lives and in mine.

THE RELATION OF COMMUNITY WORK TO FAMILY LIFE

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This is a tremendous subject, which requires, perhaps, research which I have had no time to make. I must therefore talk out of a long-time experience in a settlement, in a neighborhood of crowded tenement houses, and shall necessarily have to consider the problem of the modern home in a great city.

We have to remember that the city of several millions of people is comparatively modern. To go into the heart of this subject we also have to consider that the problem of the home in a big city has not been taken into account in its planning. The city was built, not for growing young creatures, but for adults, for business and commerce, for money making, and for commercial and material glory, where the advertising motive is so great that even "Mother's Day" is capitalized. "Remember Mother with Flowers, or Candy, or Silk Stockings," is the suggestion that is seen everywhere before the second Sunday in May, and I am not certain but that this is the only time that the city and business as a whole consider the mother. Children are forgotten in the hasty building of our great metropolitan centers. Then, when things get to be dangerous to children, we rush around and plan a playground here and there and try to bring about artificially conditions which were formerly the young person's natural environment.

We live at the rate of an awful speed and are under the domination of materialism to such an extent that the home has a difficult time keeping its spiritual center strong and sweet. While I have never been able to compute my patriotism or my Americanism in percentages, I am always gladdened, and renew my faith in God and the United States of America, whenever I get out of this intense life of the city and find in the country at large such great numbers of comfortable, simple homes of folks who still love each other and are not needing any psychoanalysis to readjust their lives.

But when I return to the great city of bigness I find the situation of the home a difficult and baffling question. More and more families in the city are having

to live in limited quarters. Children are raised in apartment houses or flats, and I must say that I do not see how a boy can grow up and develop normally even in the most expensive apartment house, with all of its wonderful inventions and conveniences, because a boy's great need is for space, and this he does not get in such surroundings, and never in a cheap flat.

Of course, the one thing that saves well-to-do children is the fact that they spend the summer in the country. Since I have lived with working people for so many years, I naturally think of them. Yet the nature of their boys is no different from that of the children of the apartment house group. Because of their environment the tenement house children have many hindrances and handicaps. But we cannot change back to the old ways, and we cannot transform the city into the country. We must, therefore, plan in some way to meet the situation so that the city boy and girl may have a chance for a normal, childlike life, and the family hold its place as the normal center of their young lives.

Perhaps the problem of the adolescent is even more serious than that of the child. When I think back to my own childhood, of the space, the beauty, the opportunity for creative activity that I had, I feel that my little neighbors in their sordid, dirty, overcrowded surroundings are disinherited children. My play equipment consisted of natural things: a hillside, a running brook, a beech-tree limb for my swing, even pinchbugs were my horses and outriders for the morning-glory queens and fairies. Day after day we played out of doors under the trees, but my young neighbors find only a dirty street or a dirty alley and no natural playthings.

One neighbor, Tony, fresh from Italy, used to find treasures in broken glass and china to fit out his own idea of a playground, but even he, after a while, gave it up and came in to the standardized play place where he had only fixed and manufactured equipment. Perhaps the fact that Tony has to play with the offspring of ten other nationalities will socialize him, but what a waste of Tony's originality and ingenuity! In a short time he will go into a factory to do some monotonous bit of work that will soon benumb his free play spirit, and when he gets home he will find no space for himself or his companions in the crowded house. He therefore runs to meet his fellows in the street, the alley, the settlement, the playground, or the center.

The boy or girl of the swell apartment or tenement also finds an urge to get out to the street, the park, the movie, or the club to which his parents have a membership. These parents are often just as forgetful of the evil influence that besets these young impressionables as is the great city around them. The other day one young fellow of this group, about seventeen years of age, said to me, "Somebody had better look after the grownups and not worry so much about the present generation. At the dance at the club last night it was the fathers and mothers who were behaving badly, drinking and acting silly, while we stood looking on." This made me conscious that it was not only my neighbors who have to face allurements and temptations in the city that forgets them, but even

among the vulgar rich and apartment habitant we see dangers to the city children.

In the midst of this situation of a city speeded-up, tense, nervous, excitable, where the automobile is the symbol of speed, where the movie is the passive and the jazz music and dance the active antidote for the present-day nervousness, I am inclined to think that most people have what my Irish neighbor said the doctor told her she had, "Shure, the doctor says I have nervous perspiration on the brain."

To my mind the danger of disintegration of the home does not come from the social institutions set up to meet the great need for social life in crowded homes and districts, but it comes from the disintegrating forces inherent in the modern industrial city. We see a new attitude which has developed through the education of women and their political equality with men; also, scientific thought has greatly changed the home concept. I believe there is a growing sense of partnership between parents, while in habit clinics and preschool nurseries even for the children of mothers who are not working we discover this new attitude and desire to understand the children and work for prevention rather than cure. The conflict of youth today is significant of this new home concept.

The economic basis of the family is changing. The economic pressure on the family, the desire of the mother to live her own individual life while she is a mother and housekeeper, the pressure of the growing American standard of living, the longing to own one's home—all of these are demands upon the limited income of the working father of a family, and require more and more that the mother shall earn her share. The children of workingmen's families, as soon as the law permits, also must enter the wage-earning world. In thinking of the home and the adjustment of the home to community interests, these things must all be considered. Much as we hope for the economic independence of women, we cannot help but discern signs of the disintegrating influence on the family of a mother who works at night and of a father's wage that cannot meet the present needs of this growing standard of living.

To get back to my own preserves, for I have lived for over thirty years in a crowded, working people's neighborhood and have watched the young people grow up in this unnatural environment for their play spirit, I am bound to confess that I see no way out for the families of the tenement house except to have provided for them recreational opportunities in community centers, settlements, churches, and playgrounds. When I say recreational opportunities I mean very serious ones as well as gay ones, for work as well as for play, for the whole family: father, mother, and children. I believe that every well-ordered settlement and community center does provide this integrating force for the tenement house or the middle-class flat residents in our cities.

No one who knows the facts can think for a moment that the offering of a center could be a danger if the whole family is welcome. There the children

find an outlet for their bursting life; the adolescents find expression for emotions which, if repressed at that impressionable age, become dangerous to their physical and moral health. We must keep the boy and girl of the city busy at constructive work or play; we must even offer amusement to the benumbed father and mother; we must give to the whole family a variety of choices for recreational purposes.

The young need the rough-and-tumble games, competitive sports, quiet occupations, self-expression in music, singing, drama, pageantry, drawing, painting, modeling, etc. I believe that not only Tony, but Fauntleroy of the apartment, needs every kind of activity offered him. Of course Fauntleroy generally gets his normal chance during vacation time away from the city, but Tony must stay on in his sordid surroundings.

As far as I know, settlements do their best to serve the family life, and I find that community centers, at least in Chicago, with women of settlement experience and social training at the head, are doing a valuable service for the whole family and the community. In these centers a community council of mothers and fathers is first organized, and then, out of their needs and demands, comes the service of the center. It brings in the whole family; each need is responded to.

I feel that every settlement and neighborhood center should have its socialized neighborhood visitor who keeps the home and the settlement in constant touch with each other; indeed, every school must have its socially trained visiting teacher to fill this need.

The settlement keeps alive reverence for the parents and loyalty to the home by understanding clearly the past of the old-country father and mother, by being familiar with their national songs, their folk music and folk dances, and their beautiful handiwork, so to appreciate them that reverence is conserved in the mind of the new-country children who find their outside life so foreign to all that the mother and father understand. I believe that in every center this old-country connection should be recognized and brought out in the most attractive way. The settlement and the center should stand in such relationship to the family life that the highest ambitions of the parents should be strengthened and the new-country standards interpreted to them.

One amusing, though sad, case was that of a very fine type of Polish mother whose daughter was in high school and was thoroughly Americanized. The mother came to the settlement in great distress, saying that her daughter threatened to leave home unless she changed a rug she had purchased. She wept bitterly and said that she had paid good money for the rug and it was very beautiful. It was of a great big dog lying down. The daughter said it was old-fashioned, and nobody had such rugs any more, and she would not have it. The old- and new-country taste clashed to such an extent that the estrangement was getting to be serious. The settlement called in the high school girl and made her see

that good taste in rugs was not worth a break between a mother and a daughter who should try to understand each other.

This is only one case of many. Sometimes the strain is due to the old-country notion that all the money earned by the children should go to the parents. Should the daughter go out to entertainments, or should the boy be out after dark? These questions are constantly irritating the homes of the simple, old-country parents. They seem quite helpless in the grip of the American ideas of independence. To keep in the children's mind a feeling of reverence for the father and mother and to encourage patience on both sides of the domestic controversy is the duty of the social center to the family peace.

I should feel most depressed if I had not seen in my long experience cases in which the mother, with the finest ideals of her own home life, kept her whole family in the straight and narrow way. I am thinking of my Irish neighbor, Mrs. O'Mara, with her nine children and husband who were always compelled to live in a house that was "in the courts." Others were not available because no one wanted to rent to so large a family. Mrs. O'Mara was a very bad housekeeper, but one of the wisest and sweetest of mothers. Even though the family had the Irish sense of hospitality, there was no room for any social life within the four small rooms as her children grew older. The settlement was to them their social center. The children at an early age belonged to clubs, and while the mother had no time to belong to any organization, she was in constant touch with the settlement and always knew where her boys and girls were. If she felt at all suspicious, she would saunter into the settlement to see if John or Pat or Nora were there. In spite of poverty and this overcrowded condition, that family has grown up without any serious problems among these boys and girls. What they would have done for social life if the settlement had not been there their mother says she does not know, and I am sure I do not know.

The home is the natural mating place for young people, but what chance is there in these overcrowded houses? They must turn to the dance hall or to some commercial center. In one dance hall in Chicago, and not one of the worst by any means, there were seven marriages in one week, all of the couples having met in this dance hall, the manager told me. Surely one does not need any more arguments to push the idea of opening more and more centers such as Miss Merrill has given us in the public schools of Chicago, where the neighborhood itself is responsible for the center, and where the social demands are met by a very natural and spontaneous response on the part of the community.

I have no fears for the provision made by centers and settlements; I have fears only if we leave to commercialized interests the providing of an outlet for social instinct and the great need for recreational activity.

FAMILY LIFE OF THE NEGRO IN THE SMALL TOWN

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It is the object of this paper to give an account of the Negro family in the small town of the South. This account, while necessarily including a brief mention of the important historical factors in the situation, will concern itself mainly with the present economic and social forces affecting the integration of this primary social group.

Even the briefest account of the family life of the Negro must include a consideration of the history back of the present Negro family. This history naturally divides itself into three periods: Africa, slavery, and freedom. While the African period, it must be remembered, does not claim our attention because an unbroken social tradition still affects the present formation of the Negro family—although traces of the African tradition were detected in marriage ceremonies near the opening of the present century¹—it is necessary to call attention to this period because of subsequent events. In Africa the Negro lived under regulated sex relations which were adapted to his social and physical environment. It was through the destruction in America of these institutionalized sex relations that slavery was able to bring about complete subordination. The consequent sexual anarchy that prevailed in slavery must be taken into account in any attempt to study family life among Negroes, especially in the rural South. This holds even when we take into consideration the capricious sentiment of masters who, in spite of the absence of legal authority, kept families together. On the other hand, the ideal of the monogamous family, while out of the question in the case of the field hands, where both sexes were herded in small huts, was often set at nought in the house of the master. Thus the Negro emerged from slavery burdened with 250 years of sexual promiscuity and debauchery. Since emancipation, the Negro family, while it has shown remarkable progress toward integration, has been subject to the same influences which are tending to destroy the semi-patriarchal family in America.

From the foregoing brief sketch of historical considerations we pass on to statistics concerning the Negro population in the small towns. A census analysis² of forty-four villages in eleven southern states showed that among Negroes the proportion between ten and thirty years of age is 4.4 per cent higher than the corresponding group among the whites. This fact indicates the place which the small town plays in the life of the Negro, for the age pyramid for the villages generally is normal, while the age pyramid for Negroes shows somewhat the same distortion for the age group between twenty and thirty as the cities. It is

¹ "The Negro Family," *Atlanta University Publications* No. 13, p. 21.

² C. Luther Fry, *A Census Analysis of Southern Villages*. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research.

generally in the small town that the younger Negroes find an escape from the dullness and economic pressure of the country and at the same time lead a life free from the more exacting demands of the cities. From the same source¹ we get figures relating to the marital conditions. While among Negro men we find the proportion of single men 1 per cent higher and the proportion of married men 3.5 per cent lower than among whites, among the Negro women we find both the proportion of married and single less than among white women. Of especial importance to us is the fact that the proportion of married Negro women is 6 per cent lower than the proportion of this class among the whites. Below we shall call attention to the significance of this fact. The proportion of widowed and divorced among Negroes is higher in both sexes than among the whites. Among the Negroes the proportion of divorced men is four times as large and the proportion of divorced women twice as large as among the whites. These figures give an indication of the extent of family disorganization among Negroes in the small towns.

The economic basis of Negro life in the small town and its influence upon family life will next engage our attention. The economic position of the Negro farmers, the majority of whom are the poorest types of tenants, has a direct influence upon the population of the towns. There is a constant pressure upon the means of subsistence that is relieved either by the high death-rate or migration to the towns as the first station on the way to the cities.² Although many of the older farmers give up the struggle and move to town, where they find work in sawmills and as laborers, it is mainly the children who migrate to the towns because of the economic pressure in the country. The decrease in the proportion of Negro women in agriculture from 52.2 per cent in 1910 to 39 per cent in 1920, and the increase of the proportion in domestic service during the same period from 42.4 per cent to 50.3 per cent, indicates the movement toward the town, although the absolute number in domestic service had declined. The new opportunities for Negro women in northern cities can account for this decline. The analysis of the occupation of Negro women in the forty-four towns of the South showed that 81.1 per cent of those employed were in domestic and personal service. Moreover, we find that the proportion of Negro women at work in the towns is slightly higher than in population as a whole. These women are employed chiefly as cooks, washerwomen, and nurses. Their wages range from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per week. The occupational class in which we find the largest number of Negro men is manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. The proportion is about twice as high as in the country as a whole. The reason for this is because the Negro artisan in the small town of the South has retained more of his former hold on trades than in the large cities. Negro bricklayers receive 80 cents per hour. The next-largest occupational group is agriculture, in which 22.4 per cent are engaged. Many of these are neither farm owners nor tenants,

¹ *Op. cit.*

² See Charles S. Johnson, "The Negro Migrations," *The Modern Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 4.

but laborers who divide their time between agriculture and town employment; or, if they are less thrifty, they constitute the class of loafers in the small towns.

These economic factors have a direct influence on the character of the family life. The small town in regard to the Negro has very aptly been called by Mr. DuBois a clearing house.¹ Those who are successful in the struggle move on to the cities, while the unsuccessful lose out and sink into the slums. Yet many lead a precarious life with the country to fall back on. In such cases the family life is insecure and the children live on the brink of poverty. A crisis in the family often means desertion on the part of the father. Another effect of the economic forces is the taking of the mothers out of the home. Between 40 and 50 per cent of the married Negro women are gainfully employed. The foregoing percentage does not include the widowed, comprising 18.7 per cent of the Negro women, who have more reason to be employed. The nature of the employment means that the children receive very little attention from the mother. The fact that many of the men live on such a low economic level prevents many from assuming the responsibility of a family through marriage. This must account for much illegitimacy.

Special mention should be made of the housing of the Negro in the small town; for this is not only dependent upon the economic position of the family, but is dependent upon social forces as well. The housing of a people naturally influences the family life. While segregation is not absolute in most towns, and one may find white and colored people living in surprising proximity in some towns because of the past history of these towns, generally the Negroes are housed in one- to four-room shanties on the edge of the town. The houses are often without ceilings, unpainted, and poorly furnished. Pride of home is scarcely evidenced by the presence of flowers and gardens. The grassless and treeless places where these homes are found are baked by the summer suns and furrowed by the rains. Three and four are often found to a room, with the sexes mingled indiscriminately. At night the paneless windows are shuttered against the "night air."

The migration of the young Negro to town produces a revolution in his whole social life. The presence of a large number of young women in domestic service, who are enjoying for the first time economic independence, as well as the young men who get their first jobs, together with the absence of parental control, brings a change in the whole viewpoint. Both get a glimpse of a new world. Already statistics have been cited to indicate the presence of a disproportionate number of such unmarried people between twenty and thirty. The church at the crossroads in the country that was once the center of social life must now compete with the moving picture house and the dance hall. New habits of consumption, in clothes especially, are adopted. The young men, with a new sense of freedom, are loathe to assume the responsibility of a family; while the young women without home ties give themselves to licentiousness

¹ "The Negro American Family," *Atlanta University Publication No. 13*, p. 58.

which the scrutiny of the country held in check. Consequently we have many sex irregularities and a large amount of illegitimacy. The church, under ignorant and bigoted leadership, evaluates all human behavior in terms of sin and righteousness, and cries out in vain against the sins of the younger generation.

Weekly the town becomes a mecca for the rural Negroes. Every Saturday they abandon all labor and come to town to enjoy themselves. Those who live in the town cater to the visitors. These frequent and periodic disruptions of the social life of the town contribute their share to the discouragement of permanent social relations.

The most distressing aspect of Negro family life in the small towns is the position of the children. When we find a large amount of illegitimacy and broken homes, as is apparent from the large proportion of widowed and divorced, we are sure to find many dependent children. Then, to this must be added a larger illiteracy rate in the towns than in the cities, being 25 per cent in the former, as compared with 18.4 per cent in the latter. Some of the lack of parental control incident to the large number of mothers employed could be compensated for by an adequate school system, but in the small towns of the South the colored schoolhouse, which is often no more than a shack on a barren lot near the edge of the town, is a mere excuse for public education. The school term is generally short, and the course is supposed to carry the pupils to the fifth or sixth grade. Attendance is seldom enforced. Poverty and the lack of skill force even young children into domestic service. Negro labor is so cheap that even the poorest whites can boast of a cook, who acts as nurse and general helper. Dependent orphans (the death-rate among Negroes being still inordinately high) and illegitimate children are given indiscriminately to relatives and friends. Then there are the offspring of unions between the two races, who, though not as numerous as formerly, contribute to the breakdown of Negro family life, since the weaker race must bear the stigma as well as the economic burden. Drunkenness and imprisonment contribute their share of dependent children, for with people living so near the poverty line the least disturbance in income precipitates a crisis.

This study of family life has attempted to show the effect of economic and social forces on the formation and vitality of the Negro family group. Only indirectly, except in the matter of education, has reference been made to the relation of the racial situation in the South to this question. But to neglect this factor would be to overlook one of the most important social factors. As the two races are related in the small towns it means the complete subordination of the black group to the white, without any compensating public opinion on the part of the latter to support a normal social relation as the one we have been discussing. Small town life at best is limited, but the complete circumscription under which the colored group lives discourages the growth of a class of educated and cultured Negroes. While we have examined the masses of the Negroes in the small town, in every such town of the South there is a small group of Negroes

who, because of their economic standing and culture and the racial situation, dwell in almost absolute isolation. This class is generally composed of a successful merchant, a doctor, a druggist, one or two school teachers, and a few successful artisans. Their family life is on the level with the family life of the middle class. But this group is scarcely ever augmented. A private school nearby may give some social life. They must send their children away in order to get even an elementary education. The children, as a rule, do not return; even successful Negro merchants cannot look forward to their children carrying on their businesses, for the younger generation will not stand the intolerance which the unbending racial attitude of the whites exhibits. So the very class from which we should expect a leavening for the masses we see disappearing as soon as it rises above the masses.

FACTS AND FACTORS WITH REGARD TO THE FARMERS' STANDARDS OF LIVING

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It was to picture more clearly the amounts and the values of the different kinds of goods used by the farm family that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, started the study of the farmer's standard of living about four years ago. Results of the first study of four hundred farm families in Livingston County, New York, were sufficiently worth while to warrant a continuation of the work in other states. Aside from the Livingston County study, eleven other studies, made in cooperation with state colleges or universities, have been completed. Some of the combined results from these eleven studies are given in this paper.

These results were obtained from selected localities of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Kentucky, South Carolina, Alabama, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, and Ohio. One hundred to five hundred farm homes constituted a unit of study. The field work in each case was done by advanced students of sociology, economics, or home economics, or by county home demonstration agents selected by the college or university cooperating.

Practically all schedules were filled between July 1, 1923, and December 31, 1924, with estimates of amounts and values or costs of goods used for the year just preceding the date of the visit by the field worker in each instance. Since price levels changed very little between the two dates, the results are combined as representing the average value of goods used during one year by 2,886 farm families, including 1,950 owners, 867 tenants, and 69 hired men.

Composition of households and families.—The average sizes of households and families are 4.8 persons, and 4.4 persons for all the homes studied. "Household" means all the persons sheltered in one dwelling and fed, usually, at a com-

mon table. The family includes parents and the sons and daughters who are at home or who, while away at school or elsewhere, are supported from the family purse. The household may include, in addition to the family, relatives, hired help, boarders, and others. Relatives and others are taken into account in the use of all goods when supported from a common income. When not supported from a common income, they are excluded under all except food and rent.

Value of family living furnished by the farm.—The average value of family living furnished by the farm amounts to \$684 per family. Goods furnished by the farm include foods, \$441 per family; use of the farm house (10 per cent of the rental value of the house), \$200 per family; and fuel, \$43 per family. Food constitutes the largest proportion of the value of all goods furnished, the percentages being 64.5 for food, 29.2 for rent, and 6.3 for fuel.

The average values and the distribution of the average value among the different groups of goods furnished by the farm varies widely among the separate states. These variations may be due in part to different climatic conditions, different types of farming, and different prices—of foods and fuel, especially. Severe winters call for more fuel in Massachusetts than in Alabama. Supplies of wood available from the farm vary in the different states. Similarly, housing demands vary with the severity of the climate and with the prevailing housing standards of the farming communities. The type of farming influences the value of foods furnished, consequently the proportion that the value of these foods is of the total value of all goods furnished. Finally, higher prices enhance the value of food or fuel in certain states. Size of family has some bearing in this connection.

Average value of family living furnished and purchased.—The value of family living furnished by the farm constitutes from one-third to one-half of the total value of family living, the average being 42.8 per cent for all families here represented. Thus, approximately 57 per cent of the farm family living, \$914 worth of goods, is provided by direct purchase.

Purchased goods and services used include foods, clothing, furnishings, such as furniture, musical instruments, bedding, etc.; operation goods, such as fuel and use of the automobile for family living purposes; health facilities; advancement goods and facilities, such as schooling and recreation; personal goods, such as barber's fees, candy and tobacco; insurance goods; and goods not readily classified.

The average value of all family living is made up of the values of goods furnished and purchased. This amounts to \$1,598 per family (see Table I).

Distribution of the average value of all family living among the principal groups of goods.—The distribution of the average value of all goods used among the principal groups of goods is shown in Table I. Food amounting to \$659 per family comprises 41.2 per cent of the total value of all goods used. The costs for clothing, amounting to \$235 per family, are 14.7 per cent of the value of all goods used.

The average value of rent, \$200 per family, comprises 12.5 per cent of the value of all goods used.

Size of house, extent of modern equipment or modern improvements, and conditions or state of repair were considered in arriving at the arbitrary values from which the rental figures were taken. For all homes an average of 6.8 rooms per family or household, excluding bathrooms, pantry, halls, and closets, was reported. The average number of bedrooms furnished for use for those families

TABLE I

AVERAGE VALUE OF GOODS USED AND DISTRIBUTION OF THIS VALUE FOR THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF GOODS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO USE, INCLUDING MATERIALS FURNISHED BY THE FARM AND PURCHASED DURING ONE YEAR. FARM HOMES OF SELECTED LOCALITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

| GROUPS OF ARTICLES | ALL STATES (2,886 FAMILIES) | |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Value per Year | Proportion of Total (Percentage) |
| Food, including groceries..... | \$659 | 41.2 |
| Clothing..... | 235 | 14.7 |
| Rent (10 per cent of reported value of house)..... | 200 | 12.5 |
| Furniture and furnishings..... | 40 | 2.5 |
| Operation goods..... | 213 | 13.3 |
| Maintenance of health..... | 61 | 5.8 |
| Advancement goods..... | 105 | 6.6 |
| Personal goods..... | 41 | 2.6 |
| Insurance, life, and health..... | 41 | 2.6 |
| Unclassified..... | 3 | .2 |
| Total..... | \$1,598 | 100.0 |

reporting amounted to 3.3 rooms per household, or approximately .7 of a sleeping room per person. Slightly more than one-twentieth, 5.7 per cent, of all the homes of the 2,886 families reporting were completely modern, that is, fitted with central heating and central lighting systems, running water, kitchen sink, bathroom (equipped with stationary tub and bowl), indoor toilet, and sewage disposal. About one-fifth, 20.8 per cent, of the homes were partially modern, that is, fitted with a part of the improvements named above. Almost three-fourths, 73.5 per cent, of the homes lacked all modern improvements.

The average value of furniture and household furnishings purchased during the year amounts to \$40 per family. This expenditure comprises 2.5 per cent of the average value of all goods used. The average value of operation goods, amounting to \$213, comprises 13.3 per cent of the value of all goods used. Expenditures for the maintenance of health averaged \$61 per family. This amount

is 3.8 per cent of the value of all goods used. The average value of goods for advancement purposes amounts to \$105 per family and constitutes 6.6 per cent of the value of all family living. The average value of goods for personal uses, amounting to \$41 per family, comprise 2.6 per cent of the value of all family living. The average expenditure for premiums on life and health insurance, life insurance primarily, \$41 per family, is the same as the average expenditure for personal goods. Only a small percentage of the schedules carried expenditures for goods not readily classified. The average amount of money spent per family for unclassified goods amounted to about \$3 per family, or .2 per cent of the value of all goods used.

Distribution of the average values of goods by total value groups, number and percentage of families of different levels of living.—The distribution of the average values of goods for ten \$300 total-value groups was determined. These total-value groups range from less than \$600 to \$3,000 and over, and the averages were obtained for each of ten groups. The percentages that the average values of the principal groups of goods are of the average value of all goods, for each \$300 group, were determined. Similarly, the percentage that the average values of all goods and of goods furnished by the farm are of all goods and all food used were ascertained.

It was found that the proportion of the total value of goods devoted to food decreases from 54.4 per cent to 30.7 per cent as the average total value rises from \$486 to \$3,779 per family. On the other hand, the proportion for clothing increases quite regularly, from 11.6 per cent to 16.4 per cent, with the increased value of all goods used. Similarly, the proportion devoted to advancement goods increases from 1.9 per cent to 13.4 per cent. The proportions for the maintenance of health and for insurance increase somewhat irregularly. The proportions for rent, furniture and furnishings, personal goods, and unclassified goods remain about the same or vary without regard to the rise in the average value of all goods used.

Number of children per family.—The average values of goods were determined for several groups of families, 1,662 in number, which could be classified readily on the basis of the number of children supported per family during the year of study. The value of all family living increases somewhat irregularly from approximately \$1,100 for families with no children to over \$1,950 for families with six or more children. Were this increase distributed regularly, it would mean an extra cost of slightly more than \$140 per child, regardless of age or sex.

Changes in the distribution of the value of all family living among the different groups of goods for the families of different numbers of children were noted. The proportion that the value of food is of the value of all goods used increases from 39.6 per cent for families with no children to 47.5 per cent for families with six or more children. Similarly, the proportion that the cost of clothing is of the value of all goods used increases from 11.1 per cent to 17.9 per cent. The

proportion of the total value of all goods devoted to rent decreases quite regularly with an increase in the number of children. The proportions of the total value of all goods devoted to other purposes remain about the same or vary with little or no regard to the number of children per family. The percentages of the value of all goods and of food and operation goods furnished by the farm and purchased remain almost constant or vary without regard to an increase in the number of children per family.

Factors versus facts.—The foregoing pages constitute a brief summary of the most pertinent facts available on the value of goods used by the representative American farm family. These facts picture quite definitely the scale or level of living of this representative farm family in terms of cost or value of the economic goods used during one year and the distribution of this value among the principal groups of these goods.

The data presented call for consideration of the many factors related to the scale or level of living, only one of which has been touched upon, the number of children supported per family. They are suggestive of further analysis of the relation of enlargement of the farm business, of the farm family's income, and of the use of time to farm family living. They are indicative of a need for serious study of the ways in which schooling of the farm operator, the homemaker, and the children modify the standard of living. They stress the need for information with regard to the influences of social institutions, the school, the church, and the village, and of group activities on the desires and demands of the different members of the family. They call for thorough study of the effects of racial stocks, traditions, customs, and habits on the objective standards of living as well as on the prevailing level of living. They merit a consideration of the ways in which the different members of the farm family react psychologically to similar and to different situations.

For example, averages of costs, values, or quantities of goods used during one year do not give satisfactory pictures of the standard of living of the two farm families described by a field worker as follows in notes jotted down at the close of his day's work in record-taking on the cost of farm family living.

Two families visited today were especially interesting. They were on about the same economic level and had the same number of children. Both inherited their farms, married sisters, and started out on adjoining farms. The inside of one home was more like a pig pen than a dwelling place. The other was a splendid well-kept home. There was no difference in the size of the houses. The children of one home were in high school, interested in music, talked of books they had read, had a library of one hundred books, and had a wholesome outlook on life. The other home had twenty books and no musical instruments, the children were dirty, cursed fluently, and could talk only of hunting. The oldest daughter was just back from the city, where she said she had been a housekeeper. She had learned quite a bit of cute slang. Her father was a chronic grouch, seemingly disgusted with himself, and the mother seemingly had given up all ambition, if she had ever had any. The father and mother of the other family were interested in churches, roads, and schools.

It is clearly evident that no economic level, no values of goods available for use during one year or many years, will give any indication of the difference in

the standard of living of these two families, which difference is due seemingly to inherent differences in the two husbands. Is it enough, then, to let the economic level of living suffice? Must not the economic consideration be supplemented by sociological, psychological, and possibly psychiatric studies and interpretations for the basic factors which set the standard of living at its specific level?

Let us consider hastily a few more families as described by a field worker:

I walked a mile and a half down the hill to a little red house on one side of the road and two old patched-up barns on the other. One of the barns was over a ditch through which water flowed during a rain. Below this barn in the ditch by the road was a mudhole fed by a spring from the hillside. In the mudhole were eight ducks and three children, the oldest about seven years of age. The mudhole was about 30 feet from the house, and in full view from the front door.

On the front porch was a pair of boots fresh from use in six inches of manure at the barn. The porch was literally covered with mud and manure. The yard was strewn with everything. The children all ran for the house when they sighted me. The youngest, failing to make the porch with the others, began to cry. This brought the mother to the door. She was a slim woman of about thirty summers. She seemed a bit frightened at first, but soon we were discussing the weather and the cozy home site in the side of the hill. She brought two chairs and asked me to sit. The small child, fresh from the mudhole, crawled up into his mother's lap with all the mud and dirt that could cling to him. The schedule was finished at half-past eleven and I was invited to stay for dinner. This was an opportunity I had wanted, but at the moment I failed to see how I could make myself eat.

Presently Mr. — came in, a red-haired, broad-shouldered, husky farmer. We fed the horses and went in to dinner. There was no table cloth on the table and the dishes were well worn and abused. But the table was loaded with food: chicken in two dishes, ham, beef, potatoes, cabbage, lettuce, and watermelon. Nearby was a cupboard nearly loaded with pies. There were two other guests, but the food was sufficient for half a dozen more. It was well cooked, but messy. The children had a bench at the end of the table. The father looked them over and decided that Theodore should "go wash under his nose." Theodore, after some argument, obeyed, in form only. I ate a square meal and topped it off with as good a piece of raspberry pie as I ever ate. No one could have been more cordially received and entertained than I was.

This family spent, in addition to table expenses and household operating expenses during the year, \$50 for furnishings and equipment, \$35 for a radio, \$6 for wall paper, and \$15 for reading materials, including a subscription to the *Literary Digest*. They had fifty books in the home, including two religious and six agricultural. The husband and wife were both high school graduates and the husband expects to teach this fall. He has taught five years in the rural schools. The teacher in the home school the past year "didn't have any sense," and "couldn't teach a pig to drink slop." If these folk bought a radio or a piano every year and taught school a lifetime their standard of living would never be raised a mite higher.

With this family it appears that the expenditure of money for goods commonly regarded as indicative of advancement is not accompanied by the enjoyment of psychical or spiritual values which this expenditure of money should make available.

The next farmstead, although located in an out-of-the-way spot, occupied a beautiful site at the foot of the hill. A set of well-painted and well-kept buildings graced the setting which nature had provided. The lawn was planted as attractively as if a landscape architect had planned it. Every building and post was painted, and all blended into a color scheme. The house was not so large, but it was substantially built. Electric lights were shining in the house, the barn, and the henhouse.

I went to the front door, knocked, and asked to stay for the night. The mother, a large portly woman, was not sure, but would ask her husband. I agreed to take chances with the husband, and started for the barn. Soon the husband was adjusting himself to the newcomer, who discussed the merits of the milking machine. Two little girls, eight and six, dressed in rompers, helped with cleaning the pails, which task, along with the operation of the milking machine, was in charge of an intelligent-appearing brother of about fourteen. Chores over, we went in to supper, a good meal: ham, eggs, potatoes, hot rolls, apple jelly, etc, served on a clean white table cloth under a group of electric lights. The meal over, we filled out our schedule, after which we visited until half-past eleven. All remained awake, and we played games, told stories, and talked about the vital problem they were grappling with, that of schools. They live so far from schools that the little ones can't go alone, and the boy is going to high school next year. The boy is interested in bees and wants to come home at nights from high school to help with the chores. The girls were as bright as could be—able to locate their home and others for five miles down the road on the map which I had with me. They told many interesting stories and recited short sayings. It was an ideal family. I never saw a place where animals were so gentle. The horses came to the house for sugar. The turkeys flew on my arm when I held it out. The boy raked the bees off the hive with his hand and held them in his hat. The little girl could pick up any duck in the yard.

The expenditure for goods ordinarily classed under advancement were seventh-lowest of any of the eight homes visited yesterday. The family reported less time spent at reading than did any of these eight families. Both parents had only grammar school education. But there is no question about their standard of living or standard of culture. It was reflected in unmistakable ways other than expenditures, painted and well-kept buildings, modern equipment, and a good table. It seems to be a part of the folk, a well-rooted, never failing source of human culture.

Is it a question of the economic level of living—of the value, or the amount, even, of goods used by this family? Is it not a question of the ways in which these goods are used and the satisfactions they afford by virtue of higher inherent capacities or of superior psychological reactions of the family in question to its own particular environment?

The preceding sketches indicate clearly some of the factors involved in the situations with regard to a few of the farm families represented by the facts which have been given. They are suggestive of some of the many ways in which separate families and individuals react psychologically to both similar and different situations. They constitute a virgin field for properly trained investigators and case workers. They challenge the attention and merit the consideration of all thinking social scientists and social workers.

Relation of facts and factors to the rural social problem.—Just what bearing, if any, have the foregoing facts and factors on the rural social problem? What is the rural social problem? What is its scope? Should it be conceived of in the singular or the plural? Are there not myriads of rural social problems, as many as there are rural communities, yes, as many as there are rural families? For convenience may we define the one in terms of all rural social problems, the release of human social forces for unhampered free and progressive action? Note that the problems of the family, even of the individual, are covered in our definition.

We have next to suggest ways of connecting the facts and factors with the problem. Two ways are suggested. First, there should be proper interpretation

of the facts presented, as well as of all similar facts available, with a view of awakening farm families to their particular situation. It may be, or it may not be, time to suggest that farm families have larger incomes. It is time that the farm family become interested in a study of what the present income actually is and what satisfactions the present income will and should provide. It is time that the farm family study its family living as closely as it studies the feeding and care of farm live stock. Second, a thoroughgoing and unbiased study is needed of a number of selected farm families by the economist, the sociologist, the educator, the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the physician in a coordinated attempt to determine the factors contributing most of the material and the spiritual well-being of these families. Through this study the agencies involved should, first, ascertain the degree to which the level of living keeps pace with the standard of living of these families; second, ascertain how and why some farm families actually get satisfaction and joy from farm life and rural community life while others denounce and apparently despise it; third, make available to the workers attempting to solve rural social problems concrete examples of families who have made good at farming, judged on the basis of the contribution that they have made to their local community, despite seemingly adverse circumstances, with the reasons, in so far as they can be ascertained, why these families held tenaciously on when other families quit or tried to quit.

Purposely the details of this proposed study are omitted. Suffice it to say that the study should be deep rather than broad in an attempt to get at the most pertinent facts on the various steps to achievement, as tenure, economic status, education, and rational family living. It must cover the nativity and the genealogy of the families visited, the occupations and the attainments of the families' ancestors, and the attitudes of the family visited toward its occupation, its immediate surroundings, its neighbors, its local institutions or agencies, and its broader state and national interest. The National Conference of Social Work may well conceive and promote the foregoing study. No other group is so broad in its scope, so vitally concerned, or so well-equipped to lead such a study.

The main objective in the foregoing suggestion is the awakening of the rural community and the farm family to their rational needs. When this is done we may rest assured that rural leaders and farmers will evolve plans and programs by means of which resident families may enrich and build up the social life of the rural and semirural community.

A MATERNITY AND INFANCY PROGRAM FOR RURAL AND SEMI-RURAL COMMUNITIES

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Rural hygiene in all its phases has for a long time occupied the attention of the greatest authorities in public health practice in this country and abroad.

When we visualize the various types of rural communities, as we can without any great stretch of the imagination, we come to the conclusion that the problem resolves itself into questions of the provision of more public health nurses specially trained in rural hygiene, and the provision of measures to meet the difficulties of transportation and communication.

While this seems a very simple solution on paper, in actual practice we find ourselves confronted by almost insurmountable obstacles. Let us recognize some of these difficulties and then consider the possible achievement of an effectual local maternity and infancy program from the angle of the state department of health's functions, and of the local community itself.

Difficulties.—While not familiar with all types of rural community in our country, I know that in some sections swamp lands and, in others, deserts present obstacles to efficient and equalized service, and surely the mountainous districts must increase travel problems enormously. Again, the absence of roads or the ruinous condition of those that do exist in some places must render travel even by the bumptious Ford a questionable procedure. In New York State vast areas of the rural districts are cut off for weeks at a time by snow in the winter and by mud in the spring. These difficulties, coupled with the separation of family units, must necessarily retard the promotion of any health program and increase the expense greatly.

How about the rural people themselves? Not to mention the problems arising in connection with the education of non-English-speaking groups, the native rural families offer certain difficulties. Widely separated as they are, they lack that cohesion of community interest, more often displayed in well-populated areas, which is so necessary and so valuable if work is to be carried forward consistently. Then, too, just at the most favorable seasons of the year, from the health worker's standpoint, rural families are plowing and planting or harvesting, with all of the extra arduous labor involved; and during such seasonal increased activity in the mere business of earning a livelihood, they are not apt to be as appreciative of the educational efforts of the nurse as one could wish. Last, and perhaps it should have been mentioned first, comes the economic factor. It must be remembered that the valuation of property in the country district is low in comparison with that of the urban; the wage scale is lower, and more must be expended in order to get less service than in the urban community. Even the same amount of tax revenue received by the country district as in the urban community will not buy the same amount of facilities and service. Actual cash in the hand of the farmer is limited, and he views with alarm any and all

innovations that may translate themselves into increased taxes. These are not by any means all the hampering difficulties contended with in rural health work; but in our experience at least, they are the most lively ones.

Program.—The elements of an adequate maternity and infancy program are constant, whether for the rural, semi-rural, or urban community, i.e., education and proper care of the expectant mother; proper and safe facilities for delivery; provision of medical assistance; skilled and aseptic after-care of the new mother; instruction in infant hygiene, with emphasis on breast-feeding technique; well-baby visitation at frequent enough intervals to insure survival and control of illness; centers for group instruction in health protection, and where the preschool child may receive nursing supervision and medical oversight; all carried out methodically and applied to a large enough proportion of the mother and child population to have a lowering effect on mortality and morbidity rates.

Let us consider these elements and see whether the rural nurse can carry them all on, and how she could go about it. We ask her to instruct and supervise the health of expectant mothers. First, how is she going to find them? This will tax to the utmost her resourcefulness; it is obvious that pregnant women will not report themselves. In the rural districts they are not, as a rule, under medical care early in pregnancy, therefore the doctors cannot be expected to report them; so that the nurse must be very alert, as she is visiting her families for other purposes, to seek out the expectant mothers. She must utilize fully every existing social agency in her search, make her desires known by talks to rural groups, home and farm bureaus, granges, W.C.T.U. meetings, clubs, ministers, and priests. The local papers will help by stating that, among other services, she is prepared to visit them and give real help. Birth registration should never be overlooked as a source of information, not only as to new-born babies, but, in the records of a year or a year and a half back, for prospective subsequent pregnancies. It is her duty, too, to see that medical assistance is assured to prospective mothers, and if delivery is expected during a season of the year when roads are impassable, arrange to have them brought within reach of the doctor two weeks in advance; or, if this is not possible because of financial considerations or family cares, then she must instruct carefully, over and over again, the neighbors or relatives who are to be with the mother at the time of delivery.

The earnest rural nurse will be eager to give delivery service in special cases where trouble is expected, or where there is no one to assist the mother, and there is no surer way to the hearts of the rural family than help at such a time; but such service is not always practicable; the education for the event is practicable, however, and even a father may be instructed for possible emergencies. After-care should be done as far as possible by the nurse herself during the first few days, instructing each time the family helper in aseptic principles. She should not relinquish this part of the work until breast feeding is actually established and breast-feeding technique fully understood by the mother.

The new baby should be seen as often as once a week during the first month of life, then every month for the next three months, and then alternate months

until a year old. During this important period much can be taught; habits, for one thing, and regularity; the value of weighing frequently; preparation for weaning; introduction of new foods; value of fruit juices, cod liver oil, and sunlight for all babies; and finally, the value and economy of medical supervision even if the baby seems well. The year-old baby can now be placed on a quarterly visit schedule, but in the meantime the nurse has probably found other health problems in that family. If so, these quarterly visits of the preschool child can be coordinated with the regular family visit.

Now, one may say that all this is assuming that the nurse has an area of such size to cover that she can reach all the families in her district. What about the nurse having altogether too large an area to cover decently? I think the answer to that is for her to zone her district into four sections, and plan to work out of four centers a week at a time. This means a sort of nomadic existence for the nurse, but if she has the pioneer and missionary spirit, and it is certainly needed in rural work, she will adapt herself to this as well as to other inconveniences. She can easily educate her community to expect her in their vicinity a certain week of the month. As for communication, a drug store in the center from which she works will gladly take messages for the nurse in anticipation of her week in that district. Even undertakers' offices have been used for this purpose.

It is too much to expect that the rural nurse will be a special maternity and infancy nurse, so it is inevitable that she will be a very busy person, with diverse duties and responsibilities. What do we, as a state department, do for her and for the community in order to make her presence a greater asset in that locality?

State assistance.—We have said that group instruction is to be included in her program of maternity and infancy work. Besides the value of the educational matter itself great benefit is to be derived from the mere assembling of the group of women, and here we step in, whenever requested, with the so-called mothers' health clubs. The nurse organizes the group, or perhaps several groups in the different villages, and requests a state nurse to conduct the course. Two hundred and twenty-two of these groups were taught in 1923-25, varying in attendance from ten to fifty, and 921 took written examinations and received their certificates.

It may be that the nurse would like to do this herself, but has not had the opportunity to fit herself for teaching, in which event she attempts to interest other nurses in the formation of a group for an extension course in maternity and child hygiene to be given by one of our consultant nurses. In the past three years 52 of these courses have been given, and 325 certificates awarded to public health nurses.

While we advocate the provision of mother-and-child health stations, not many of the rural nurses covering large territory have them, so that independent local clinics for mothers and children are not feasible. In such case the rural nurse is only too eager to request that the state child health consultation unit visit her district covering several villages and towns. Thus she is able to bring expert medical attention to her preschool children, whose parents ordinarily

would not consult a physician concerning an apparently healthy child; it gives her the opportunity in the follow-up to secure correction of defects at the hands of the family doctor, as neither treatment nor prescribing is done at the consultations. She may call on us too for a like service for her expectant mothers, by requesting the state prenatal consultations.

With the many duties and the wide expanses to cover that confront the rural nurse, she begins to realize the great need for an orderly plan of work; she realizes that to work intelligently events should be recorded; that to learn how to cover her work without loss of motion she needs the assistance and guidance of someone more experienced than herself. Here again, on request, we come to her aid with our consultant nursing service. By the consultant nurse she is supplied with proper recording and reporting forms and shown how to use them with the least possible outlay of clerical time; she is taught to file her cases in such way as to be able to reach them at regular intervals; she is taught the best distribution of her time; in what directions or for what types of work she needs to expand. The consultant nurse may accompany her to visit one of the town fathers in order to secure funds for necessary equipment. She may find it necessary to approach the committee in order to convince them that they are expecting the impossible of their nurse. If it is the proper time to establish a child health station, the consultant nurse helps with this also, as to equipment, location, and activities, and if the time is ripe for prenatal or child health consultations, the state again assists by paying the doctor for examinations.

Now as to provision of more public health nurses: the division of Maternity, Infancy, and Child Hygiene, since the acquisition of federal funds, has tried in every way possible to bring this about, by nursing demonstrations for varying periods, and by giving actual financial assistance to local communities in their efforts to secure a nurse. These demonstrations have varied in character according to the needs and capacities of the community, but they have always carried along a more or less complete maternity and hygiene program; in one county, a breast feeding campaign; in another, a rural maternity nursing demonstration; in a third, a demonstration and teaching center combined. Thirty or more of these demonstrations are being carried on at the present time, all with good prospect of becoming permanent when we withdraw. Maternity and infancy projects are being carried according to standard in rural localities where no child hygiene work whatever was ever done before, and is being expanded toward completeness and excellence where it was already under way.

If it is true, as is often stated, that one reason for state levy of taxes is to equalize facilities, and if, as we have tried to show, every factor peculiar to rural public health work tends to make it a slow and expensive process in the face of limited sources of wealth, then is it not the function of the state, through its department of health, to share its larger opportunity for expert knowledge and actually set to work shoulder to shoulder in the planning and execution of the local program? We have so interpreted our function, and as long as funds are available, state or federal, shall continue in this policy.

VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

TREATMENT PROCESSES AS DEVELOPED BY THE SOCIAL WORKER

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It is time that we tried to answer the question so often asked by our patients: "Just what is it that you do for people?" even though we show, not what has been developed, but what may or might be. To this discussion many social workers have already contributed, and many more must do so by their open-minded experimentation before a clear outline of treatment processes can emerge. If the statements which follow sound dogmatic, they are so only because they are today's cross-section of the growing convictions of the writer, and because only as they are clear and definite can they challenge your thought and provoke the discussion which results in closer approach to truth.

However far we are from having a professional body of knowledge, social case workers have come to be looked to for certain techniques which no other profession develops as a part of its training. Social workers, it is said, know how to arrive at an understanding of a total situation where individuals are involved and to adjust the difficulties between individuals and their whole environment. How do they do it?

The answer leads us to processes of great complexity. Perhaps the best we can do is to pick out, for clearness' sake, three techniques which, interwoven though they are in practice, lead to understanding. They are the interview, observation of social phenomena, and the application of a background of social knowledge to the interpretation of what is seen and heard. Similarly, let us consider the techniques of adjustment as three: the application of knowledge of community and personal resources, the coordination and organization of resources, and the education of the individual through his own experience.

Why do we include the techniques of understanding as a part of the processes of treatment? First, because treatment begins in the first interview. By this I mean something more than the useful catharsis one usually gets from telling one's troubles, even, as in our early youth, to as self-centeredly unsympathetic an object as a kitten. I mean that the way in which a worker obtains information indicates already her skill in treatment—nay, is treatment. She may think that she is out for information only and that the diagnosis formally made is the temple bell which must ring before the ceremonial of treatment begins, but the

way she questions a client may make the difference between leaving him flat like a collapsed balloon or full of courage and a determination to win through. One may "pick a person's mind" as truly as his pocket, or one may, by showing him why one asks what one does about himself, make him see his own difficulties in a better perspective even in the telling.

In addition to this, the processes of understanding are used continuously as long as treatment lasts. A plan worked out in board room or office meets the crucial test in the field, where the worker applies it slowly, tentatively, her hand on the pulse of the situation at every turn. One meets an old superstition, a clinging love of something which the worker had thought of as negligible, to say nothing of the baby's croup or a broken wrist; and lo! the plan has to be revised or even set aside indefinitely. Knowing clearly what is wrong in a situation is a long way from knowing in advance what next steps may have to be taken, or even which one of many possible solutions may be the goal finally reached.

In proportion as we get away from the crude method of putting upon our clients plans which are like ready-made garments, with no cloth for alterations, and teach them to design and make their own, shall we find essential to treatment frequent interviews, at least of an informal sort, the keenest observation, and the most faithful study which keeps us fresh in our backgrounds of social experience. We should know local history, folk-lore, the weight of racial customs, the industrial situation, community ideals, and what we can of the newest things in social research, in science, and education. Inevitably these things touch the lives of our clients in more or less obscure and unexpected ways.

The importance of training ourselves in observation cannot, I think, be overestimated. The following experience of a social worker shows how observation so checked the results of an interview as to change completely the picture in the case. A nurse referred to a habit clinic a little Italian boy of five whom she had offered to take to a dental clinic and who had then screamed until his mother had said she was sure she could not make him go. The inference was that here was a child entirely out of his mother's control. An interview with the mother gave a quite negative history: that the boy, the second of a family of three, was too full of life to be easily contained in the small tenement where he lived, but that he minded well, that he had good health habits, and that the starting of one or two of the minor bad habits of children had been efficiently dealt with by the mother. She said she knew the children needed much active play, which was hard to arrange in their congested neighborhood with safety, but she took them out of doors herself in the afternoon and allowed them to be as noisy as they pleased in the house at other times, doing her work as best she could. While waiting for this interview until the mother had finished her housework, the social worker made observations which seemed to bear out the conclusions of the nurse who referred the boy. The children were racing through three very disorderly rooms, paying little attention to the periodical shouting directed at

them by the mother, who was clearing up. Frequently observations like this quite discount a mother's story that Johnny minds perfectly, and result in a search for a reason which will appeal to the mother for extending an invitation to a habit clinic. But in this case further observations were that the mother, when she got ready to attend to the children, had them all, with faces washed, in bed for a nap in about three minutes; that there was none of the struggling which children indulge in when it succeeds part of the time, and that a promise of an ice cream cone after the nap was accepted by the small boy instantly, quite as if it were true, as the mother stated that it was a family rule always to keep a promise to a child. The mother explained the incident described by the nurse by saying that since he had had diphtheria the boy had been much afraid of anyone in a nurse's uniform. The social background of some knowledge of Italian customs and psychology completed the picture gained by observation and interview, and convinced the worker that this mother was solving her own problems in her own way better than the necessarily artificial recommendations of a habit clinic could solve them for her.

The use of more skilled observation would, I believe, do away with some of the interviewing of a large number of sources of information, and make those seen vastly more valuable. You have perhaps known of investigations so thorough that the family had to move to parts unknown to escape the consequences. To be sure, one has to have the testimony of those who have had longer and better opportunities for observation, and this can be arranged for, with the family's consent, if there is sufficient reason for having it, but I know that we are getting away from the collection of large numbers of observations of untrained and frequently biased people in favor of making opportunities to observe for ourselves with the best skill in interpretation we possess.

Of the techniques of accomplishment, one, that of a background of knowledge or resources, is hardly separable from that of a knowledge of the environment for diagnosis, except—and this is a very important exception—for a difference in point of view. We may think we know an environment well for its liabilities when we have never even begun to see its assets. Of these, I believe that the strictly so-called "social agencies" of a community are the least important. The school, the preventive health service, the churches, libraries, and recreation opportunities of a community, and, above all, the personal wealth in men and women of good will are resources which our clients may use, when helped to find them, without becoming thereby exceptions in their own group. Case workers with individuals should be the first to see the needs and help to develop community opportunities which shall be for all to use.

It is true that palliative work must be done for many years to come. Under the present industrial system there is much unemployment, both chronic and acute, much wearing out of human life before its time, much high speed and monotony which create reactions toward debauching excitement for relief. There is a minimum of creature comfort essential before any of the so called "ad-

justments of personality" are possible. One cannot, in a clinic, "cure" a boy of stealing when he is always hungry, or keep young people away from questionable resorts when their homes are utterly cheerless. This, however, is a challenge, not to thoughtless use of the resources of palliation we now have, but to more thorough study of the possibilities for community-wide improvement. The challenge is to every individual practitioner of social work to do the day's work with its research possibilities in mind, and, while counting nothing too small to be an asset in individual rehabilitation, letting nothing be seen out of relation to its community-wide, and even universal, implications.

In considering the use of social resources for treatment, we come to the question: What is it, really, which we give to our clients? Is it a job, fully arranged for? Coal or groceries, with no enlistment of the family's own energies in some plan to be worked out? Medicine or surgery? Free tickets to this or that? I believe we are much mistaken if we use these things as more than means to create a desire and motive to work for a place in industry or to gain comfort, health, or recreation which shall be of one's own providing. If that is the goal, we cannot allow any of the means to work away from it, whether material gifts or the more subtle benefits. We cannot kill initiative and self-respect by forcing a family to the acceptance of a plan quite at variance with its own plans for itself and hope to get it off our hands in condition to stand alone. After all, what do we give but opportunities and education in the use of them?

This sounds extremely like saying that all social treatment is education; that it always involves leadership, even that which, for convenience, we call executive. We are beginning to see that an opportunity is not one for any man till he sees and accepts it as such. Our task is to give him the vision, and sometimes, too, the motive power to grasp it.

How is one to hand out vision and motive power? There is the mainspring of the whole problem. We have tried to give vision and motive power as a "hand out," and we have failed. We talk to a boy of ten in a child guidance clinic about his behavior. He sits on the edge of a chair while we enlarge upon making the most of his school opportunities or being nicer to his devoted mother (who, incidentally, makes a fool of him before the boys). He goes out with a sigh of relief and plunges into play to forget the disagreeable incident. We spend an hour telling a mother that the organization of her household is all wrong, and that is why Dorothy acts like one possessed. She says "yes" respectfully, and goes home having gained the impression that those people would know more if they had children of their own. When the social worker calls to ask how Dorothy is doing, it is easier to say, "Oh, ever so much better!" than to listen to another lecture. That counts as a success till Dorothy runs away and the sad story of home misunderstanding opens out again.

It looks as if we have to give vision plus, vision close to, and even through, experience, and sometimes after experience has given the *feel* of what success would be like. Roland Hayes, the Negro singer who has enriched the whole

world, has told how he was almost a man grown before he realized his gift. It was not till someone invited him to hear a great singer on the victrola that he had ever heard any good music or could imagine what it might mean to sing. We all know some story of an ill-kept home transformed by a woman's having something to live up to. The "bad" boy in a schoolroom may become his teacher's best ally if he is given the chance to get the joy of success in something he can do.

There is use for skill and patience in this matter of offering opportunity. We cannot afford not to take account of mental capacity and personality. With psychological tests becoming more available, we ought to know better than to expect a girl of a mental age of eleven to manage a house efficiently and bring up a baby at the same time according to the most approved methods. Neither should we try to discipline a ten-year-old child with the intelligence of a superior adult by means which would be appropriate to a child of six. Some people need stimulation; some, of limited capacities, need regulated amounts of direction; some need the lashing of reproof as the worker allies her power of personality with that of the patient's weaker better self to fight against his worse. Whatever is done, reproof, comfort, cheer—opportunities all to get new motive powers into operation—all should be given as social prescriptions adequately thought out, never as outlets for the worker's own sentimentality or lack of self-control. Then, too, why do we not take the trouble to find out what people want for themselves and why? We force a child of muscular peasant build, craving the out-of-doors, into an education fitting him for a highly artificial career in finance. Business concerns give rest- and clubrooms when the workers want fair treatment and independence. We accuse our clients of ingratitude when we have only offered them what we think they should want. Finally, in offering opportunities, let us remember that the acceptance of them is unpredictable, despite our *illusion* of wisdom in the choice. Capacities ripen at different times; an interest destined to control a child's later life may be dormant at the time it is first suggested. A suggestion may be rejected because it is tied up with disagreeable associations in the person's mind, or a misfit seized because it glitters in the sun. A negative result indicates nothing except to ask why and try again.

The social worker of today, then, has the challenge of limitless discovery in methods of educating people through their own experiences—interpreting those past and helping to use those in the present and find better in the future. We know almost nothing about such interpretation in terms of speech—speech that really conveys ideas that mean action, that reaches the real self underneath superficial words. One thing we do know—that we are far too technical and didactic. We might learn a great deal by study of the speech and thought of our clients themselves. A woman scarcely able to speak English thus summed up the evil of indiscriminate corporal punishment: "I see. I give my boy a smash in the back; bimeby he big, he give me a smash in the back." Of bribery in discipline: "Today he good for a penny, next week he want nickel, then nickel no

good, he want quarter." Until we can talk as simply as that we do not know the subject we are trying to explain.

Our resources are often taxed to the utmost in directing our clients to experiences which shall be really educative for them. Again, I think we fail to make use of scientific methods of observation in social work. There is not much of controlled experiment possible in human situations, but there is certainly a wealth of material open to us to observe in common life. Why do we bury ourselves in social failures? We desire to find, for a broken-hearted woman, some compensations on which she can build up her life. What have thousands of others in similar circumstances done? Why not try to find out what succeeds, and with whom, and why? Why not keep a notebook of successful adjustments and collect them as eagerly as a scientist collects specimens, whether found in cult or in sport, in art or in creed, or in loyalty to a person or a cause?

Organizing resources to meet the needs of a given case is a technique recognized as pre-eminently that of the social worker. I believe it is only a more complex form of the process of education through experience. Take a girl of high school age, referred to a child guidance clinic because of her unhappy disposition, making her a misfit at school, at home, and in social life. It was found that her haughty manner and biting tongue were reactions to a deep sense of inferiority. This was due to many factors, including a facial tic which she had been teased about, to her having no mother and no home like other girls, to which she could bring her friends, and to her father's keeping her away from the people in the neighborhood in the belief that they were not "good enough." It might have been thought sufficient to give this girl, who was mature enough to profit by them, interviews with the psychiatrist in which she might get a new point of view about life and her handicaps, meanwhile doing what was possible for her medically. A social worker, however, would see more in the situation. The father, whose influence would mightily help or hinder a new point of view, was seen and found to need psychiatric treatment quite as much; he, too, was reacting bitterly to a sense of the failure of his ambitions. A woman friend who had much influence over the girl was found to be encouraging her snobbish isolation without being able to supply other companionship of the girl's own age. The girl's teachers had to be shown that she would do better work in a higher class, where effort would be called for in proportion to her capacity, and that she needed, not "taking down," but the encouragement of earned success. By the time the social worker has gotten father, friend, and teachers working together for a girl, and all interested in her need of recreation, companions, and success, there is nothing very spectacular for the social worker to do personally, but she has accomplished more than by much rushing about which adds to her reputation for busyness and makes her clients helpless without her.

I know that I shall be charged with being visionary in describing a race of social workers with a genius for getting other people, the misfits of the earth, to choose and hold to courses which will make them no longer social liabilities.

How are such social workers to be recruited and trained? How do we become such? I think our practical problem is one of our own attitude toward our work. If we cannot help the Jones family to turn its adversities into occasions for the development of what strength there is in them, the Joneses might just as well receive the minimum allowance for subsistence from an automatic machine and fight it out alone. Why spend millions for social work, for services, as we say, if that service is merely the imposition of a dogmatism based on privilege. If we aim, not at being little dictators, but leaders and educators in the best sense, humbly learning with our families the ways of turning experience to good account for them, we shall find ways to reach our goal.

Leaving technique aside, let us consider for a moment that essential medium of all good case work, a good contact. What is it, and how is it achieved? First, we may be helped by thinking of social relationships as a function as natural to us as walking. We have gotten along with other people, somehow, from our crib days. Our habits formed when we were toddlers are the basis of our greater or less success as persons now. Bad habits interfere with a function like walking; so they do with our meeting people. That is why I believe that every social worker should take the "corrective gymnastics" of mental hygiene for her prejudices and faults of character as a part of her training, in the same way that a teacher of physical education would be required to correct poor posture. Second, I believe that we shall learn most about how good contact is achieved, not through self-consciously scrutinizing our own work, but by observing constantly the successful contacts that are made between people in their natural relationships. We see ourselves as the star performers in a drama, unaware that it has been going on a long time before we came, and that our only chance of a vital part is to get our cues from the performers and enter in as a part of the setting. We force ourselves in when the actors are not prepared for us; we hurry things; we magnify ourselves; and we find ourselves alone on the stage, speaking to an empty house, the play moved elsewhere.

One word, in closing, about positive versus negative contributions in treatment. Over and over we social workers adjust everything that can be adjusted in the lives of our clients and wonder why the result leaves no enthusiasm either with them or with us. In other cases people bear unalterable burdens, not only with fortitude, but with cheer, and are a force in helpfulness to others. I think we should not be satisfied just to banish social symptoms. We want vigorous health. We want to make it possible, not only that people should live, but that they should have something higher than themselves to live for. We shall not help our clients to achieve in their own experience any goal like this unless we plan for it as earnestly as we do to keep them from being a nuisance to society. Unless we teach them to be of use, to give something, however little, they can hardly hold their own as self-sustaining. We do not want them to remain, unless hopelessly handicapped, as the world's dependent children, but to reach, up to the limit of their capacities, to its adult responsibilities.

In all this we see little that we may call treatment process. Our concern has been far more with some of the fundamental attitudes of mind in ourselves which may make possible the development of social treatment in the future. There is, first of all, a humility which one may call the scientific attitude in the face of facts. The facts are all around us in the lives of people who do constantly, and more or less successfully, adjust themselves to life. Let us learn to observe far more accurately and thoughtfully these common manifestations which we tend to pass by in favor of our own activities. This implies also a certain faith that the process of adjustment is, after all, a natural process which we may, by scientific understanding, help, but not control to any great extent by our techniques and manipulations. Finally, perhaps most important, is the attitude of respect for the possibilities in our clients. In this faith, out of real knowledge of them and their capacities, limited though they may be, we may help them to build out of their experience not only a shelter from disaster, but something of worth to themselves and their community.

TYPES OF CLINICAL SERVICE AVAILABLE TO CHILDREN'S AGENCIES

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The type of psychiatric clinic most commonly available for the use of a children's agency is that which is operated in connection with the out-patient department of a general hospital. The staff generally includes a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a social worker. Often all of the personnel are on part time. Especially is the psychiatrist likely to be on part time with the clinic. Often this psychiatrist is engaged in the private practice of neurology and psychiatry among adults. The number of cases handled by such a clinic makes it necessary to give only a short time to each case. Findings must be based on too short an interview, and there is no opportunity for a discussion of the case by the various members of the staff and the agency worker. There is usually too much reliance placed upon the psychiatric interview, and the psychiatrist, who ordinarily is working with adults who have sought his aid in treatment, is unable to adjust to a situation where his patient has been brought to him because of misconduct, a patient who resents examination, feels he is "on the carpet," and who has been scolded for the conduct which the psychiatrist discusses with him. The psychiatrist usually has had little contact with social workers and psychologists and has no training or experience in either of these specialties. He usually has neither the time nor the experience to discuss social treatment with the agency visitor. The large number of cases to be handled, the briefness of the examination, and the lack of familiarity on the part of the psychiatrist with social treatment limits

the usefulness of such a clinic to the recognition and treatment of gross mental defect. Such a clinic usually cannot handle cases needing treatment of the parents by the psychiatrist because of the time involved. It cannot handle the personality and emotional problems of children, especially of the adolescent, because such work requires long, and sometimes repeated, interviews. Almost all mild behavior problems, especially those of the preschool child, are outside the experience of such a psychiatrist, and specific advice regarding treatment of such conditions cannot be given to the referring agencies. This lack of familiarity with modern beliefs in child training makes it difficult for such a psychiatrist to recognize, in his recommendations for young children, what part is based on psychiatric judgment and how much is folk-lore, which the psychiatrist still accepts. Thus we find psychiatrists saying that the parents must be "more severe" with the child; that the child is "inherently bad"; and we find psychiatrists seriously discussing the conditions under which a child needs to be spanked. The development of such psychiatric service is sometimes accomplished through the education of the psychiatrist, but usually more adequate service can be secured only by the addition to the staff of a broadly trained psychiatric social worker who is able to talk over the cases with the visitor on the basis of the clinic study.

Psychiatric service of a type similar to that just mentioned is being given by an increasing number of clinics through the out-patient clinics of the state hospitals. The personnel of such a clinic would be a psychiatrist from the hospital staff, and perhaps a psychologist, and, occasionally, a psychiatric social worker, also from the hospital staff. It is possible that such a clinic is more limited in its usefulness to children's agencies than is the psychiatric clinic operated with a private physician as psychiatrist. The psychiatrist in private practice sees many borderline cases: adults who are mildly nervous, and those who are emotionally unstable, these being the conditions which are so regularly found among the parents of our problem children. The psychiatrist in private practice treats patients in their homes; he aids to a better adjustment in the community and at work. The state hospital physician, on the other hand, in his treatment of children referred by social agencies, contrasts to his usual work (which is the treatment of the adult insane in an institution which is usually isolated from the community) a study of a pre-adolescent who has been impertinent to his parents, or a four-year-old girl who has temper tantrums. The state hospital physician who is given charge of such an out-patient clinic usually has been on the staff of the institution for five to ten years before receiving this opportunity to engage in extramural work. During these years he has developed the institutional point of view toward psychiatry; he is accustomed to make a diagnosis and to fit his cases into a statewide system of classification; his experience in treatment is that of individuals apart from their natural environment. His isolation in the institution has usually prevented familiarity with community organization in social work; what he knows of case work methods and stand-

ards is usually confined to the procedures employed by the psychiatric social worker supervising patients on parole from the hospital. He usually has little knowledge of modern standards in child training. These limitations usually make it necessary for the clinic to give only a "gross defect" service. This recognition and treatment of the more obvious psychiatric problems of childhood is a necessary and valuable function, and calls for the service of a psychiatrist who is well trained and who has experience in this field. Some degree of this type of service is needed, but such cases as can be handled by this type of clinic represent a small proportion of the problem cases which a children's agency would like to refer for study. Aside from the qualifications of the psychiatrist, these clinics are limited further in their usefulness by the fact that both adults and children usually are handled in the same clinic, and that the effort to handle a large number of cases without limitation of intake and without appointments makes necessary such superficial examination that the more complex problems cannot be reached. The infrequency of the service to a particular community is also a handicap which would be less of an interference if the psychiatric social worker could be assigned to the community and thus be available for consultation and follow-up service. A further handicap of this extramural state hospital service is that the psychiatric social worker attached to the clinic, who might be of such great aid as *liaison* between the clinic and the children's agency, is herself handicapped by the fact that the greater part of her time is devoted to the supervision of adults on parole from the hospital, and also by her lack of familiarity with the work of the children's agencies.

Several states have developed state-wide extramural clinics, and are making available to smaller communities the much-needed psychiatric service in the examination of those cases where a brief survey and a diagnosis are adequate. Such clinics are creating a demand for more complete service and laying a basis for the development of an independent clinic in each community.

A very hopeful development in two states is the establishment of a traveling clinic service, where the clinic personnel is not attached to a state hospital, but consists of specialists in the treatment of problem children, with training and experience in children's clinics, and giving full-time service to problem children. These clinics are able to give complete service to children's agencies because of the professional qualifications of the members of the staff. Such traveling clinics usually have several stations which they visit at regular intervals, examining children by appointment, with the social history developed by local agency workers under the supervision of the clinic staff. The assignment of a clinic social worker to full-time service in a particular community increases the efficiency of clinic service to that community. It is possible that where a clinic must cover a wide area (a county, or part of a state) this establishment of stations with a social worker, and perhaps a psychologist, on full time at each station is better than maintaining a central station to which visitors and patients must come from a distance. The psychiatric social worker becomes more familiar with

community resources and with the individuals with whom she deals, and is available for conferences, treatment interviews, and educational work. A psychologist at a substation has an opportunity for more complete study, for follow-up study, and may increase the service of the clinic to the community by the psychological examination of school children who are not behavior problems. It would seem that children's agencies could be much better served by the subdivision of a state into areas with traveling clinics rather than by the effort to extend state hospital service to the study of problem children.

Several large agencies and some scattered communities have met their need for study of problem children by the organization of clearing houses where a complete study of the child can be made in one building. The clearing house staff includes specialists in many branches of medical work: pediatricians; specialists in eye, ear, nose, and throat; dentists; orthopedists; psychologists; psychiatrists; and social workers. Such a centralized service seems to be a very desirable development, since it insures more complete routine study, better coordination in the study, and probably a better understanding between the clinic group and the case workers than where the various specialists are scattered through different clinics and are not associated closely with the work of the agencies. The New England Home for Little Wanderers is the best known example of such clearing house service. An interesting development of this idea is represented by the children's clinic in Richmond, Virginia, where a psychiatrist is a full-time member of the clinic staff.

The Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene is trying out a new type of psychiatric service to social agencies through what is called the visiting psychiatrist. Dr. Elizabeth Sullivan, a psychiatrist experienced in cooperation with social agencies, will visit the central offices of the referring agencies or the homes of the clients in making her examinations. A modification of this service has been tried in Cleveland, and is being developed in Newark through the use of the psychiatrist as a consultant to a social agency. No cases are examined by the psychiatrist, but on the basis of the summary of the agency record there is a case discussion with supervisor and visitor. An extension of such psychiatric service would be the addition to the staff of a social agency of a psychiatrist on a full-time basis: part of his time would be given to this consultant service, and part to examination of cases, as in the case of the visiting psychiatrist mentioned above.

Habit clinics were organized a few years ago in Boston by Dr. D. A. Thom, and have been continued, under his supervision, on a state-wide basis by the State Division of Mental Hygiene. Through the publications of the Children's Bureau at Washington, the organization and operation of these habit clinics has become fairly well known. The efficacy of these clinics would seem to depend very much upon having as the psychiatrist to the clinic a specialist with problem children, and one who had particular experience with the preschool child. These clinics handle children between the ages of two and six. It is a question

whether at present they can be of much use to the average children's agencies because the problems of the preschool child usually are not recognized as problems by the visitor, or are not regarded as needing treatment. The time of the agency visitor is usually so much taken up with the consideration of older children who are acute problems that she overlooks the preschool child unless he becomes considerable of a nuisance. Development of habit clinic work, separate or as a part of a community clinic, seems to depend upon the education of the agencies as to the needs of the preschool child.

Interest in well-rounded studies of problem children has been much increased throughout the country by the program for the development of child guidance clinics. Almost all agency executives are familiar with this development through the publications of the Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency. The work of these child guidance clinics is characterized by the complete, coordinated study of a problem child. Restricted intake, examination by appointment, examination of children only, are some of the means by which the high quality of work is maintained.

In connection with adequate clinic study of problem children by a group of specialists organized into a clinic, we must emphasize the fact that a special social study is essential, and that the visitor preparing the social history must know the social data needed in the clinic study of that particular problem. The visitor cooperating with such a clinic must have special training to carry out the social treatment. Considerable time is required in the social study, in the complete study at the clinic, and in the carrying out of recommendations for treatment. All of these considerations bring out the point that clinic facilities for the examination of problem children must match community resources and the ability of agency workers. The completeness of the study must not exceed the opportunity for treatment. It must be possible to carry out in the community the usual recommendations of the clinic. Complete psychological and educational analysis of a school failure is of little use if there are no special classes in those schools, and if there is no grading of children according to learning ability. Simple determination of mental age will probably satisfy the needs of the social agency in such a community. Careful analysis of a problem, with recommendations regarding the occupation of leisure time, is hardly worth while in a community which is decidedly lacking in recreational facilities. Vocational guidance based upon psychological and psychiatric study is of little use in a community where there is a lack of prevocational and vocational training. Little is gained by a complete study which points out the necessity of treatment of a problem child temporarily away from his home unless the children's agency supervising the child can arrange such temporary care. Psychiatric clinic service which brings out the need of a problem child for a brief period of institutional care is of little value to a social agency unless the proper institutional care can be provided. It may be possible for a children's agency to secure a complete clinic study, but complete clinic service is not available if the lack of community resources pre-

vent the carrying out of clinic recommendations. As has been said by one executive, "It's no use trying to put a fifty-dollar clinic in a five-dollar community." The lack of community resources in most towns and smaller cities require, for efficient service, no more than a clinic able to recognize and treat gross defect. The out-patient clinics operated by state hospitals often are adequate for the communities in which they are located because they are as progressive and as complete in their work as the agencies in the community they serve.

In the treatment of young children a psychiatric clinic is too largely an educational agency when the visitor referring cases is unfamiliar with modern child training methods. A habit clinic operates with difficulty as long as the visitor supervising the child is certain that continued violent crying in a temper tantrum is likely to burst a blood vessel; that the child who masturbates is immoral; or that the annoying child needs a sound spanking.

As far as facilities for psychiatric study are concerned, their development will depend in large measure on the social agencies knowing what they need in the way of clinic service and being able to use efficiently better clinics than they have.

WHAT KIND OF MENTAL HYGIENE SERVICE DO CHILDREN'S AGENCIES NEED?

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To try to prescribe for all communities, with their manifold variations of development in child caring work, exactly the kind of mental hygiene service any of them might need would be a reckless undertaking. Communities and agencies, like individuals, have a way of differing from each other, not only in inherent native qualities but in stages of social growth, and, as with individuals, the stages of social growth are not always coincident with chronological age. We have organizations and communities that are thoroughly mature chronologically but that are functioning socially on a plane suitable to their chronological childhood. These are cases of arrested development, as real and as tragic as those of the individuals who weather their way through adult life on the basis of emotional mechanisms or intellectual development characteristic of childhood. On the other hand, we have organizations and communities that may be considered precocious; that, in spite of being relatively young chronologically, are functioning as well as present-day knowledge permits them to function. It is clear that organizations and communities, like people, are molded by the events of their lives, and are more or less products of the ideas and happenings that they have themselves produced or that have come to them from without. As these ideas and happenings are infinitely varied, the organizations and communities which they have produced are likewise infinitely varied; therefore to

determine, for instance, the kind of mental hygiene service they should have, they need individual study and advice shaped to their individual needs. They need, in other words, community case work. Because of this need of individualization of communities and organization this paper does not attempt to write a blanket prescription for a mental hygiene clinic service guaranteed safe for any of them, but rather seeks to determine a few fundamental principles by which we may be guided in the organization of such service.

At least one definition is needed, namely, What is a children's agency? Broadly speaking, a children's agency is any which is organized primarily to meet some need of childhood. Such a definition would include schools, recreation agencies, health agencies, and organizations conducting research and propaganda on behalf of children, as well as agencies serving individual children who present some specific economic, social, or personality problem. Tempting as it would be to pursue our subject into all of these fields, particularly into the realms of education and recreation, we are arbitrarily, for the purpose of this paper, limiting our definition to those agencies which deal with children on an individual basis and which are under the necessity, therefore, of using the technique known as social case work. This includes juvenile courts, child placing societies, societies to protect children from cruelty, institutions for children, juvenile protective societies helping actual boys and girls, and visiting teachers. These agencies, because they are up against the necessity of finding some practical solution to the pressing problems with which the children in their care every day confront them, are perhaps more eager for help from the mental hygiene field, and more deeply concerned about its development, than are agencies which have not the same imperative responsibility for individual lives.

In considering the kind of clinic service these caseworking agencies need, we are forced to the more fundamental consideration of the relationship that should prevail between social case work and psychiatry. From its earliest beginning, case work at its best has emphasized personality and has sought to give individuals opportunity for self-expression and for balanced living. It has constantly used the specific need of the individual that brought him to its door as a sort of diagnostic and treatment springboard from which it dove beneath the surface of complaints and explored the depths of contributing causes. Among these contributing causes it frequently saw conflict between members of families, inadequate ideals of conduct, conflict between the desires of the individual and the standards of the group, inability on the part of the individuals to face the realities of their lives, or to grapple with them effectively even when they did face them. All of these disabilities case work has struggled with valiantly, and sometimes with brilliant success. For the vagaries of human nature it developed tolerance, and for erring or ineffective people themselves, an attitude that on the whole was non-condemnatory, sympathetic, judicial, and objective. For its insight into the character forces of its clients, however, it had to rely mainly on the evidence of overt behavior, lighted by such practical understanding as intui-

tion, imagination, and past experience could give. As fast as other fields, such as medicine and psychology, were able to give definite help, case workers used doctors and psychologists as consultants. Within the past decade, moreover, a light has begun to shine at another point on the horizon, and this new light, modern psychiatry, the case worker sees illuminating many of the corners and subterranean channels of personality that hitherto have been too dark for her to see. In her elation at the revelation she has sometimes become a little giddy, a little too prone to act as if the new light were by itself sufficient to cure her most perplexing problems. Sometimes, too, have not the psychiatrists, through whom the light is disseminated, like other pioneers in the first flush of accomplishment, tended to accept responsibility a little too generously? Now, however, that the somewhat tipsy joy of discovery on the part of the case worker and of initial achievement on the part of the psychiatrist is sobering into a more realistic understanding of each other's functions, each is viewing the other with honest inquiry as to what their relationship should be. The answer to their common question will be expressed concretely in the kind of clinic service the psychiatrist will give.

We are all aware that with the recognition of the mutual value of psychiatry and case work to each other, a movement has developed to give some knowledge of psychiatry to case workers. The workers who received this education have been called psychiatric case workers, and most of them at first became attached to clinics, state hospitals, or other forms of service clearly recognized as having a mental health function. When clinics began dealing with behavior problems of children, however, they entered a field where case workers were already active. Immediately there arose a question as to the type of mental hygiene clinic service the case workers should have. When a clinic staff consisted only of psychiatrist or psychologist it was obvious that only consultation service could be offered; that they themselves had to give the psychiatrist sufficient history to enable him to see the problem; and that they had to utilize his interpretation or diagnosis in their treatment. But when clinic staffs consisted of psychiatrist, psychologist, and a member of the new species, a psychiatric case worker, the issue became confused. In some instances the non-psychiatric workers themselves felt that cases presenting acute conduct problems should be laid, like abandoned babies, upon the doorstep of the clinic to be dealt with as the clinic saw fit. They were willing to withdraw from these cases entirely except in so far as their oversight might be necessary for such practical matters as payment of bills. When clinics and psychiatric social workers were willing to accept the inclusive responsibility thus trustfully laid upon them, it is possible that the immediate results in the small number of cases that they could so absorb were better than they would have been had the non-psychiatric case workers struggled to gather pertinent diagnostic data and to apply ill-digested psychiatric advice. The long-time result upon the work of the social agency and the non-psychiatric case worker, however, seems not to be so good. To relinquish a diffi-

cult problem is to lose the educational effect that comes from an attempt to solve it. Vicarious experience may have some educational value, but not as real and lasting value as direct experience. Furthermore, when the top layer of most troublesome problems is drawn off, there appears underneath a great number of minor or incipient problems that the non-psychiatric worker must still deal with on a pragmatic basis. There is an educational connection between these minor, less-advanced problems and the major, well-advanced ones, but when a psychiatric worker is handling the well-advanced problems the non-psychiatric worker has little opportunity to understand their development through just the stages which some of her other cases are exhibiting. She therefore misses the insight she might develop, fails to evaluate correctly the small signs of maladjustment shown by her less advanced cases, and therefore, unless accident intervenes, is likely to permit their development to the stage which qualifies them for the service of the clinic and the psychiatric worker.

As mental hygiene itself develops more knowledge of prevention it confirms the idea held by some case workers that there is no sharp distinction between a problem and a non-problem case. It formerly was the policy of one child placing agency to accept from the court, schools, parents, or other sources children who exhibited antisocial behavior of various kinds, and were, therefore, labeled problems. But it was the experience of this agency that many children who came to it for other reasons were just as real problems. A baby who comes into care because his mother has to go to a hospital for an operation tries to tyrannize over the adults about him by screaming till he exhausts their endurance. A girl of seven in the care of the agency for two years because of the death of her mother suddenly and unaccountably begins to steal. A boy of twelve who must leave an orphanage because he has reached their age limit is a persistent bed wetter and no physical cause can be found for his malady. Are not these problems? Will the case worker in the children's agency help them as effectively as she might if she had some understanding of their psychological basis?

Because there is no sharp line between problem and non-problem cases, because every children's agency is dealing with both children and adults who exhibit unhealthy personality trends in every stage of development, it would appear that there is no clearly defined group of cases that may be turned over completely to a clinic staff. It would appear, in other words, that a children's agency has no group of cases that plainly requires psychiatric case work, and another group that can get along with non-psychiatric case work. Going still farther, it would appear that no new type of case work was discovered when the term "psychiatric case work" was coined, but rather that all case work is essentially the same in content and method, and that psychiatry gives to all case work new knowledge enabling it to deal with its problems with greater precision.

Translating this conclusion into practical service to a children's agency from a mental hygiene clinic, it would appear that in the main the children's agency should avail itself only of consultation service. Its case workers should provide

for the pediatrician, psychologist, and psychiatrist a social history which includes data on health, intellectual ability, and emotional adaption to life, and it should fit the recommendations of these three consultants as far as possible to the daily life of the child. This seems to be the first principle in organization of clinic service for a children's agency to which our reasoning has thus far led us.

But it will be said, It is impossible, for two reasons, for many children's agencies to do this: first, because their understanding of health and personality problems is too limited to enable them to gather data which the clinic needs, second, because they are carrying so many cases that even if they had adequate knowledge of physical and mental health, they still would not be able to put clinic advice into effect because they can give too little time to individual cases. If a clinic has developed in a community where this is true of the majority of the social agencies, we can sympathize with it and hope that it will see, as some clinics have seen, that its function is primarily education as to the meaning and time-consuming nature of all case work. For such a clinic it is of utmost importance that the psychiatrist and the chief of social service be good teachers even more than good technicians; that they be tolerant, patient, and willing temporarily to sacrifice ideal clinic practice to gradual education of the social agencies. If the clinic makes common cause with the agencies, explaining that success with cases handled by its own social service staff is dependent not only on insight and good technique, but also on a low case load, and if it succeeds in so interpreting case work that the agencies, in time, will be willing to secure workers with adequate equipment and enough of them to make it humanly possible to do their work well, then the clinic will have given to its community in that stage of its development the kind of service needed. If, on the other hand, in its disappointment over the low standards of the agencies, the clinic withdraws from their sad plight and devotes itself to the diagnosis and treatment of cases referred from sources not associated with the agencies, it may derive great personal satisfaction from the skilled workmanship of its staff, but it will be missing an opportunity to reach indirectly numbers of cases which it cannot hope to handle itself, and, because of the wide gap between its interpretation of case work and that of the rest of the community, and between its case load and that of the rest of the community, it may be in danger of being thought ornamental rather than useful, and, perhaps, of suffering even more severely because of the jealousy and inferiority feeling of the overworked and understaffed agencies. We question whether any one social organization, especially one as technical and expensive as a child guidance clinic, can survive long in a community whose general social standards remain very much below its own. Certainly it cannot operate as effectively as it wants to and as it should. For self-preservation therefore, as well as to safeguard its own ideals of work, it would seem to be the part of wisdom for clinics in communities whose case work standards are low to devote themselves to pioneer educational work. Would they not be assisted in leveling the difference between their point of view and that of the agencies if national organiza-

tions, particularly in the child welfare and family welfare fields, could send a teacher of case work into the agencies to assist from the inside in raising standards? Do not the clinics fighting the battle of all case work deserve this help from other fields?

But what shall we say to communities and agencies that have not already set up clinic service, and that now wish to have it? Let us take an imaginary case. Here is a city of 250,000 population whose buildings and business projects indicate local pride, prosperity, and a spirit of progressiveness. Its case working agencies include a family welfare society, subsidized by public funds, which hands out doles the amount of which is determined, not by a budget based on the cost of living, but on the guesses of a committee of wealthy women and a staff of *débutantes* whose ages do not exceed twenty-five. There is a protective society which construes its work to be so confidential that for some cases it keeps no records at all, and for those whose identity it is willing to intrust to paper, its records are in such a jumble that only luck and a good memory enable the worker to locate any given record when she wants it. This confusion in the filing system is accompanied by equal confusion in the case work. There is a child placing agency which accepts babies with a minimum number of questions and places them for adoption in foster families whose histories remain as mysterious as those of the babies they so trustfully accept. There is an institution for children whose board of forty women is dominated by a sentimental autocrat who derives most of her emotional satisfaction in life from her control of this institution and the destinies of its hapless children. Although the institution boasts a staff member whom it euphemistically calls a case worker, her duties are chiefly clerical, and her judgment, such as it is, is constantly overridden by the dominant member of the board. There is a juvenile court whose judge has blocked progressive legislation, and whose probation officer, thrilling over the sensational episodes in her work, finds time to record only the information called for on the police docket. The public schools are headed by a man who believes in corporal punishment, humiliation, and other tortures for the unlucky youngsters who cannot conform to its rigid system. There is no visiting teaching. The attendance work is carried on by an officer whose pace is retarded by his lumbago and the (for him) lucky fact that the law permits a child to be absent three days before it requires him to look into the matter. The health work among those not able to pay for private practice centers in a clinic whose medical staff attends so rarely that hospital internes, without supervision, are not only permitted, but obliged, to treat patients in all departments. The city is not yet in the birth registration area. Infant mortality, especially among the foreign group, is high, and respiratory, infectious, and nutritional diseases, even among children of wealthy families, are prevalent to a shocking degree. The whole scene is dominated by a community chest which has successfully raised enough money to carry on the limited programs with which the agencies are satisfied. Measured by even lenient standards, there is not one agency practicing creditable case work.

Should this community be encouraged to organize a child guidance clinic, even though, having heard the magic words, it is anxious to taste this latest novelty in social work? Assuming that for the next two years it can raise \$25,000 to \$50,000 above its present budget, will greater benefit be derived from investing this sum in the already existing agencies, strengthening their staffs, both in quality and quantity, and broadening their programs so that the fundamental social needs of the community may be more adequately met? Just as a cautious pediatrician withholds sweet potatoes and pork chops from the diet of a six-months-old baby, should we withhold full-fledged child guidance clinic service from some agencies and communities until their social digestive system is mature enough to assimilate it? This is not merely an academic question. Though the community we have described is a hypothetical one, it is similar to real communities that we have known and that have wanted a child guidance clinic and have been willing and able to pay for one. Does not the mental hygiene field deserve the sympathy and backing of the other case working fields when it urges caution in such a situation?

Let us return to our first concept as to the relationship that should prevail between case work and psychiatry. If it is true that case work, being concerned with personality, needs to use knowledge of physical and mental health day in and day out, not on special cases, but on all cases; if it is also true that a mental hygiene clinic wishing to serve a community must offer its resources to the children's and other social agencies and use them as channels of education to large numbers of cases whom it cannot treat directly, then it seems clear that the interests of the two fields are interrelated so closely that one cannot fully advance without the other. Case workers cannot practice with full effectiveness without consultant service from a mental hygiene clinic, nor can a clinic function except lamely without case workers with sufficient grasp of their own fields and sufficient knowledge of physical and mental health to assist in getting its message into the life of the community. These workers must not be merely those on its own staff, but on the staffs of all the agencies dealing with people in trouble. Therefore if we tell a community with a poor social program and low standards of case work that the kind of clinic service it needs is a limited service or none at all at present; that, rather it should spend a year or two cleaning house, raising its agencies to at least a minimum level of effectiveness, so that they can use a clinic intelligently and with a minimum of waste, are we merely delaying the spread of these valuable adjuncts to case work? Are we not, rather, paving the way for the clinic so that when it comes it will not find itself set down in an uncomprehending world? In general, will not the spread of effective clinic service be in proportion to the spread of effective case work? Therefore is not a mental hygiene program advanced by every effort made in other fields to educate case workers, to raise the level of their practice, to lower case load to the feasible carrying point? Should we not be looking forward to the day when there will be no distinction between psychiatric and non-psychiatric case work; when the

lessons of psychiatry will be absorbed by all case workers; when the conditions of practice will be favorable to high standards; and when, therefore, clinic service, limited, so far as the agencies are concerned, to primarily consultant service, may become like the hub of a wheel, using social agencies like spokes to carry its help to the large number of people who constitute its circumference?

PROGRAM FOR MEETING PSYCHIATRIC NEEDS
IN THE STATE: AIMS AND PROBLEMS
OF THE ILLINOIS PLAN

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Since one can never really start anew even with so relatively new a subject as the psychiatric problems of a state, it will be necessary to state briefly the historical developments of the work in Illinois in order to understand the present situation and the reason for the plans we are carrying out.

History of the work in Illinois.—Briefly, the first application of psychiatry and psychology to behavior problems in this country was at the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute, founded in Chicago in March, 1909. The idea was the conception of Mrs. William F. Dummer, and the tremendous progress that has been made, not only in this community itself, but in the development of other clinics throughout the country, bears testimony to Mrs. Dummer's wisdom. Dr. William Healy was appointed the first director, and for five years the Institute functioned under private support from Mrs. Dummer. This five-year period was a demonstration, the avowed object of which was to convince the officials and the general public of Cook County of the value of the work, with the intention that when this was accomplished the support of the Institute would be officially undertaken by the county.

This method of demonstration was not new, and similar demonstrations have been carried out since. The work of the child guidance clinics of the Commonwealth Fund and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has been organized on this same basis. This method of creative work is perhaps the outcome of a previous less constructive method, namely, the social survey. The survey method is one which has proved very useful in the past, and is still of value today under certain conditions. For reasons which will appear later, however, I hazard the statement that unless a survey or a demonstration such as the first five years of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute is applied under unusually favorable conditions, permanent success is very doubtful. The survey, as employed in public service, is usually conducted as the result of dissatisfaction with existing conditions on the part of a group in the community, or as a result of a scandal. The survey usually results in a report in which constructive suggestions are made. While some surveys have been eminently successful in estab-

lishing permanent improvements, too frequently the opposite has occurred. By the time the report is rendered the original excitement has died down, and the report is filed and nothing done. Furthermore, survey officials are usually handicapped by having only a brief time in which to get acquainted with the field that is being studied, and by ignorance of details which, in themselves unimportant, may nevertheless be decisive as to the practicability of the final recommendation made. Many a scheme which appears satisfactory and logical on paper has failed of adaptation or of practical effectiveness when adopted because of the neglect of some of these smaller details. Demonstrations, on the other hand, have the advantage of actually carrying out work under the conditions which any permanent organization will have to meet. There is therefore the possibility of actually doing the work intended, and thereby silencing any objection that the plan is visionary.

Transfer of Juvenile Psychopathic Institute from private to county and to state auspices in turn.—The Juvenile Psychopathic Institute during its first five years overwhelmingly demonstrated not only the practicability of the project, but also its great value. Not only Chicago and Cook County, but the entire country, was inspired by what Dr. Healy and his associates accomplished. As a result, at the end of the demonstration period the commissioners of Cook County accepted the Institute as an official obligation of the county.

With Dr. Healy's departure, in 1917, to his present position with the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, it was natural that, because of his very remarkable record at the Institute, the public should lose some of its interest. This loss of interest was soon made manifest on the part of the commissioners of the county, and it was not long before word came to Judge Arnold of the Juvenile Court that the commissioners of the county were pressed for funds, that economy was the watchword, and that they would have to retrench. It was natural that in looking around for some place to save money they would select the Institute as something without which the county could continue to exist. Judge Arnold, therefore, informed me that at the termination of the fiscal year there would be no funds for continuing the work.

In the meantime Governor Lowden had completed the draft of the Civil Administrative Code, which organized the administration of the state. This included, among other departments, a Department of Public Welfare, with a director who had charge of all the charitable, penal, and correctional institutions of the state. In the Department of Public Welfare was a Division of Criminology, to be in charge of a criminologist, a specialist who was to apply scientific methods of research to the problem of criminal behavior. When Mr. Charles H. Thorne, director of the Department of Public Welfare, invited me to take this position of criminologist, I agreed, and it was determined to continue the work of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute as the preventive work of the Division of Criminology, under state support. The work has been thus continued from 1919 to the present time.

Consideration of state support and civil service restrictions.—Summing up the work to this time, then, it is seen that even with so successful a demonstration as Dr. Healy's five-year period, after two and a half years under public auspices the work broke down and could no longer be supported by the county. It would seem, moreover, that although a state is a better projection than a smaller organization such as a county or a city, nevertheless even here a really thorough scientific work cannot be carried on with complete security. There are some very important, if not fundamental, considerations at the basis of this. In the first place, all state enterprises depend on appropriations from the legislature. While in practice there is frequently no great risk of the state's abandoning any worthwhile undertaking once it has successfully established itself, the dependence on appropriations has certain serious disadvantages. The first of these is the uncertainty as to the possibility of expansion commensurate with the development of public opinion and demands. In the second place, it is difficult to secure for the public service the kinds of personnel that are required for the work. Security of office is essential for obtaining good personnel. The civil service is no help here, but rather a disadvantage at times, since in the first place civil service is not an absolute guaranty, and furthermore, as operative in this country, it tends to standardize so that it is not possible to create individual positions which may fit a particular person.

There is a final point in connection with this method which has been pressed upon our attention. Surveys and demonstrations are for the purpose of arousing a sense of obligation on the part of public officials. However much it may be minimized, there is always a flavor of antagonism in such a procedure. Social workers are generally regarded as "reformers" by public officials. New things are started by attacking public administrators and threatening them with the revealing of their incompetency. Of course there are many instances where public officials have taken the lead and have a conscientious attitude toward obligations. Those states are fortunate in which this has had continuity, but in no state has such a condition been continuous enough really to accomplish what should be accomplished, and in some states progressive and conscientious administrations have been short-lived. Ultimately, of course, such conditions must and will be changed, and it is to be hoped that some day we shall be able to separate public service from the peculiarly political functions, so that we shall have a civil service here comparable to the British civil service, which offers careers for individuals competent to do the work.

But whatever may come in the future, we are faced with the present situation, and, under the democratic form of government which we have, in which service is a part of policy, and therefore subject to political control, even if to no greater extent than that the appropriations are dependent on opinion in the legislature, we must acknowledge the facts. I say this in no critical sense. I believe that even under the present system of conducting public business we can establish work of the kind in which we are interested on a firm basis. The history of

such states as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois is ample evidence that this is true. It is perhaps just as well that this is so, because it requires on the part of everyone an attitude of tolerance toward others. I doubt very much whether, if the National Conference of Social Work were given the authority to conduct all the welfare of all the states represented here, we should be successful. We should probably be less so than we have been with the help of the legislators and public officials trained in politics and the administration of public affairs.

The problem of personnel.—Since the founding of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute in Illinois seventeen years ago the idea has developed and spread so that the demand for this type of service has become far greater than could be met by the supply of trained workers. Until recently the plan has been for every institution dealing with behavior problems, every school or school department, every philanthropic organization, to equip itself with a mental hygiene clinic. The recommendations of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene for this purpose have been very specific and fit in well with the procedure in Illinois and elsewhere. According to this a minimum unit staff consists of one director (a psychiatrist), one psychologist, one chief psychiatric social worker, two assistant psychiatric social workers, one secretary, and two stenographers. As the demand increases, however, and the problem becomes one of meeting the needs of an entire state, as in the state of Illinois, the amount of personnel needed is greatly increased and is difficult to find. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the Commonwealth Fund, and other organizations have the same experience. There are not enough clinical psychologists, psychiatric social workers, or psychiatrists experienced in the behavior field to meet the needs of the clinics that are even now established. Accordingly, in Illinois we are increasing our training facilities so as to provide more trained personnel. The Commonwealth Fund is similarly planning a program for training personnel. It is apparent, however, on careful consideration, that no matter how much the training facilities may be increased, and no matter how many more workers will become available, there are certain inherent facts which will prevent our meeting the situation on this basis. We believe that the work done in these clinics has something to offer to every individual in the community, old and young. At the present time, and probably for some time to come, to do thorough work in this field requires a great deal of time in each individual case. Therefore it is clear that it is an impossibility ever to secure enough qualified personnel to meet the needs of the entire population on the basis of individual service by a minimum staff such as that set up by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. It is clear that some division of labor is required, and this must be recognized in planning for any community. Workers of various degrees of competence and responsibility are needed. Large numbers of lower grades of workers can be used, and, because the requirements are not too high, these can be secured in sufficient numbers to deal with the problem. They must have a definite understanding of what their function is, and beyond that point they cannot go. When

they reach that point there must be more advanced and highly trained workers to whom they can refer their cases for more information or for transfer. Finally, the center of the entire system must be a consulting staff of highly qualified experts who can set up policies. This central staff should constitute the headquarters and should combine all of the three functions of such an organization: service, training, and research. These three functions are intimately bound up with each other. Thus the service function offers opportunities for practical training and for research, and the research, in turn, adds to the effectiveness of the service performed.

The Illinois plan.—Based on these considerations, the plan for the state of Illinois as at present outlined includes two main divisions of service. The first consists of the institution service, which concerns itself with the study and treatment of individual cases in the state penal and correctional institutions. According to the organization of the Department of Public Welfare, there are also certain institutions which utilize the services of the mental health organization under the Division of Criminology without being officially assigned to that division. These are the two institutions for the feeble-minded and the schools for the deaf and the blind, as well as the Soldiers' Orphans' Home. The other division of the work is designed to be preventive and extramural. This part of the work consists of the service given at the headquarters and its out-patient clinic, the branch at the Juvenile Detention Home of Cook County, the pre-school and nursery school work at Hull House and at the LaSalle-Peru Township High School, and the Glenwood Manual Training School. In addition to this there are traveling clinics which visit periodically the various cities of the state.

This plan calls for a permanent unit at each of the institutions, two traveling clinics on permanent duty, two units at headquarters, and one unit at the Juvenile Court. At the present time this plan is by no means complete in its operation, because of the scarcity of personnel, and particularly because of the difficulty in obtaining clinical psychologists and psychiatrists not only competent to do the work, but willing to go out into the field and be stationed at the penal and correctional institutions, but it is gradually being put into effect. At present we have, at the penitentiary at Joliet, a psychiatrist, a part-time psychologist, a clerk, and are about to add a psychiatric social worker. The Reformatory for Boys at Pontiac and the Southern Illinois Penitentiary at Menard are covered by visiting clinics at monthly intervals. We are about to put in a permanent staff at the reformatory, and a clerk is assigned to each institution. At present there is a psychologist at the Training School for Boys at St. Charles and at the School for Girls at Geneva.

The headquarters, that is, the Institute for Juvenile Research itself, has recently been moved to a modern fireproof structure which affords better facilities for the development of the work. This, however, is still a temporary building for us, and we expect in the near future to have a permanent building designed for our needs. At the headquarters there is a chief psychiatrist, a chief psychologist, and a chief psychiatric social worker, each of whom is responsible for the

entire service of his division of the work. In addition to this service staff, there will be attached to the headquarters a body of research workers of different grades, from graduate students to recognized authorities in the various lines of work. Research in the past has been conducted under difficulties because of inadequate funds and space and because of the immense pressure of the service work. Recently, however, a committee of citizens of Chicago, realizing the importance of the work which is done at the Institute for Juvenile Research and the opportunities for research which the clinical material offers, undertook to raise a sum of money to be used for independent research in problems of human behavior. This fund, which is called the Behavior Research Fund, is now complete, and the organization of the work is being planned, to begin officially October 1, 1926. The fund amounts to \$55,000 a year and is guaranteed for five years, and there is every indication that it will be made permanent before the end of the five-year period. Thus it will be possible to attract to the work scientists who would not have been willing to consider the risk involved in accepting a position under state appropriation, with the potential danger of the support being withdrawn at any time. The security and continuity guaranteed by this arrangement is seen to be comparable to that of a university. Moreover, the opportunities for conducting research in human behavior problems is far better at the Institute for Juvenile Research than at any university at present, because of the close knitting of the public service with the research, the tremendous facilities and clinical material of the state being made accessible to the scientist with the least possible effort involved. Nor will the research workers have to interrupt their work to fulfil service obligations or demands. The service staff will attend to all of that, and the scientific workers in research will be protected against any interference.

With this arrangement, moreover, it is obvious that there is an ideal opportunity for training students and workers in the various specialties represented. In order to facilitate the use of these opportunities for graduate students, the Institute for Juvenile Research will effect an affiliation with various universities, so that the work done by students at the Institute under the supervision of the senior staff will be counted for credit at their respective universities.

PROGRAM FOR MEETING PSYCHIATRIC NEEDS IN
THE CITY: AIMS AND PROBLEMS OF
THE CLEVELAND PLAN

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It is not intended in this paper to try to present a program for meeting all the psychiatric needs of a city, but to present a program for meeting some of those needs not now commonly met. A basic need in any program is, of course,

facilities for the recognition and care of the legally feeble-minded and insane. This involves adequate diagnostic service, to be had in Cleveland in a variety of ways: from practicing psychiatrists, hospital dispensary services, and the psychopathic hospital. Care and treatment must also be provided, either in special institutions, private or public, or in the community. All of this work centers around the treatment of disease and defect states, while our interest today is in prevention rather than cure. For that reason we shall not discuss this important phase of the work, but will devote attention to the problems involved in a preventive program.

By common agreement a preventive program must be focused primarily upon the problems of children. The main reason for this is that we know that work with children when attitudes and personality trends are developing and before modes of response have become fixed will prevent a great many difficulties either in personality adjustment or in behavior, and will therefore contribute to a happy and healthy life. It is clear, however, that working with the problems of children involves also working with the problems of the adults, who control in so many ways the life and development of children. We have, then, actually a double approach in our preventive work, through working with both the child and the adult to achieve for each new levels of adjustment which shall be reflected in the adjustments between the two.

There are many known groups of children presenting problems for mental hygiene work. There is the group of dependent children who, because of some disaster in the home, are becoming social charges and will, during the period of childhood, have their lives ordered by the social agencies, institutions, and foster homes which assume the responsibility for them. For these a mental health study seems needed in order that actually adequate plans may be made for their care. The mere fact of the breaking up of a home and the necessary assumption by some extra-home agency of the care and training of these children presents a mental hygiene problem in the individual child of no small proportions. There is also a group of children showing retardation in intellectual development such that they are unable to compete in the ordinary types of intellectual work required of them. The need here is for adequate diagnostic facilities in the schools, and, over and above that, adequate facilities for the proper education of those children who are unable to keep up in normal competition, and also for the superior child. It is today recognized as a basic principle in mass education that classification of pupils according to intellectual ability and the provision of special types of education is an essential, not only in training for economic productivity, but in procuring an adequate degree of stabilization for the individual child. As is true in any section of our work, the facilities for diagnosis are not enough. It is much more important to have developed methods of dealing with the diagnosed cases than it is merely to make the diagnosis. I should plead here for a complete obliteration of the notion that just because a diagnosis has been made the situation has been in some way helped. To be sure, adequate planning and

adequate treatment cannot proceed until there is an adequate diagnosis, but the diagnosis is not an end in itself, and is only a means to the end of proper treatment.

There is a third group of children who present problems in behavior ranging all the way from mild to grave, and involving such groups as the home, the school, or the community. The home problem is ordinarily handled by the parents, and as a general rule very little admission is made, outside the home, that a problem exists. It is true that often parents handle such problems unwisely, and they often handle them too impulsively. They make mistakes in many ways in meeting the issues that are raised, but after all these problems belong to them and they are the people who must meet them, whether they meet them well or poorly. It is not fair to criticize the parent for meeting the problem poorly when the parent is giving to its solution the best that he knows. Evolution of assistance to the parent in meeting such problems has come in various ways. Indeed, the very variety of methods has operated as a handicap to securing a better level of parental care. For the most part parental education has been based on an external and superficial type of approach, viewing the problem sheerly as an intellectual one, so that a presentation of the facts would presumably clear up the problem existing between parent and child. Unfortunately, parents are people, and being people, they have emotional blocks, pathological attitudes, and inner strivings of their own to which they react in dealing with their children. The presentation of intellectually graspable material will not succeed in altering the parents' point of view and methods of dealing with the child if that material does not reach their emotional blocks and help to clear up their own prejudices. Imposed education will never do this. Only the education that develops from within, that meets the issues presented by the individual personality, will ever succeed as a real preventive measure in dealing with parents.

The school has developed a great many types of machinery for dealing with the behavior group. There are special schools of certain sorts—often handicapped in the very good work they are doing by being classed as the "bad boys' school" or the "bad girls' school"—attendance departments, truant officers, parental schools, etc. But all too frequently this machinery is again superficial and external in its approach, and sees the child who breaks the rules of the school merely as a case of difficult behavior, rather than as a living, adjusting organism whose behavior is but a blind expression of difficulties in adjustment within the individual or between the individual and his social nexus. This is perhaps an expression of a universal tendency that is even more marked when we view the attitude of society to those who do not conform in their behavior. Ever fearful, the social group is quick to take steps for its own protection, and what boots it that this protection in and of itself frequently does the opposite of what the group is really striving for, and merely produces a more serious type of offender? I take it that our expressed social purpose is to have a happy, healthy, and harmonious group. It is, however, a fair criticism that we as individuals want the health and happiness and expect the other fellow to provide the harmony; and

in case he does not, our immediate protective reaction is to exclude him from the group. We do not consider enough the point that perhaps we too have contributed to the disharmony, and that perhaps we too are partially involved in the other fellow's failure to adapt to the group. This method of exclusion from the group or the tribe, whether it be by death, by deportation, by imprisonment, or by slavery, is the most primitive of all the group responses to the individual who disturbs the peace, the security, or the comfort of the group. That the method is not in and of itself constructive is no bar to its application. That it does not succeed in producing a viable social unit from our misfit will not interfere with its application, because it is based on some of the strongest primitive emotional reactions that individuals have. After all, the group is composed only of individuals.

We have, therefore, in the work with the children who present behavior problems, community resistances to overcome. There is apt to be a strong community feeling that people are bad or good according to their heredity or their environment or their own voluntary choice, and we seem to have a community feeling that we should react to them only as they are of their own volition good or bad. There is a further community attitude concerning those who attempt to study problems in behavior with the same objective attitude and the same patient search for facts, the same patient attempts at evolution of methods dealing with these individuals who do not conform, that characterizes the growth of any body of scientific knowledge. Such groups are often regarded as queer, or bolsheviks, or sentimentalists, or enemies to the established social order, etc. Not much of this antagonism finds conscious expression, but enough comes out from time to time to indicate what the trend of community thinking is. People who try to work with behavior problems are accused on the one hand of being arrant sentimentalists, and on the other, of being too scientific and inhuman in their approach. They are accused on the one side of trying to standardize all children, and on the other, of making individualists of the children with whom they deal. They are accused of publicity seeking, and of not doing enough publicity; of not doing enough follow-up on cases, and of doing too much study of a case. This list of ambivalent criticisms could be extended almost indefinitely. Actually they prove only one thing, which is that the groups working with behavior problems are approaching their problems objectively and scientifically, with sympathy for all the individuals who are involved in the difficulties, without expressing the revenge motive which is so characteristic in the social approach problems, and with an absence of predetermined judgments. In other words, these criticisms prove that these groups are doing their job as it should be done, and not according to the emotional will-o'-the-wisp that determines the attitude of the critics.

We have, then, three general streams of cases ready made. This must not blind us to the fact that it is not only these groups of the dependents, those failing in competition in the schools and those who present problems in behavior in

home and school and community, who present mental hygiene problems. There are also the ordinary normal children in the ordinary normal homes, who have problems within themselves and in their personal relationships which deserve some of our time and attention if our idea is the greatest possible mental health for the greatest possible number of people.

In any organization for mental hygiene work in a community there are four fundamentals which must be recognized. The first is that mental hygiene is not the job alone of any one group in the community. It has been well said that mental hygiene begins at home, and a canny epigrammatist once added, "and often should stay there." Mental hygiene as such, having to do with that portion of the organism that expresses itself in social relationships, is in some sense the job of each one of us. Scattered principles of mental hygiene are to be found in the written records of all civilizations. Their formulation into a definite or fairly definite set of principles is, however, a matter of very recent times. What the mental hygiene movement is trying to do is to formulate in scientific fashion the rules of mental health and the ways and means by which mental health may be had or increased. Mental hygiene is an important factor in the life of everyone who has to deal with children's problems. It begins, or should begin, with the problems of one's own mental attitudes as they affect one's relations with others. It extends in ever widening circles from these people who make their own mental hygiene a definite objective. To mental hygiene and its principles contributions have come and will come from a wide variety of different sources. The most important contributions have been made by the overlapping fields of psychiatry and psychology, formulating, respectively, the facts about mental disorders of all sorts and the facts about the normal mind. Mental hygiene leadership is to be expected from this group, but mental hygiene as a job is not the job solely of this group. These two and social work, education, recreation, the home, the school, the church, and the court, and so on through a long list of community resources, have each something to contribute. Sound mental hygiene work, to reach any considerable portion of the community needing it, must be well organized, then, with contributions received from all those zones of work which may be expected to make contributions, and making contributions to the working techniques of the groups who deal with large groups of children.

The second fundamental is that the number of trained and experienced workers is limited, and this condition, as I see it, is bound to continue for a considerable period of time. The personnel is increasing constantly, but it is not increasing in proportion to the increased demand. Such personnel as we have available must be used in terms of leadership. A warning seems necessary here: half-baked mental hygiene work is probably much worse than no mental hygiene work at all, and a trained and inspiring leadership is absolutely essential if adequate work is to be done in the community. Above all things, sentimentalism as a stimulus to mental hygiene work is to be deplored, although sympa-

thy, human understanding, and tolerance are outstanding needs for any sort of mental hygiene work.

The third fundamental is that the community has a large inertia. Man's primary interests lie in the preservation of his life and in his physical comfort. The mind remains for most people the greatest mystery of all, more secret, and in a sense more sacred, than reproduction itself. The general ideas of the mind adhere to archaic patterns now worn threadbare, and there is an enormous problem and an enormous task to present newer conceptions of the mind in a way that shall be workably related to the individual and his concepts and his job. We are, on the whole, mentally lazy. We object to new ideas; we object to anything which disputes the ordered series of concepts with which we placidly face the difficult problems of existence. Anything which affects our feeling of security in ourselves is rejected, and all these elements enter into community inertia. As a group, we act only when fear of some sort is aroused. The mental hygienist does not wish to use fear as a means of arousing people to action because he knows its detrimental effects all too well. We are faced, then, with the problem of patiently trying to dent an inert mass, and oftentimes our efforts seem all too puny.

The fourth fundamental is that our basic knowledge, despite all that we know, is still limited, and that we have not reached a stage where we may sit back and formulate final and static rules to cover all the mental hygiene issues. Quite fortunately, we never shall be able to do so because our problem is not a static problem and is not a question of structures to be analyzed, but is a problem in dynamics, and we are confronted constantly by flux and change. We shall need to keep up a constant stream of educational and clinical work if we are to succeed in our mental hygiene efforts.

Bearing all these points in mind, it becomes possible to sketch the broad outlines of the organization of a community for mental hygiene work. The plan here presented is necessarily an elastic one, since so much depends upon the facilities available in a given community. Perhaps no community is at the present time in a position such that a complete organization of this type is possible, and certainly many smaller communities could deal only with one or two elements of the plan. There is no reason, however, why a community should not start something commensurate with its facilities and its needs, even though only a small part of the needed work might be attempted in the beginning.

The central feature of organization for mental hygiene work, as I see it, is clinical work with the groups of children already outlined. There are several conceivable ways in which this could be done. The most satisfactory method, in my opinion, is that of the central independent clinic group whose services are available to social agencies, schools, courts, physicians and hospitals, and parents. This method of organization is preferred over the method of organizing a series of clinics to serve these agencies individually. Such a clinic should be

staffed with psychiatrists, psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and the needed clerical group in order to make effective its clinical service and in order to develop that degree of community cooperation which is absolutely essential in work with maladjusted children. In individual instances communities have set up such clinics in relationship to some specific agency dealing with children, as, for example, the clinic in the public schools in Minneapolis, the various court clinics, etc. From a practical point of view, however, if one accepts, as I do, the central principle that the clinic is a coordinating, cooperating center, and that it must establish broad lines of cooperation with all the institutions, including the home, which enter into and affect the life of the child, the desirability of an independent organization and position seems quite clear. Properly organized, and with a large enough staff to care for the work, there are several types of clinical service which may be offered.

First, there is the mental health study for dependent children who are becoming charges of the social agencies of the community. We have long ago seen the light on the advantage of studying the physical health of the child at the time he becomes a public charge and providing care and treatment for the minor and major physical defects that may be found. In many communities a further step has been taken, and the intelligence of the child has been measured, at the time of admission to the agency, for the particular purpose of selecting the feeble-minded children who should receive care in a specialized institution. So far as I know there are no communities which go beyond this and round out the study of their children by looking into other points concerning mental make-up and mental health. Since we recognize more clearly today than ever before that other aspects of mind than intelligence are of the greatest importance in determining healthful social relationships and the successful living of life, it would seem entirely logical to develop a completely rounded study of the mental health of the child at the time he becomes a charge of a public agency, rather than after he has given indications of the need for study of his mental health by presenting problems in behavior or in other ways. The proper formulation of this mental health study is an issue of grave importance, as there are so many ways in which it may be wrongly or poorly done, and so be a hindrance rather than a help.

The second type of service would be a consultation service designed to evaluate situations with which case workers are confronted in the management of their case work problems. In this instance the consultation is based on the worker's record and accumulation of data rather than upon individual study of the child. We must, it seems to me, constantly bear in mind that this method has great limitations, and that it is in no sense a substitute for actual study of the case. Nevertheless it is an important and helpful method so far as the case worker herself is concerned. On the basis of an experiment carried out last summer we have had a workers' consultation service with three agencies during the past winter, and it seems to me that it has been highly successful in achieving

its objectives. These are a provision of definite help to the worker in dealing with her immediate problems, adding to the worker's knowledge of mental hygiene technique and principles to apply to other problems with which she is confronted in her case work, and to increase the effectiveness of cooperation between the clinic and other agencies. Many of the cases presented in such a service must necessarily be studied in detail before any satisfactory solution of the problem is reached.

There is another small group of cases which can be dealt with on the basis of advice directly to the parent who is having difficulties with a child. Such cases are not numerous and must always be very carefully and critically selected for such management. They are represented chiefly by instances where a parent has become, perhaps suddenly, quite apprehensive concerning some minor trait which the child shows, and desires advice as to dealing with the immediate situation. A fairly careful survey of the situation with the parent will usually show whether a complete study is necessary.

Another type of service is the one of partial examination, where the preliminary statement of the problem which the child presents is fairly clearly indicative of the nature of the underlying difficulty and some one or more special examinations are necessary to confirm or refute this first impression. This type of service seems most profitable in the examination of children where feeble-mindedness is suspected, and the intelligence tests give a clear-cut answer to the question. I do not mean to imply that only the intelligence tests should be made, since other factors may enter into the problem as well.

These shorter services, or, as they are commonly called, slight services, are the most difficult of all with which to deal, and demand from the staff members working with them the highest degree of alertness, quickness, and skill in interpretation. In our experience they are not services to be intrusted to those who are just beginning their work in this field, but rather to the most experienced members of the staff. It must always be remembered that they are, after all, only first approaches to the problem, and that no cases should be dealt with by such slight services unless it is absolutely clear that a contribution can be made in this way to the treatment of the situation.

We come then to the major clinical service of such a clinic group, namely, the complete study and evaluation of a situation, its interpretation in terms of dynamic stresses and strains involved in causation, and particularly the carrying out of treatment measures designed to remedy the fundamental difficulties in the situation. I would emphasize again that making such a study is not, in and of itself, enough, but the study must be functionally useful and used in the treatment of the problems presented, else it has failed. I take it I need not repeat the fundamental studies involved, but I should like to remind you that when we deal with a human being who is out of adjustment it becomes absolutely essential to study all of the ways in which he is out of adjustment, all of the ways in which he is well adjusted, all of the underlying factors in his personality that

contribute to the lack of adjustment, and all of the factors in his environment with particular reference to those dynamic portions of the environment, the personalities to whom he must adjust, before we can be very certain of the steps to be taken in readjustment.

It is, in my opinion, a mistake for such a clinical group to attempt to carry under treatment any considerable proportion of the cases it studies. To do so would not only reduce its opportunities to deal with the constantly increasing stream of cases which the community sends to it, but would prevent the development in other agencies of their own treatment attack and of their use and understanding of mental hygiene principles in their own work. Wherever possible it is clearly desirable to carry on treatment measures cooperatively, the agency of primary responsibility for the child carrying out the social-manipulative measures, and the clinic carrying on the more technical psycho-therapeutic measures. The bulk of the clinic's cases should always be, it seems to me, those which we call consultation cases, meaning thereby that after the study a report and recommendations are given to the agency of primary responsibility, and further contacts made by the clinic to follow up and see what the outcome of the situation has been, or, on request of the agency, as new situations arise. To make this consultation service effective it is necessary to have a very clear understanding between the agency and the clinic, and there must be constantly developing a greater and greater realization of each other's problems, points of view, worker's attitudes, technique, and vocabulary, so that the report to the agency has meaning in terms of functional effectiveness. Because of the ease with which this can be started, the point is often overlooked that to make it effective demands a great deal of careful, patient, slow work, not only in this particular field of agency and clinic contacts, but in many others, and that the desired results are not to be obtained in a day. The most necessary item for it seems to be that the clinic shall not pursue a policy of "splendid isolation," but shall actually be integrating itself into the work of the agencies to which it gives service.

Our clinic staff, then, must provide for the community, both direct and indirect case services which shall be functionally useful to those whose continuous contacts with the life of the child are so important in shaping the individual into which the child will develop. In the Cleveland plan both direct and indirect services are provided for, and as the plan stands at present there would be, for all children coming into the hands of social agencies for a long-time placement, a routine mental health study with report to the agency, but with no assumption of responsibility for the final plan on the part of the clinic. It would give to the educational system, agencies, and court a problem service concerned with the study of children who present known problems in adjustment, and the development there of the treatment of such defects. It is hoped to provide for the court a special sort of routine mental health survey through which cases would be

chosen for more intensive study and treatment in cooperation with the probation staff.

We have come to the conclusion that there is a definite technique in the setting up of adequate cooperative relationships with another agency. This technique, in our opinion, involves three steps: Through lectures or group discussions the mental hygiene principles involved in work with children may be presented to the entire staff of the agencies with whom one wishes to work. If this is a very large staff, this preliminary work should be done with the supervisory group, since through them all of the case workers in that agency may be effectively reached. It becomes necessary also to develop in the agency one or more people who, through some six months of work at the clinic, have become completely familiar with it and have acquired a great deal of information concerning mental hygiene principles as applied to their own work. The second step, then, in the evolution of cooperation is the provision either of the mental health study type of service or the workers' consultation service, through either of which further diffusion of mental hygiene principles and technique becomes possible. Not only does this result, but the clinic staff itself becomes increasingly familiar with the problems and technique of the agencies with which cooperation is established. The third step, then, is actual cooperative study and treatment of individual cases. Of course, many times these three steps are going forward simultaneously.

It is clear that in the clinical services, as outlined so far, there is constantly being carried forward a mutual education between agencies and clinic which in the long run increases the effectiveness of clinic work and increases its case load capacity. It is not possible, perhaps, in any community, and has not been possible here, to develop these cooperative services with all the agencies that might use them. It has recently been pointed out that we have done far too little work with the settlement houses, with the recreation workers, and with the orphanages; yet until satisfactory cooperative work with case working agencies, the court, and the special divisions of the schools has been established, it is impossible to do very much with the other groups, and in a community plan I would not advise trying to reach all of the groups at once, but instead, attempt to reach first those groups with which satisfactory working relationships are the most important.

Beyond these clinical services there is the large issue of education, which means primarily the education of adults concerning mental hygiene and concerning the children with whom they must deal. It is imperative to recognize the need for a carefully laid plan for such educational work, else the drain upon the time and energy of the staff may seriously interfere with its central objective. There is a great appeal to the individual in being invited to address a women's club or a men's club which is of importance and standing in the town. Such invitations are apt to be numerous and apt to be so numerous that they become a

serious problem. Organization is necessary in advance if the work is really to be effective. As a group we have discarded the single lecture idea as a means of really contributing to the mental hygiene education of the community. It is useful, and we use it, and we try to make our single lectures as educational as possible; but we do not rely on it, and regard it as wasteful. Instead, we have pursued the policy steadily of arranging for talks in series to be given to groups of organizations, such as groups of parent-teacher associations, in such a way that we reach a great many more organizations and reach them more effectively than if we went to each with a single talk. This is the explanation of the fact that in the past one and a half winters we have been able to reach all but fifty-six of the one-hundred-forty-odd parent-teacher associations in Cleveland and its immediate suburbs, and that there is no important woman's club in the city of Cleveland which has not been reached in some way. The problem which now confronts the community clinic is, on the basis of this broad foundation, to do a more definitely educational job in such a way that a considerable group of people will be reached, and yet the time of the staff conserved. So far as the plan has been evolved, there would be during the coming winter a series of sixteen to twenty lectures to one large group of mothers. Realizing as I do the unsatisfactory nature of the lecture as a means of mental hygiene education, it is further planned to split this large group into small groups of twenty with a leader for each. The person who gives the lectures will afterward meet with the group leaders for a round table discussion of the material presented in the lecture, and each leader will then have a round table with her group of twenty to discuss the lecture and relate the material thereof definitely to the problems of the people in the group. From what I know of the Cleveland public and of the group of women who, as a subcommittee of our board of trustees, have evolved this plan, there is no reason to doubt that such a series will be largely attended and will have a pronounced effect upon the community attitude toward children and their problems.

So far we have been speaking only of parents. The parents are not the only group in the community for whom educational work must be provided. The next largest group of people who come intimately and constantly in contact with children is the group of teachers, and here we are confronted with two issues: first, the teacher in the classroom, daily confronted with the problems in adjustment and behavior of the children, harried and torn by the demands of her job, who recognizes her needs for mental hygiene principles and technique in her work. Then there is the teacher in training, who is soon to be confronted by these same problems that harass the teacher in the classroom, and means must be found for reaching this group as well. Then there are the social workers, those in the field and those in training, particularly the latter; and various other student groups that should be reached had we the time and the opportunity. Particularly, courses for medical students seem imperative, if medicine is to make its proper contribution to the whole field. For education and for social service

definite courses have been, and will be, given in the schools of education and applied social sciences. At Western Reserve, which has many advantages, both for students and clinic staff, the method of the formal course is time conserving for the staff and reaches a large group in an orderly fashion, at the same time giving the students university credit. It should be pointed out that other courses in mental hygiene and child training are available, such as the course for parents given by Professor Myers at Western Reserve, and that the clinic group is greatly interested in stimulating attendance at these courses and in increasing the number that are available. In other words, the clinic does not compete with established work, but attempts merely to supplement it by courses dealing with the special phase of behavior presented chiefly from that clinical point of view which is so essential in mental hygiene education.

To carry out all this work in the community demands a high-grade, stable organization as a background for these clinical workers. In Cleveland this organization will probably be an independent board of trustees, appointed in part by the Welfare Federation and in part by the board of trustees of the Children's Aid Society. Our present board, by its own vote, automatically expires on February 1, 1927. The new board probably will follow along the lines laid down in the make-up of the present board, which includes a wide representation from the Board of Education, parochial schools, the Juvenile Court, the several women's clubs, the Parent-Teacher Council, the Welfare Federation, the Jewish Welfare Federation, the Cleveland Foundation, the board of trustees of the Children's Aid Society, the Federated Churches, the Academy of Medicine, several departments of Western Reserve University, and the boards of a number of co-operating organizations. There is a principle involved in the selection of such a board, which is that it should be widely representative of community interests, and particularly should be an interlocking directorate. Not only should the board stand for something in the community, but it should stand for something in the clinic, and it is imperative that such a board should be well informed concerning the operations of the clinic, for which reason a series of standing committees should be constantly at work.

With such an organization of board and of clinic, with constant interchange between the two, with clinical and educational services provided, with constant up-building of cooperation with other agencies, and constant resistance against the common trends toward isolation and jealousy, it seems to me the community is organized so that mental hygiene work may go effectively forward and help, as it undoubtedly can, in procuring for the individuals in the community a better mental health than they already have, and so increase community mental health.

THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER'S ATTITUDES AND PROBLEMS AS THEY AFFECT HER WORK

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Personality is the case worker's stock in trade. The personal element which she introduces into her contacts is essential for the development of the rapport that must be established if she is to gain a real understanding of the client's problem and work out with him a new orientation. The interplay of her personality and of her client's forms the medium of her work and sets in operation the case work process of disintegrating the present situation for the purpose of reintegrating it on a new and better level. Her entrance into the case precipitates this process, and because she herself becomes a part of the experiment, she cannot deal with her clients as laboratory material, and must take into account her own reactions as part of the total reaction that requires constant testing.

Case work technique embraces the knowledge of certain sciences and what may be termed case work crafts, but the reason why that technique is still intangible and unformulated is that its essence rests on the worker's personality. Her insight into the motivations not only of others, but of herself, determines what she sees, how she sees it, and how she deals with it. None of us can take for granted the accuracy of our understanding. It can be maintained only by self-examination, which should continue throughout the treatment of the case. In short, since the case worker is part of the case work situation, she has to keep as persistent track of herself as she does of her clients.

The social worker is often accused of entering social work from motives that would be disconcerting were they recognized. This is equally true of the motives that lead to the choice of any profession. The urge is the same: the seeking of satisfaction which in itself is an essentially healthy motive. The important consideration becomes the sort of satisfaction one is looking for, since this will not only determine whether the job is a healthy or an unhealthy experience for the worker, but will determine the quality of her work.

Certainly the choice of a case work career calls for no apology, for it offers an exceptionally rich and constructive experience. The case worker has an opportunity to become acquainted with every aspect of life. She sees life as a whole, becomes aware of its underlying forces, and with a more realistic understanding can view it with detachment. If personal development comes from meeting reality, certainly the case worker, alert to the realities that abound in case work, has every chance for personal growth. It is only in literature that one gets an opportunity to extend one's personal boundaries to anything like the same degree, and social work has the advantage over literature of affording a much more active participation.

Like any other profession, social work may be used as a refuge. Through it

the social worker may escape the pressure of her own life, fling herself into the lives of others, and, in her effort to meet their problems, enjoy a sense of solving her own. The desire for flight may divorce her from her own life, which seemed perhaps a dull, uninteresting affair. The isolation she may have felt in her own social setting is relieved, for now she shares immediately the intimacies of other people's lives. She is exposed to all kinds of human emergencies, and in handling them becomes the central figure. A sense of security lacking in her own emotional life comes from the knowledge that her clients find her necessary and look to her for help out of their difficulties. She has a sense of belonging which is gratifying. Now, the danger of this is that she may come to live her personal life exclusively in her work, with the result that she does not cultivate those resources of her own which give her detachment and perspective. She may overwork, more from choice than necessity, although at the time she does not recognize this. She allows herself to assume responsibilities which professionally she wants her clients to assume, gradually becomes possessive of her cases because she has allowed her clients to drift into dependency upon her until they and she believe they cannot get on without her. This is a stage of intoxication through which most case workers pass. It is the stage where work becomes a personal matter, and the worker looks to it for emotional satisfaction that should come from other sources. The natural result is that she takes disappointment and failure personally. The physician expects cases of partial success and failure as well as of complete recovery. He deals with physical disease, and the case worker, with human relationships where the play of her personality is essential, although her attitude should become as impersonal as his. This is possible only by her coming to see her job in proper relation to her life as a whole.

One of the common motives that enter into the choice of social work as a career is a curiosity about life and a desire to solve those mysteries that are unconsciously disturbing to the worker. Unless she subordinates this curiosity to the practical ends of understanding, she is likely to investigate for investigation's sake, sacrifice contacts necessary for treatment in her drive to get facts, and be arrested in her growth because her emphasis on investigation robs her of the time and interest she should put into treatment. The young worker, especially, is likely to enjoy the detective rôle, and often fails to realize that investigating private lives is legitimate only if the results of investigation can be made of use to her clients. She will struggle to verify rumors of her client's jail sentence ten years previous, although that fact cannot affect the present situation. She will be inclined to amass a great deal of such information and do little with it because she has a sense of final accomplishment in having run down a fact to its lair. On the other hand, the worker who has little curiosity about her clients will probably be unable to reach the intimacy with them essential to any real discussion of their problems. Her apparent lack of curiosity may spring from a feeling that close questioning means unwarranted intrusion into her client's privacy. Her scruple arises, perhaps, from a sensitiveness to any discussion of

her own affairs, and instead of using this sensitiveness to guide her investigation, she evades the investigation.

The worker who feels no sense of control of her own life may seek reassurance in social work by trying to help manage the lives of her clients. Because she is animated by a hope that life can be dominated and its difficulties permanently solved, she is upset by the unexpected and baffled by the perversities of events in case work. She loses faith and wonders if social work is worth while because she has found it impossible to control the fate of those with whom she deals. Her difficulty arises from her failure to recognize case work limitations and the unruliness of reality itself.

The worker who feels little identification with her clients and is unable to bridge the gulf between herself and them is likely to have a feeling of superiority and look upon them as a different order of being. She regards their problems as peculiar to their social setting, or she is inclined to minimize their difficulties by converting them into humorous anecdotes. By ignoring the significance of their lives she may be trying to deny the painful reality of her own. All of these problems of attitude in the young worker need to be recognized by those responsible for giving her a case work philosophy.

Human relationships depend upon our ability to identify ourselves with one another. This is the only basis for understanding. We cannot all be delinquent girls nor deserting fathers, but by understanding their motives and recognizing the same motives in ourselves, we can appreciate their problems and understand their behavior. Without identification the case worker cannot get the emotional significance of her client's experiences or reach any real understanding of his problem.

Personal prejudices are the usual barrier to identification. If the worker has religious bias or racial prejudice she will be confused in her handling of cases involving these issues, for in reacting to her prejudice she will lose sight of the client as a unique individual and not understand the painful situation that confronts him. If she has been brought up with narrow ideas on sex, she will find it difficult to accept the sex irregularities that crop up in her cases. Most of us pride ourselves on being free of prejudice, but how free are we? Doesn't each of us consider some one thing as beyond the pale? The judge is outraged by the youngster who bawls his mother out in court because to him respect to mother is the essential virtue. There is the school teacher who showed considerable understanding of a child who was involved in a rather serious offense, and at the same time was extremely intolerant of another youngster for telling a defensive lie she more or less forced upon him. "The one thing I can't forgive," she explained, "is lying. My father early taught me to respect the truth." There is the probation officer who considers the father who deserts a hopeless character. It might be diverting if each of us should declare his notion of the unpardonable sin, or, if we deny any such bias, describe our ideals, for they would serve the same purpose. We would find similarity in this exchange of ideas, but probably

also difference of opinion. And it might also be worth while to trace back these prejudices or ideals to their source, which we would probably find is an identification from which we have not broken away.

Since identification is at the basis of case work, as of all human relationships, it is essential for the case worker to recognize it as a mechanism that must be controlled. Otherwise it operates unconsciously and she is unaware of the need to guard against the prejudiced view it may give her. Her control will depend upon her objective attitudes and her ability to distinguish for her clients and for herself the reality issues otherwise obscured by subjective factors. The worker who allows herself to become entirely absorbed in her work is motivated by complete identification with her clients. She lives their lives, suffers their pain, is concerned with every detail of their existence. She becomes her client, and by this move loses the most valuable contribution she has to give, namely, her objective attitude toward his problem. She sees the problem only through his eyes, overestimating his justifications and overlooking his bias; or, as the situation unfolds, she identifies herself first with one member of the family and then another, mistaking these shifts for impartiality. Her perspective on the case is distorted to the degree to which she remains identified with any part of the situation, for she will be as blind as is her client to the reality issues, and unable effectively to help him work out of his entanglement because she has allowed herself to become entangled too. She has gone over to his subjective position instead of withdrawing to a vantage point where she would have the perspective of which he is at present incapable. She must be able to see beyond him and understand him as part of the whole situation if she is to succeed in giving him that objectivity which will enable him to manage himself more successfully.

In the family situation, perhaps the person with whom we most easily identify ourselves is the mother. This may be because it is the apparent failure of the father that brings the case to the agency, and also because his work takes him out of the home much of the time, leaving less opportunity for contacts with him. Furthermore, most social workers are women, and perhaps more likely to be familiar with the mother's experiences and know what she is reacting to. The chances are, however, that identification with mother would be equally common were all social workers men. The mother appeal is always strong, and this makes it necessary for the worker to be sure she is equally successful in getting the point of view of the other members of the family. We are very much drawn to the mother who is sacrificing herself for her family, and may expect the growing boys and girls to do the same, whereas their selfishness may be an entirely desirable phase of their adolescent urge for independence. We may appeal to the young delinquent on the score of his mother's anxiety and love for him, to show his manhood by taking the place of the absent father, although appeals of this sort can only intensify his adolescent conflict. Furthermore, it justifies the mother in fostering his dependence on her and increases the problem that confronts her in the need of relinquishing her hold on him.

On the other hand, the worker's sympathy may lie completely with the child, whom she sees with surprising regularity as oppressed and denied, and in her handling of the case she endeavors to fit the environment exclusively to his needs. When the parents fail to give him the leeway she considers due him she may lose sympathy with them and handle their attitudes so badly that she fails to help the child. In planning for his future she may weave in some of her own ideals. If she prizes education she may expect parents to make unwarranted sacrifices in favor of their children's schooling, or expect youngsters to crave education as an end in itself. When the bright child insists on dropping school to go to work she feels personally disappointed in him. In her identification she may completely lose sight of the actual problem, as occurred in the case of a fifteen-year-old crippled girl who aroused the sympathy of everyone who came in contact with her. Her father died in her infancy, and since the death of her mother, three or four years ago, several social workers had become deeply interested in her. The child's adjustment depended upon weaning her from her desire to be cared for and helping her to accept her physical disability as something that still did not exclude economic independence. The circumstances of her life were so appealing, however, that mother substitutes sprang up on all sides, and one worker after another, with the best intentions, failed to be of any real help because each was playing into the child's problem by giving her reason to feel that her disability would always win her affection and support.

If the identification mechanism breaks down anywhere it is perhaps likely to fail in our attempt to understand the father's problem. His working hours make it difficult to see him frequently, and other factors seem to operate against the worker's establishing with him as successful contacts as with the other members of the family. Perhaps she is too much inclined to look upon him as the person who should adjust to his responsibilities. Her identification with him may be too slight to enable her to reach an understanding of the emotional difficulties that lie back of his attitudes and his behavior. When he assumes the authoritative rôle and is oversevere in the discipline of the children she may blame him, not realizing that this may be the only standard he has known, and forgetting that she can change his attitude only by appreciating his emotional background. She is likely to discuss freely with the mother subjects she hesitates to take up with him. Her attitude toward him is less objective, less adult. This results in her failure to see the family problem in all its aspects, and may cause her to evolve plans that cannot mean permanent solution.

The worker's attitudes are reflected not only in her identification with the case work situation, but in her handling of the relationship established between herself and the individual members of the family. Her status as a professional person immediately places her in a position of authority in the eyes of the client, and the relationship takes on the emotional coloring of a parent-child situation. To this situation both client and worker will react. The client turns to the work-

er for sympathy and help in problems that have been too much for him. Unless she interests him in recognizing the sources of his difficulty and thinking out with her ways and means for gradual solution, she may unconsciously be encouraging his dependence on her and allowing him to rely on her sympathy to back him up whenever an issue arises. When the worker is unable to give him the sympathy he wants, he will be resentful because he thinks she has lost interest, and it becomes clear that he has been reacting all along to her instead of to the situations confronting him. Take the sixteen-year-old boy with whom the worker has been on the best of terms and whom she has helped through various minor emergencies. Suddenly he rebels against his stepfather's oppressive authority by refusing to work. He is resentful of the pressure brought to bear by his older brother, and turns a deaf ear to his mother's entreaties. With considerable difficulty the worker secures the sort of opening he has professed to want. He turns the job down. If, as his family has done in the past, she shows irritation and falls back on the conventional arguments used by them, he will see her as still another parent and will unconsciously find satisfaction in her pique. If she sympathizes with him she will encourage his subjective reaction to his problem and intensify his difficulty. By showing no reaction to the situation and remaining neutral in her sympathy she will be best able to show him how the subjective attitudes resulting from his conflict with the parental situation are blinding him to the reality issue, which is his own necessity for having a job if he is to live an independent and satisfying life. Such a stand on the worker's part is likely to prevent his reacting to her as part of the old struggle against authority, and instead may help him gain insight from the crisis that will further his development.

Because her rôle as case worker is so likely to place her in a position of parent to her client the worker must be aware of the need to make the relationship as far as possible that of one adult to another, so that perhaps for the first time the client begins to acquire insight into his own needs, to make adjustments, not because others force them upon him, but because he sees them as essential to his own welfare. If, unconsciously, the worker enjoys the parent rôle, she will take over the whole situation and run it, instead of putting it up to her client and helping him to work it out or to carry it as much as possible. He may cooperate, but not actually participate. The worker may not demand gratitude from him, and yet continue to expect it in the more subtle form of submission to her influence. She establishes her contacts on a personal rather than professional level, and comes to look upon the contact as an end in itself instead of merely a means to an end. If her contacts are good she may actually obtain concessions from both parties to a situation, concessions that they make, however, to her, and not to each other, and which therefore will not last. She may be unaware of this desire of a client to please her and inadvertently allow him to play up to her; this blinds them both to the real issues and makes an actual change of position unlikely, for a shift that comes in an effort to please the worker

rather than for the satisfaction it gives the client himself is unlikely to be permanent.

If the worker assumes the authoritative rôle she will be inclined to make decisions for her client and jump to conclusions about what should be done before she has investigated the emotional issues that must be taken into account. She will want to control the situation and will be impatient with external obstacles that block her plans, such as an inadequate agency budget, the requirements of the school law, the policies of the public schools or other agencies. She will be impatient of the client's limitations which she failed to recognize at the outset because of her eagerness for complete success, and, not realizing that her mistake was in expecting the impossible of him, will condemn him for not living up to her ideal of him. However shrewd the case worker is, she will frequently discover this discrepancy between her first judgment of the client and his actual capacities, and will have to admit the fault as hers if she is to capitalize the experience and plan on a realistic basis for further treatment of his problem.

Since at every turn in the progress of the case the worker's personality is involved, her first responsibility is to study her own reactions and maintain a detachment that will keep her emotionally free. Not to do so is essentially irresponsible, for it means ignoring the very nature of her rôle. The objectivity the worker ought to maintain toward her cases is not a fixed state of mind, but is a point of view that is maintained only by conscious effort. If the worker is willing to include herself as well as her clients as objects of her case work, her increasing self-control will be apparent, not only in case work results, but in the greater satisfaction she finds in meeting the problems of her job.

THE RÔLE OF PERSONALITIES IN THE TREATMENT OF PROBLEM CHILDREN IN AN INSTITUTION

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Two years ago the Berkshire Industrial Farm at Canaan, New York, with the cooperation of the Commonwealth Fund, established a psychiatric research department. It was felt by the board of managers and the officials of the Commonwealth Fund that the Farm, with its adequate physical equipment and well-planned educational program, would constitute an excellent research laboratory for the study of conduct disorders in children. Eleven hundred acres of field, woodland, and lake shore, organized athletics, modern cottages, trade training, academic school, and a well-stocked library are only a few of the many facilities for working with the laboratory material—about 125 adolescent problem boys.

These boys are committed by juvenile courts or deeded by parents under the

technical charge of delinquency, including truancy, stealing, running away, persistent lying, temper fits, and general incorrigibility. They range in mental ability from the borderline to the very superior, the median being within the low average group. Their material home environments vary from dependency to wealth, with relatively few families known to social agencies. Less than a fourth come from the so-called "normal" family groups with mother and father living together. In all the remainder there are various disrupting factors; deserting parents, separated parents, step-parents, widowed parents, and so forth.

The first step in our work as a psychiatric research department was naturally a getting-acquainted process. This, so far as the boys were concerned, was easy. With an engaging responsiveness, reflecting the institution's spirit of freedom, they welcomed us into their midst without reservation. Our official title was mastered with some difficulty, but our good intentions were generously taken for granted. The clinic offices, far from being limited to formal conferences in time of trouble or in the name of research, have from the start been places where a fellow may have a friendly chat, display a letter from home, exhibit a new suit, and park anything from a box of home-made fudge to a trade school diploma.

For two years we have observed, studied, and lived with them. We have seen them, not only as end products of past difficulties, but also in the act of struggling with present difficulties. A few, to be sure, cast off their problems with miraculous dispatch, once removed from an acutely irritating home or school environment, but in most the old mechanisms disappear only with time and re-education.

We have been onlookers and, at times, participants in an old drama, that of adolescence, a struggle of youth to find a place of his own in the world of reality, now spurred on by his growing need of love and life, now routed by the terrifying aspect of new responsibilities and relationships. To most of our boys the drama hitherto has been more or less a tragedy. In their effort to satisfy fundamental urges they have been thwarted by circumstances of environment and personality and, having failed to adjust to their own little world of home, school, and neighborhood, have been labeled delinquent and passed on for specialized training. Fortunately the Berkshire Farm has lived down the word "reform."

The psychiatric research department, in its participation in the institution program, has found that physical equipment, educational and recreational facilities, and even responsive, cooperative boys do not tell the whole story. There is always that incalculable and immeasurably important element, the institution staff. In every phase of the department's work—the preliminary investigation, the diagnosis, and the treatment processes—we have to understand and reckon with the attitudes of the adults with whom the boys come into daily contact. The problems involved in this interplay of adolescent and adult personalities are far too many and too complex to be presented adequately in a paper of this length. However, there are certain high lights which will serve at least to

indicate the degree to which the staff member affects psychiatric treatment of the boy.

The initial investigation begins at the time the boy is referred to the clinic for study. The worker in referring the boy often gives unconsciously a clue to his own attitudes: "I wish you would take John for study. I'm afraid he's hopeless, though. Do you know what he did yesterday? He left the cottage during work time without permission and was actually impudent when I took him to task about it." Or, "Will you please talk to William and find out whether he had anything to do with stealing tools from the shop. He'll probably lie to you about it, so don't let him put it over on you."

In seeking information we often find it difficult to get a satisfactory description of a child's behavior. The overworked housemother, untrained in scientific observation, completely overlooks many points and colors others with her own prejudices. As the teacher is all too likely to place a premium on unimaginative docility and discount disturbing curiosity and ingenuity, just so the weary matron has a way of describing her boys in terms of muddiness of shoes or ability to polish floors well. It is easy to obtain categorical descriptions of the boys as "dishonest," "disagreeable," "good," or "bad," but it is only after much time and effort that we obtain an objective detailed account of the child's behavior.

After the preliminary investigation we are faced with the problem of interpreting our tentative diagnostic findings to teachers, housemothers, and other staff members who are to assist in treatment of the boy. Occasionally it is the problem of science struggling with the mind closed by ignorance or instinctive prejudices. "I don't need the psychiatric research department to tell me about my boys," said one good woman, with a complacent smile, "I know them all, perfectly." Another expressed much concern over the psychiatrist's permitting a boy with minor epilepsy to be retained in the Farm infirmary pending his discharge. "The doctor can say what he pleases, but I know some things that he doesn't. Now that boy has fits, and, if there should be a draught from a window or a fireplace between him and you, you'd get them!" Even the efficient and well-trained teacher often finds it hard to accept the fact that Billy cannot learn any more in academic school and that his restlessness is his protest at being expected to do the impossible. She is sure he could work out percentage problems if he tried, because he is clever enough at stealing from the kitchen. Those who have been engaged in psychological work know all too well the difficulties of interpreting the borderline child with a glib tongue and a deceptively alert smile.

In planning treatment, more than at any other stage of the game, we have to reckon constantly with the personal equation. We must expect to find in the housemother and teacher many of the same mechanisms that we find in the problem boy. However much we long to concentrate upon the child's problems, we shall find them so closely interwoven with those of the adult that we cannot detach them if we would.

One of the most important tasks in our treatment of the boy consists in aiding him to adjust to authority as a part of the world of reality. Most of our boys come to us much in need of this type of therapy. In some cases they have become overt rebels against the autocracy embodied in an overexacting mother, a harsh father, or a teacher famed for her discipline. One boy may react as a chronic runaway, setting forth with a fine disregard of hardships and dangers in his determination of escape. Another shows his rebellion by disobedient acts and a persistent negativism. Then there is always the hardy spirit spoken of by his peers with bated breath—the boy who blacked a teacher's eye! When these children enter the institution they do not, of course, leave behind them their reactions to authority. The most sincere resolutions "to be good and mind" weaken when the shop teacher "hollers like Dad," or the matron reminds a fellow of mother when she keeps on nagging and nagging about that corner that wasn't dusted. The setting is new, but the old reaction flares up under the old stimulus.

Our boys learn rather quickly to accept reasonable routine and impersonal group discipline. It is when they come into conflict with the individual that the adjustment is difficult. Stephen, a bright, mature fifteen-year-old, confesses in a discouraged manner to the psychologist that he is having trouble with his teacher. "He makes me sick!" the boy bursts out, "There was mud on the floor and he told me to clean it up. I said it wasn't from my shoes and he made me do it anyway." "Why, Stephen," the psychologist says in surprise, "it isn't like you to be so disobliging. You could hardly expect a busy teacher to hold court to decide just who is responsible, could you?" "No," the boy answers, "but he ordered me to do it. It wasn't cleaning the floor I minded, but he's so arrogant." Stephen cannot be told what is apparent to us, that the "arrogance" of which he complains represents an attempt on that teacher's part to compensate for physical inadequacy. He can be shown, however, that the game of rebellion in so trivial a matter is hardly worth the candle.

One of our greatest problems is to interpret to the boy the worker's personality without undermining discipline thereby. After all, the boy must many times make the adjustment where the worker cannot or will not, and we do not consider this always an undesirable state of affairs. Our adolescent must, in a very few years, make his adjustment to all manner of personalities in the community, and we would not, if we could, provide an ideal environment for him in the institution. We cannot deceive him or defend the staff member in a situation obviously unfair to the child, but we can put before him the worker's problems without belittling the worker, and thus lead him to an attitude of cooperation. When a boy comes in and bursts into angry tears at an undeserved punishment by his housemother we may assure him of our confidence in him, but we do not express pity for him or indignation toward the housemother. Instead, we try to show him the inevitability of an occasional misjudgment by a busy person and point out to him her positive fine qualities and good faith. Sometimes we

send him back to her to talk things over. At the same time we tell her we feel that she can help him more than we can in the present difficulty. This minimizes the antagonism that is likely to be felt when the boy runs to the clinic as a court of appeal.

The question of inferiority feelings and compensation mechanisms is all-important in the diagnosis and treatment of our group of problem boys. They have known frustration in their ego and libido strivings. Failure in school has forced some to excel in petty thievery with the gang or has produced inert discouragement in others. Unpopularity on the playground has led some to seek the substitute satisfactions of daydreams. A feeling of being unloved at home has impelled others to seek comfort in auto-erotic acts or to gain attention through enuresis. Treatment for these children must give them a feeling of security and a sense of adequacy and success in a legitimate field. Here we must move very carefully, lest in bolstering up the child's self-respect we hit the staff member's own feelings of inferiority. It is easy to arouse sympathy for the discouraged, dull, or sickly child, and he is generally assured of understanding and tolerance. It is the mentally superior boy who is likely to be a thorn in the worker's side. "David is unbearable," writes one housemother; "he continually asks me the meaning of words which he knows—just to embarrass me." An interested young teacher who had organized an algebra class for three or four of the brighter boys expressed her concern over several requests to join the class. She voiced the suspicion that one of the boys already in the group was starting a conspiracy to get his friends in, and must not, of course, be allowed to succeed in any such attempt. Luring other boys—even one's best friends—into an algebra class appears to be only mildly Machiavellian, but the point at issue was, "Should that boy be allowed to 'get away with it? Should he not be shown who is boss?" This determination to beat the child at his own game is a result of the adult's longing for power in the face of a sense of inadequacy. Conquering the child at the child's level furnishes a real satisfaction to the infantile components of the adult ego. When the boy opponent, with the odds of authority against him, wins even a minor contest through his intellectual superiority, the worker is likely to find it disconcerting. A housemother chides a sixteen-year-old boy for slumping over the table at meals. "You must learn 'pep,'" she says. She becomes intensely irritated when the boy remarks, with a grin, "You don't 'learn' pep, you 'acquire' it." Another housemother mentions with naïve pride the acquaintance-ship of a member of her family with a former governor of one of our states. "The one who was impeached?" asks a well-informed seventeen-year-old, with an air of innocence. It is significant that she punishes this mature youth by standing him in a corner.

The results of competition with the child on his own level are bound to be unfavorable. If the boy is conquered by the sheer force of authority, the victory is an empty one. If he does occasionally win, he is all too likely to be publicly proclaimed "a master mind" and feel a challenge to live up to the title. It is to

forestall this that our preliminary clinic reports on the superior boys often contain some such paragraph as the following:

Louis should be given legitimate intellectual outlets in the way of special school work, outside reading, and a share in chapel programs, but should never be allowed to feel that he is unusually clever in wrongdoing. Rather, the childish and stupid side of any misbehavior should be stressed and he should be shown that he is acting unintelligently when he handicaps his own progress and loses sight of his real desire and goal to gain immediate trivial satisfactions.

The mechanism of identification plays an important rôle in the treatment of our boys. The staff member who unconsciously identifies himself with the boy feels in the boy's difficulties the bitterness of his own failures. In the boy's overt misconduct he sees his own instinctive desires which he has repressed in himself as unbearable. A matron reports as follows on the pilfering of raisins from a boy's package by some of his young associates: "We have some horrible sneak thieves in the cottage. It makes me shudder." In the case of sex misconduct, we find a generally wholesome attitude among the workers. Occasionally one will betray some personal repressions, as a former nurse who thus characterized the auto-erotic acts of a child with a severe compulsion neurosis: "He is just as immoral as he can be. Why, he is ruining himself with this terrible habit. I can't bear to have anything to do with him. I hate anything like that and any boy who does it."

So much for the obstacles presented by the adult personalities in the institution. In all fairness to them, we must present their own case. The limited institution budget necessitates low wages, long hours, and a small range for choice of workers. The isolation of the school, desirable in the case of the boys, diminishes recreational opportunities for the staff. We therefore accept the fact that we must carry out treatment through a group of adults for the most part untrained and sometimes with limited education. We must expect their own lack of satisfactory outlets to affect their attitudes toward the boys. A house-mother who is on the job with little free time from 6 A.M. until 8 P.M. is entitled to a few feelings of irritation. Small wonder that she sometimes forgets the individual in her attempt to cope with the group. She must get her sense of success from the cleanliness of her cottage and the outward conformity of her boys. She has not time—perhaps fortunately—to gain libido satisfactions from individual attachments. The wonder is that with her handicaps she accomplishes so much. We do find, moreover, that the attitudes we lament so strongly often have surprisingly little effect on the children. When Mrs. B calls Freddy a "terrible little thief and liar" our psychiatric standards are outraged, but when Freddy runs up to her a few minutes later and she lays a kindly hand on his shoulder, praising him for some little accomplishment, we realize that it is her fundamental friendliness, and not her harsh characterization, that has value for Freddy. When a teacher with twenty-five obstreperous youngsters, most of whom have had black school records in the past, can arouse in them a lively interest in current events, nature study, and outside reading, we can forgive him a little "arrogance."

It is all too easy for us to become impatient and irritated or to take the resigned stand that after all the staff member is pretty hopeless material with which to work. I wonder if it is not our own will to power that leads us to feel this way. The rehabilitation of the boy is our driving interest, and we find it hard to deal objectively with anything that frustrates our efforts. Perhaps, too, we get a sense of superiority through the assumption that the staff member is unable to grasp the subtleties of our technique, or we rationalize our disinclination to make an effort by diagnosing him as uneducable. The happy day may come when institutions can pay salaries that will attract highly trained workers to their general staff. And even then, of course, we shall still have the problem of personality relationships. Meanwhile we can turn aside, if it is turning aside, from our work with the boy to study the problems of his teacher and house-mother. We can interfere as little as possible with the institution routine in our treatment processes—a very practical but important consideration. We may take the staff into our confidence to the limit of their understanding and establish a mutually friendly relationship that will insure cooperation when understanding is inadequate. We may suggest to the staff member definite contributions that he can make to our treatment program, and we may give him constructive suggestions to help him in his dealings with the boy. We may show appreciation of effort, and patience with blunders and opposition, bearing in mind that attitudes are changed by indirect suggestion far oftener than by arbitrary criticism. We may forestall jealousy by reinforcing the harmonious relationship between the boy and the worker. In other words, we must view our more intimate knowledge of the child, not as an achievement to flaunt in the face of the staff member, but as a channel through which the child may be led to a better adjustment to the group—at present the institution; eventually the community.

VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

TAX AND CONTRIBUTION SUPPORT OF SOCIAL WORK: FACTS AS REVEALED BY THE STUDY OF VOLUME AND COST OF SOCIAL WORK

Raymond F. Clapp, Associate Director, Welfare Federation of Cleveland

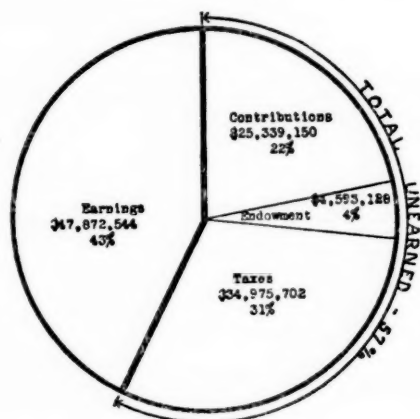
There are four main sources of income for social agencies: contributions, endowment, taxes, and earnings. In size, earnings rank first; taxes, second; contributions, third; and endowment, fourth. Those of us who have been considering the amount raised by the community fund as the major factor in financing social welfare have much to learn from these figures.

These four sources fall into two main divisions: earned income or self-support and unearned income or subsidy. Earnings provide 43 per cent, and unearned income, 57 per cent, of the total. Earned income includes such items as fees from patients of hospitals and nursing associations; board of inmates of orphanages and other institutions; club and class fees of character building agencies; dormitory and cafeteria earnings; and income from shops, wood yards, and other activities carried on as a part of the service of social agencies. Unearned income can be divided between tax support and voluntary support, including under voluntary support both contribution and endowment income.

For today's discussion a few outstanding facts and comparisons are taken from the material collected in the study of volume and cost of social work which has been conducted during the past two years under the auspices of the American Association for Community Organization and the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. While called a study, this project is really an experiment in cooperative census taking. The time and effort available have been more than taxed by the collecting, tabulating, and checking of the data. The study of this material remains for the future.

This census has covered those services in the fields of family welfare and relief, child care, hospitals and health promotion, recreation, and character building which are usually financed through community funds and welfare federations. The expense of parallel governmental services financed from tax funds is likewise being included. This information was secured in such a way that it is possible to compare not only the total expense of these services for various cities, but so that it is possible also to compare the cost of care of children in orphanages and in boarding homes; the cost of care of the sick in hospitals, in dispensaries, and by bedside nursing; the cost of character building through the settle-

ment, young men's and women's associations, scouting, etc. The services are classified in this way into forty different groups. In addition to the expense, income is classified into contributions, endowment income, earnings from service



Grand total, \$112,780,524

FIG. 1.—Grand total income distributed by source—social welfare agencies in nineteen cities.

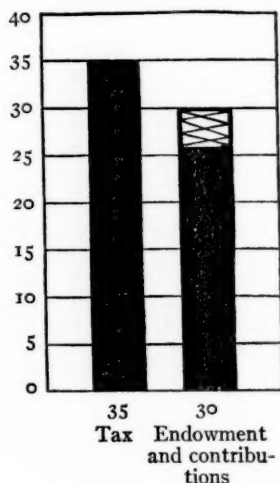


FIG. 2.—Total unearned income for nineteen cities, in millions of dollars

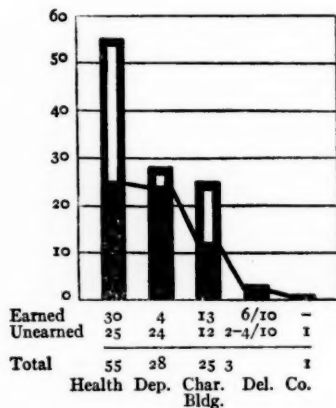


FIG. 3.—Total income earned and unearned for nineteen cities by service in millions of dollars.

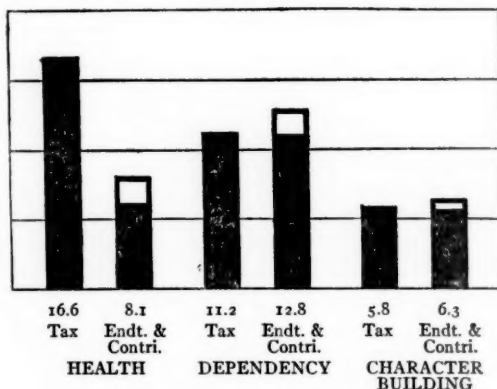


FIG. 4.—Public and private support of social welfare agencies; total for nineteen cities in millions of dollars.

rendered, and tax revenue. This classification of income is secured for each of the above forty groups. While comparison of financial figures will be of interest, it is of comparatively little value without some indication of the volume and character of service rendered. So the information collected includes the simplest possible statistics of service rendered. For the hospitals, for instance, we have the number of beds, the number of patients admitted, and the number of

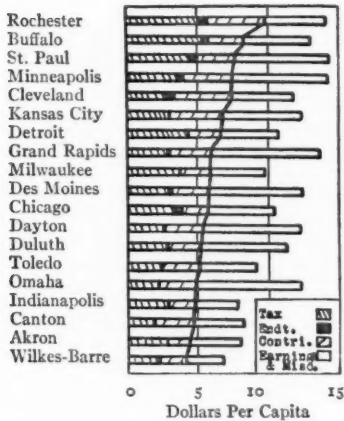


FIG. 5.—Grand total income divided by population. This figure shows total per capita income by cities from taxes, endowment, contributions; total unearned income, being the sum of the first three columns; earnings, and miscellaneous, and grand total income. The division between unearned and earned income is marked on the chart by the heavy irregular vertical line.

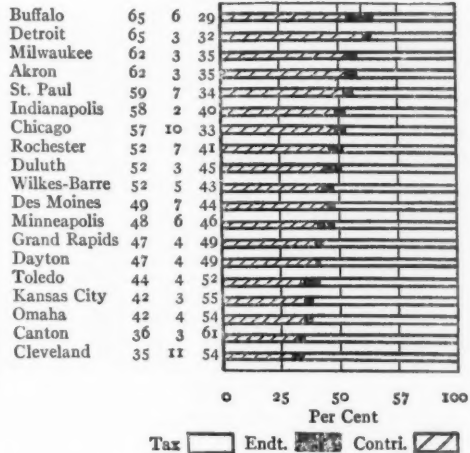


FIG. 6.—Total unearned income: Percentage from each source. In this figure the total unearned income is taken to equal 100 per cent in the case of each city.

days' care—free, part-pay, and full pay—all classified by character of case where such information is available. We also ask for the number of professional employees, the total paid them in salaries, the total number of other employees and amount paid them, and all other current expense.

Thirty cities cooperated in this undertaking. Of these, nineteen completed the collection of their data soon enough and accurately enough to warrant inclusion in our report.

Figure 1 shows the grand total income for all cities, classified by source. The large amount of earned income or self-support will be noted. The major factors in this item are earnings from hospital patients, Young Men's Christian

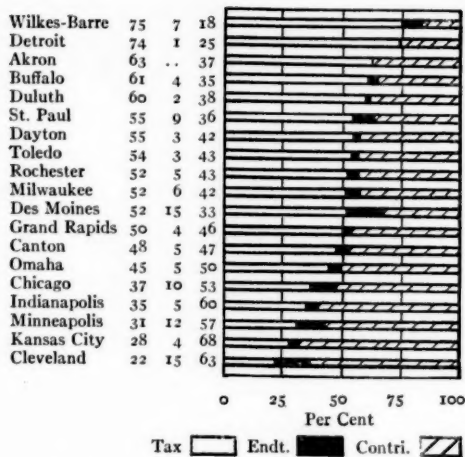


FIG. 7.—Dependency: Percentage of total unearned income received from taxes, endowment, and contributions.

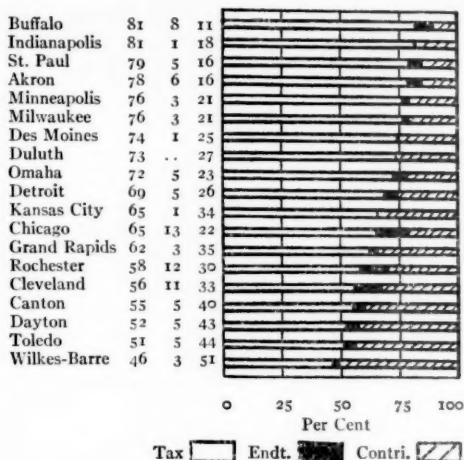


FIG. 8.—Health: Percentage of total unearned income received from taxes, endowment, and contributions.

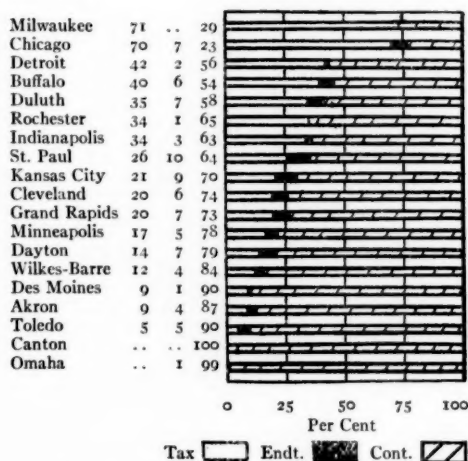


FIG. 9.—Recreation and character building: Unearned income; percentage from each source (includes settlements, playgrounds, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., etc.).

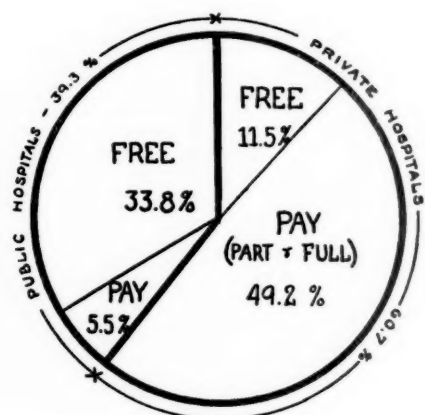


FIG. 10.—Percentage of free and pay days' care in public and private hospitals in nineteen cities, 1924.

Association and Young Women's Christian Association dormitories, class fees, cafeterias, etc., but almost every type of service has some earnings or refunds from beneficiaries or their families. The varying proportions of self-support are shown in succeeding figures and tables. The fact that public revenue or

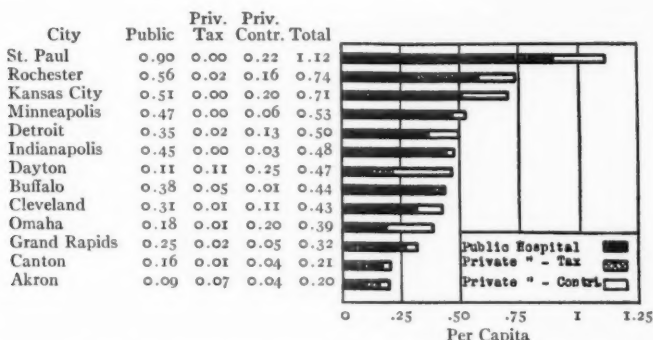


FIG. 11.—Total free days' care given in public and private hospitals during 1924, divided by population.

| Public Agency Care | Number Children | Per Cent |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------|
| In Institutions | 1,742 | 8 |
| In Boarding Homes | 1,168 | 5 |
| Total | 2,910 | 13 |
| Private Agency Care | | |
| In Institutions | 16,418 | 70 |
| In Boarding Homes | 4,032 | 17 |
| Total | 20,450 | 87 |
| Grand Total | 23,360 | 100 |

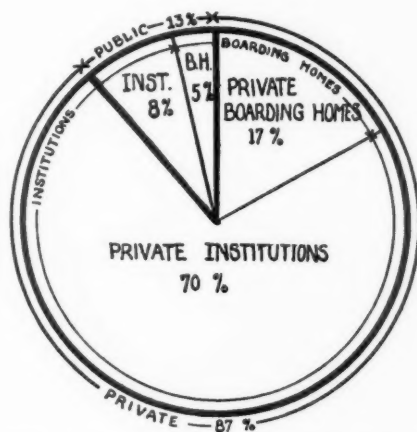


FIG. 12.—Dependent and neglected children: Percentage in institutions and boarding homes, public and private, for nineteen cities, 1924.

taxes exceeds in amount the sum of private support from contributions and endowments together comes as a surprise to many. It shows the great importance of team work between public and private agencies in the administration of present social welfare activities and in the planning of programs for the future. Great differences in practice between cities as well as between services will be noted in the following figures.

Figure 2 shows more clearly the comparative size of public and private support of social work. Earnings or self-support are omitted from this figure.

Figure 3 compares the size of the five main divisions of service, as measured by total income (the full length of the bar). It also indicates the amount of self-support or earnings of each division (the upper hollow section of each bar) and the total unearned income required (the solid section of the bar). By unearned income we mean the sum of tax, contribution, and endowment income. It will be noted that the \$55,000,000-measure of health services is but \$2,000,000 less

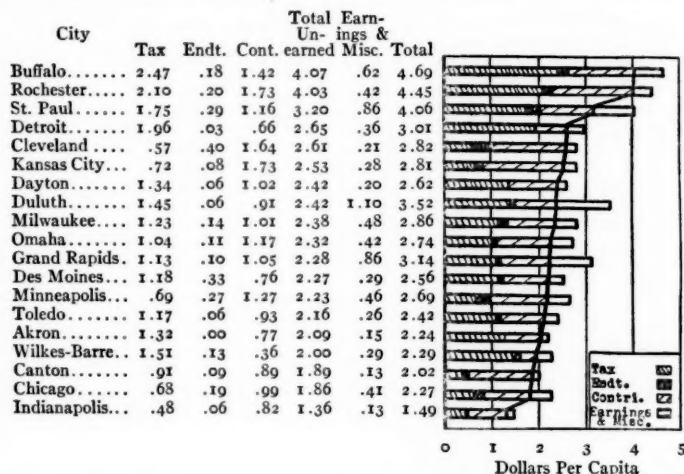


FIG. 13.—Dependency: Total income 1924, divided by population; classified by source. This figure shows total per capita income by cities from taxes, endowment, contributions; total unearned income, being the sum of the first three columns; earnings, and miscellaneous, and grand total income. The division between unearned and earned income is marked on the chart by the heavy irregular vertical line.

than the total of the other four bars; that earnings provide more than half the income of the health and character building divisions; that dependency requires \$24,000,000 of "unearned" support, but \$1,000,000 less than health, and twice as much as character building; and that delinquency and coordination are relatively low in total.

Figure 4 compares public and private support of the three larger divisions. Tax revenue is double the contribution and endowment income in the health division, but slightly less in the other two. What are the reasons back of the fact that care of the indigent sick has been more widely accepted and administered as a governmental responsibility than care of the indigent family and the dependent child, and than provision for recreation?

Figure 5 is the first of several illustrating the variations between cities. It shows the total income for all agencies from all sources. To permit of comparison

total is divided by the population of the city and the resultant per capita charted. The heavy irregular line marks the total unearned income, that is, the sum of tax, contribution, and endowment income. Total income per capita varies from \$14.44 in St. Paul to \$6.82 in Wilkes-Barre; unearned income, from \$9.76 in Rochester to \$4.13 in Wilkes-Barre; taxes, from \$5.39 in Buffalo to \$1.70 in Canton; endowment, from 84 cents in Cleveland to 11 cents in Indianapolis; and contributions, from \$4.04 in Cleveland to \$1.60 in Akron. If we consider support required by social agencies, public and private, to be like a loaded wagon drawn by a team of horses, this figure indicates the size of the load.

Figure 6 shows what percentage of the load each horse is pulling. The tax horse is pulling 65 per cent of the load in Buffalo, 35 per cent in Cleveland, 52 per cent in the median city, Wilkes-Barre, and an average of 65 per cent in all cities.

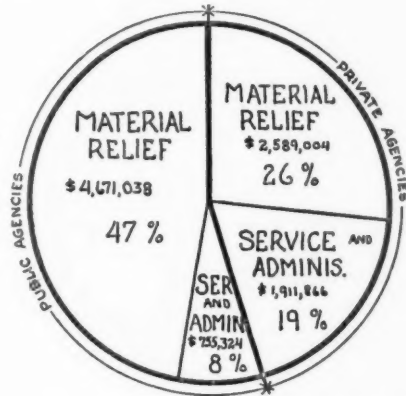


FIG. 14.—Expenditures for relief and for service and administration, by public and private agencies of family welfare and relief. Total for nineteen cities.

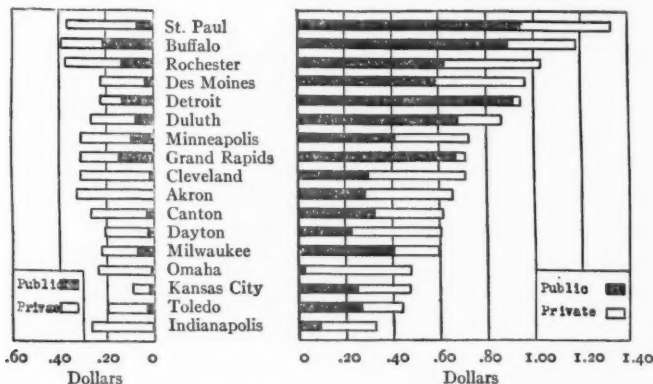


FIG. 15.—Expenditures for relief and service, and administration by public and private agencies of family welfare and relief, divided by population.

The variation in the dependency division, Figure 7, is much greater, however, taxes representing 75 per cent in Wilkes-Barre and 22 per cent in Cleve-

land. The median city, this time Milwaukee, is again 52 per cent, and the average is 47 per cent.

Figure 8, shows a more nearly uniform dependency on tax support. The tax percentage varies from 81 per cent in Buffalo and Indianapolis to 46 per cent in Wilkes-Barre, the only city below 50 per cent. The median city is Detroit, with 69 per cent, and the average for all cities is 67 per cent.

Two cities stand out in Figure 9, as having developed public recreation facilities: Milwaukee, with its school social centers, and Chicago, with its play parks. Both have 70 per cent tax support in the division of character building through group work. Detroit is third, with 42 per cent. The median is Cleveland, with 20 per cent, and two cities, Canton and Omaha, report no public support of supervised recreation. Chicago's large expenditure, \$3,900,000, brings the average up to 48 per cent.

The pie in Figure 10 represents the total number of days' care rendered in all hospitals in the thirteen cities for which this information is complete. The divisions show that 39 per cent of this service is rendered in public (city and county) hospitals, and 61 per cent, in private (non-governmental) hospitals; that 55 per cent of the patients paid all or part of the cost; 34 per cent were free patients in public hospitals; and 11½ per cent were free patients in private hospitals. Tax payments to private hospitals covered the cost of 1½ per cent of the 11½ per cent free days' care, so taxes pay for 3½ times as many free days' care as private funds.

Figure 11 shows the wide variation between cities, each bar representing the number of free days' care per year in one city, divided by the population. The bars are divided to indicate the number in public hospitals, in private hospitals from tax subsidy, and in private hospitals from contribution and endowment income.

In Figure 12, the pie represents the 23,360 dependent and neglected children in all the institutions and boarding homes, public and private, in the nineteen cities studied. Only 13 per cent of these were under public agency care, and 87 per cent, private. Contrary to the practice indicated in the hospital field, tax subsidy of children under private agency care equals the total cost of operating the public child caring agencies.

Figure 13, again, shows how much practice varies in different cities in the amount and proportion of public and private support.

Figure 14 shows the total expense in the family welfare and relief group of agencies, which includes mothers' pensions. Of the total expense, 55 per cent is by public departments; 45 per cent, by private agencies; 73 per cent is material relief, of which 47 per cent is public and 26 per cent private. Of the 27 per cent service and administration cost, 8 per cent is public and 19 per cent private.

In Figure 15, relief and service figures are charted by cities, again illustrating the differing practices of cities.

The points which this material is intended to emphasize are these: first,

that tax support is a major factor in the financing of social welfare services; second, that governmentally operated agencies and institutions render a large percentage of such services; third, that there is a wide divergence of practice between communities in the actual amount of services financed and administered by public and private agencies; fourth, that there is a similarly great difference of practice in public and private support of types of service such as hospital care, relief, recreation, etc.; fifth, that any agency attempting to do community planning of social work must give careful consideration to relative responsibilities of public and private agencies and to the development of effective cooperation between them.

GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL AND WELFARE WORK

Leyton E. Carter, Director, Municipal Research Bureau, Cleveland

The care of persons who are incapable of self-support and who have no means of sustaining life is a responsibility of government. Such persons are in large part made up of the indigent aged and sick, minors, cripples, and insane. This responsibility rests upon legal, traditional, and ethical bases. Government, at least as Anglo-Saxon peoples know it, cannot rightfully avoid or divest itself of this responsibility.

England recognized the necessity of making this a governmental responsibility by the passage of a poor law in 1601 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which, in its main features, remains the law today. The administration of this act became known as outdoor relief, a term well known in this country. The ideas involved in this act were carried to the American colonies by early settlers and found expression in early American law. No attempt can be made here to trace the development of such legislation in the American commonwealths, but the principle of governmental responsibility in this field is firmly established in the law today, and governmental assumption of this responsibility is as traditional in this country as in England.

It is recognized that individuals and private agencies administer service to dependent persons in varying degrees in different localities. This service is, however, of a gratuitous character, and essentially the voluntary assumption by private hands of what is, broadly speaking, a governmental responsibility. Presumably such private participation in the performance of a public duty will continue to exist in some degree, but such a condition cannot be construed as altering the basic legal and traditional responsibility which the government has in the field. The ethical basis for governmental responsibility for the care of those members of society who in fact have no means of support is equally clear. The private citizen cannot be said to be responsible for performing such service. The burden cannot be placed rightfully on any one class or group in society.

The burden rests upon society as a whole. Hence government is logically the agency to be held responsible for carrying on such work or seeing that it is carried on. Government officials and others sometimes assert that the administration of such service will be better if it is under private control. This is not the place to discuss the comparative excellence of public administration versus private administration. This question involves factors of time and place. However, it should be remembered that betterment in public administration cannot be secured if government does not assume actual control and responsibility for administration. To learn to swim one must go into the water.

Obviously, government cannot carry on such work without resorting to the taxing power to finance the cost. It is believed that under most circumstances the financing of the cost of such work through the taxing power will result in a more equitable distribution of the burden than will any system of private contribution. This is the case because almost any tax system now in use will exact contributions from large numbers of people who would not voluntarily contribute anything to carrying on this sort of work. In other words, practically any tax system now employed by our state and local governments will distribute the burden better than would voluntary support. This is another sound ethical reason for governmental responsibility in this field.

The question may now be asked, Should private agencies withdraw from this broad field entirely and leave it to governmental agencies? In answer it may be said that there will probably always be participation by private agencies in the care of various classes of dependents. A more pertinent question is, What should be the trend in future in the division of burden between government and private agencies in this field? What attitude should those in charge of social welfare programs take? It is suggested that the government's responsibility, based upon tradition, law, and ethics, be recognized, and that as a corollary, constant and reasonable effort be made to see that the private administration of services for dependents be placed in governmental hands so far as feasible. Private agencies and social workers should then focus their efforts to insure that the character of governmental administration shall be honest and effective.

Let us now consider social and welfare work which involves more than the necessary minimal care of dependents. Government, in addition to operating in the field of dependency, has entered extensively into other fields of social and welfare work. This we all know. This has come about through the development of the police power of government, i.e., the general power to legislate for the protection of the public health, safety, morals, and convenience. Examples of such legislation come readily to mind: so-called "factory laws" limiting hours of labor and controlling working conditions; the control of communicable diseases; public health nursing; babies' dispensaries; dental clinics; recreation facilities and programs, etc.

Two limitations upon the growth of such legislation exist: the constitutional test and that of public sanction. By the constitutional test is meant the im-

portant limitations upon the legislative power contained in the Fourteenth Amendment of the federal Constitution and similar provisions of state constitutions. These relate chiefly to the prohibitions against the taking of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and the denial of the equal protection of the law. By "public sanction" is meant the existence of a public opinion, informed or otherwise, which supports, or at least permits, the passage and administration of such legislation. Where these tests, as applied to social and welfare legislation, are met, it may be said that the government is rightfully operating in these fields.

If governmental and private agencies in a given jurisdiction are engaged in social and welfare work substantially identical in character, the question arises as to the propriety and wisdom of having both sets of agencies in the field. It is to be acknowledged that in many, many instances social welfare projects and activities undertaken by government have been brought about by the efforts of private agencies and interested social workers, either by persuasion or by means of actual demonstration agencies operated on a more or less elaborate scale. What should be the attitude of those controlling private agencies when the government enters the field in which they are operating? Should the two sets of agencies, private and public, in a given field continue to operate side by side, dividing the work between them?

It is suggested that under such circumstances efforts should be made to transfer the work of private agencies to the government with as much expedition as is practicable. Pending such transfer, legal arrangements might be made in many cases for the government to pay the cost of such services rendered by private institutions with fixed plants—always with provision for proper control of such expenditures of public money. The arguments for such transfer are: first, financing such services largely through the taxing power would result presumably in a more equitable distribution of the cost, providing the possible earning capacities of various institutions and activities are not overlooked; second, a centralizing of control and unifying of responsibility would be furthered; third, elimination of possible duplication and overlapping of service would be promoted; fourth, the social worker would be in a better position, because disinterested, to judge as to the wisdom of continuing various phases of social work now considered necessary and constructive. It is possible that within the course of a generation many activities of government recently added will be discontinued or substantially changed in character. The persons in actual charge of the administration of a given project are not usually the ones to build the case for its discontinuance or vital alteration.

It will be urged that the shifting to the government of welfare work now being done by private agencies will increase the tax burden. No doubt this would result. The more important considerations are whether the total cost of service rendered will be increased, and whether financing the net cost of such services through the taxing power is not more equitable than voluntary support.

It is believed that with public administration of a reasonably good character the cost can be made less than through dual control, and that the cost will be more equitably distributed. One of the remarkable characteristics of government in this country is its truly representative character, by which is meant the success with which intelligent and persistent minorities get what they want. It is therefore suggested that it is possible to secure lower costs and a better spreading of this cost if government can be made completely responsible for administration and financing in those fields of social and welfare work where government has already made a substantial entrance. This is dependent, however, upon the important proviso that the social worker and observer must be eternally vigilant in checking up upon the results which the governmental agencies secure. These must be the intelligent and persistent minority which knows what it wants in this particular field.

A word as to a further objection that may be made to the transfer of more of existing welfare work to governmental agencies. It will be urged that this will augment the forces of paternalism. This is a term of opprobrium which is rather loosely used, and at best one which is difficult of precise definition. This is to be said, however: shifting the responsibility of carrying on a given amount of work from private agencies to public agencies does not change the essential characteristics of the work. If it is a paternalistic venture under government control, it was equally so under private control. And if it is desirable to check the growth of paternalism it is submitted that government is as susceptible of popular control as are private agencies.

As a corollary of the foregoing principles it is further suggested that private funds available for financing social work be reserved largely for experimental, research, and non-routine purposes. In other words, individuals with available surpluses should not be called upon by private agencies to finance in large part the conduct of social and welfare work for which there is both legal and general public sanction. For their share of the support of such work they should be called upon to contribute through tax payments.

Government is not the most satisfactory medium for the conducting of experiments and research by which to blaze new trails in the field of human relations and to point the ways to a more happy adjustment between the individual as a social being and the civilization which he and his fellow-men are to rear. This is pre-eminently a field for private endeavor.

THE COUNTY UNIT AS A BASIS OF SOCIAL WORK AND
PUBLIC WELFARE IN NORTH CAROLINA

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This paper will be a clear-cut disappointment to all if it is expected to set forth the story of a system of county unit work which has made good in anything like an adequate coordination of social work agencies and resources. Our purpose is to discuss a concrete situation in order to approach a very important general problem. The paper, therefore, will present briefly a simple analysis of the situation, with its promise, its problems, and its limitations. The keynote, however, is one of considerable hopefulness. The North Carolina plan appears to offer one of the most hopeful experiments, both for the reason that those who work in North Carolina are fully aware that the experiment has only begun, and has yielded little of definite final value, and because it is an admirable system, well adapted to rural areas. The experiment is most promising, further, because it approaches the problem of governmental social work with a concrete plan, and because in the initial years there is ample evidence that a good beginning has been made.

We may discuss the topics briefly under four general headings. The first will include a brief statement of what the North Carolina county plan involves, or may involve, in terms of actual organization. The second will present a brief statement of some of the underlying principles and problems involved in social work as public welfare in rural areas. A third will raise the question as to how well North Carolina is measuring up to its opportunities, including favor and disfavor with general social work organizations. A fourth important aspect will include consideration of important study, research, and experiments which must be made before the system can be fairly tested by a necessary technique yet to be evolved. Growing out of these it is possible that we may find stimulating challenge and object lessons for the whole field of social work and public welfare.

Perhaps the first point of emphasis should be that the North Carolina plan provides pre-eminent emphasis in rural social work. No one, I believe, will challenge adequately the statement that rural social work has never yet been done successfully. Whether a county unit plan such as North Carolina has provided in connection with its governmental public welfare can become the basis for utilizing all resources, coordinating efforts, finding personnel, and adapting itself to the much needed tasks will depend upon a number of factors, some of which will be enumerated subsequently. North Carolina has one hundred counties. Each county with a population of 32,000 or more is required to employ a county superintendent of public welfare. He is elected jointly by the county commissioners and the county board of education. As an advisory group there is a county board of public welfare, of three, in each county. A state-wide juvenile court act creates a juvenile court in each county, with the clerk of the superior

court as judge. In the counties having a population of less than 32,000, the superintendent of schools may serve in the capacity of superintendent of public welfare where no full-time superintendent of public welfare is elected. The county unit system is a part of the state-wide plan of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare which performs its work through a commissioner of public welfare and bureaus of county organization, child welfare, institutions, mental health and hygiene, Negro work, promotion, and publicity. In turn, there is a similar general division of activities of the county superintendents, including county administration and cooperation with the state board, general child welfare work, charities and corrections, probation and juvenile court work, school attendance work, community organization, and recreation. The large problem of school attendance work, while limiting the activities of the superintendent of public welfare toward community organization and coordination, may, nevertheless, become an admirable basis for cooperative efforts in child welfare and family case work.

Difficult problems which the North Carolina plan faces are many. In addition to the usual problems involved in rural situations with sparsely settled areas, isolation, bad roads, undeveloped attitudes toward social work, limited personnel, limited resources, and uninformed leadership, there are other problems to be faced. How coordinate other social work agencies and voluntary groups in the county? How effect cordial cooperation between town and country? How bring about both intelligently planned and executed work and cooperation on the part of social worker and farm and home demonstration agent? Public health nurse? County physician? Schools and teachers? Churches and social service? National social work organizations? How bring about effective social work and public welfare among Negroes? How interpret public welfare as the social work part of government? How overcome the elements of limited training and political habits? How, in fine, make social work and public welfare the great process of discovery, interpretation, adaptation, and leadership so essential in rural communities? Can the county be a county unit, or will it be only an approximate substitute for a unit? Will there be parallel systems and efforts in town and country? Will each of the separate workers in public welfare, voluntary social work, home and farm demonstration, public health, as technician, perform badly only a part of the work?

The basis of the present North Carolina plan of public welfare is found in the legislation of 1919 with minor amendments in 1921. To what extent has North Carolina succeeded during these seven years, first in terms of actual numerical efforts, and second in terms of the larger beginnings? The last report of the Commissioner of Public Welfare shows that although only twenty-nine counties are required by law there were, nevertheless, fifty-five counties which had appointed superintendents of public welfare. Numerically, therefore, the showing is very creditable. There has been also a steady growth in the amount of work done, and a constant improvement in its quality. There has developed,

too, a steady professional spirit among the county superintendents of public welfare, and continuous improvement in their qualifications and methods. They now have a state-wide organization which meets annually with the institutes of public welfare held at the University of North Carolina under the auspices of the Commissioner of Public Welfare and the University School of Public Welfare. For six years now these institutes have been held each summer, with increasing effectiveness and with an average attendance of more than fifty. During the last two years Mrs. Johnson has provided regular lecture courses and examinations and has given certificates to superintendents completing the work. The superintendents themselves have joined in suggesting that standards of certification be set and that ideals be set continuously higher and higher. For this summer Mrs. Johnson has provided not only for the regular institutes, but also for a reading course to extend throughout the year as a follow-up to the main divisions of study at the institutes, and for work in the state and county departments. The University will provide the outlines and questions, and Mrs. Johnson and her staff will take care of the rating and classification. The main divisions of the institute work this year and of the manual of study will include modern social problems and trends, industrial social relationships, social and mental hygiene, child welfare, and family case work, together with organization and administration. Other specific discussions will include certain concrete problems relating to North Carolina.

The fact that the number of counties employing superintendents of public welfare has been continuously on the increase, and that such variations and fluctuations as have occurred have not affected the general progress of public welfare, is an acknowledged asset. An important factor in the development of public opinion both in the state at large and in certain counties has been the enthusiasm and influence of the state Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, and other women's organizations. A large number of concrete attainments might be cited as evidence that the North Carolina plan has achieved substantial and successful beginnings.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that up to the present time there has been no county organized successfully on anything like a complete or satisfactory basis. There has been no county organization which has ample personnel and resources. There has been no county in which the work of town and rural areas has been adequately correlated. There has been no county with a satisfactory permanently going county council. There has been no county in which the work of the superintendent of public welfare has met the wishes and standards of all other social work agencies. There has been no county in which the county board of public welfare has functioned with complete satisfaction to all concerned. There has been no county in which the home demonstration community clubs, the work of the farm demonstration agent, the public health nurse, and the school folk have been satisfactorily correlated. There is no county in which rural case work can be satisfactorily demonstrated. There is no county which

the School of Public Welfare can use as a satisfactory type of field work. In other words, for the purposes of demonstrating a type of county unit of all social work such as would illustrate community organization, community councils, community chests, and other technical and theoretical aspects of the work, there is no North Carolina county which can be cited even as a reasonable example of success.

It must not be understood, however, from this that there are not outstanding examples of excellent work, or that there are not now many nuclei around which may be built in the near future more successful organizations. The very statement of limitations and of the partial achievements are but added to make of the county unit plan a more exemplary form of organization upon which to build rural social work of the future. Wake County has this year, through the cooperation of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare and the Four-County Demonstration work in public welfare, made remarkable strides. A new superintendent of public welfare has been elected, a new probation officer (a man on full time, graduate of the University) has been appointed, a supervisor of case work and a regular case worker have been utilized, a full-time Negro social worker has been employed, and the assistance of the head of the Bureau of Negro Work has been utilized continuously. In addition to this, a teacher-social worker has been employed by the Superintendent of Schools, and she has experimented with truancy cases and other cases alongside the work of the Superintendent of Public Welfare. She is a trained worker with the Master's degree from the University of North Carolina. There have been also meetings in the city in which county-wide invitations were extended; there have been efforts to establish a detention home, and in many ways beginnings have been made to interpret public welfare to the county.

In Cherokee County, a typical mountain community, there has been developed one of the most successful demonstrations of public welfare possibilities in recent years. This plan was initiated from the cooperative efforts of the local folks and the Commissioner of Public Welfare. The first steps were the preliminary weeks of residence and organization by Miss Lily Mitchell, supervisor from the State board of Charities and Public Welfare, and Miss Ruth Medcalf and Miss Elizabeth Smith, from the School of Public Welfare. Following the preliminary months, Miss Smith was elected superintendent of public welfare, and has since developed an admirable illustration of what can be done in a limited and practical way. She has had the cooperation of the state board and has exemplified to some extent the possibilities of the general utility social work leader in a county community which has not hitherto been acquainted with professional social work.

If, then, the county unit plan in North Carolina has in no sense demonstrated successful coordination of social work, and if at the same time, paradoxically, it is set up as an experiment of great promise, what are the considerations through which these conflicting judgments may be reconciled? Aside from the

time element, and assuming the constants and variables which have been ever present in all new movements for social work and education, what are some of the principles and tasks which must occupy the attention and efforts of social work for the next decade? And, assuming the normal growth and progress along present and traditional lines, what are added features which must be worked out?

The first task is manifestly one of study and research, although in many cases problems of research must go hand in hand with problems of experiment, which is the second large task ahead.

First, there is perhaps no greater need now than that of finding out a proper technique of approach to adult population of rural areas in matters of social work and in subjects and problems involving different standards and social conflict. Recently I was much interested to hear the most experienced specialist in rural work among the churches for the United States complain bitterly of the failure of ministers and social workers in all rural areas within his church domain. I have found unanimous agreement with this sentiment among social workers in mountain areas and extremely rural regions. But is the fault all the fault of the country folk? Our specialists admit that the major trend of the times is for the more energetic and better educated folk of the rural areas to move on to cities. There are left, then, the other groups of folk who have manifestly limited leadership, while the technique of all of our own leadership is aimed at the city, or more highly educated folk who have left the country. Added to this is the almost universal missionary emphasis, which ought never to be substituted for the scientific or social work keynote which is always essential to ultimate success. Some new studies proposed in the field of teaching adults matters related to social concern, therefore, ought to yield results in time.

Other important studies to be made are numerous. Taking a county, for instance, there are the following fields in which something more must be known before any final conclusions can be reached: genetic studies of marginal families, with all the varied possibilities and significance to social work programs and possibilities; comprehensive studies of the general topography and areas, with suitable maps of roads, communities, and resources; the plotting of centers of leadership and other community areas in these maps, with adequate studies of leadership resources; intensive and concrete studies of special communities within the county; concrete and special studies of school attendance and school delinquency; special studies and mental tests of groups of children; special studies of health and dietary conditions and practices; special studies of pre-school children in the country, and their family relationships; special inquiries concerning home, school, and vocational adaptations and opportunities in the rural places; special studies of attitudes toward social work and cooperation, and of organizations available for social work; special inquiries into resources for voluntary social work and leadership; special case work studies of rural families compared and contrasted with other standard case studies; special inquiries

into matters of cooperation between superintendents of schools and superintendents of public welfare; special inquiries into matters of cooperation between superintendents of public welfare and county boards of public welfare, county public health agencies, and the voluntary agencies; special historical studies of all matters of public welfare in the county, to discover traditional or other handicaps; special studies of all social work agencies in all counties.

It is clear, however, that this is a long-time task, and that all such inquiries should be made gradually, with common sense and sympathetic study, and, wherever possible, in such way as to render actual service and promote the cause of social work and public welfare. The studies, therefore, will often require an experimental basis of social work alongside schedules of inquiry. Among the experiments which ought to be inaugurated will be: special efforts to make contact with particular leaders, and special programs and methods of stimulating sentiment for social work and public welfare; special experiments in which the visiting teacher or the social work teacher, as assistant to the county superintendent of public welfare, may bring about closer coordination between the two departments; special experiments in which the public health nurse may become a general social worker; special experiments for coordinating the work of home and farm demonstration agents with the county-wide program of social work; special experiments in which county-wide organizations of parent-teacher associations may center efforts upon the preschool child, utilizing agencies of public welfare, health, home demonstration; special experiments in child welfare to determine something of the relation between undernourishment, school work, and conduct; special experiments with farm and home demonstration agents and school teachers in vocational guidance and direction, in connection with juvenile delinquency; experiments in county-wide community organization, with special provisions for the small community; more thorough experiments in case work, case supervision, and record keeping; special experiments in several counties for obtaining more effective and intelligent work on the part of the county board of public welfare; a series of experiments for interpreting public welfare to county-wide groups, and especially to county commissioners and members of boards of education; special experiments in Negro public welfare; special experiments in the coordination of county public welfare and industrial social work; a demonstration county in the mountain areas; a demonstration county in the east Carolina sandhills; a statewide plan of cooperation between the State Superintendent of Schools and the Commissioner of Public Welfare for coordinating community education, adult teaching, and school attendance work; a state-wide demonstration for more effective state cooperation and supervision of many aspects of public welfare work.

Growing out of the results of these studies and experiments would come, of course, certain larger conclusions, questions, recommendations, and the basis upon which the whole field of public welfare might be interpreted to the public. Along with these studies and experiments would be provided, of course, field

work and observation for students in training for social work. This is, of course, a major difficulty, and a major problem second to none in the list, but omitted from the primary problems of study and experiment in order to give it a special emphasis in the whole problem and to separate it from local tasks. It seems clear, therefore, that if the studies and experiments needed are to be worked out in a simple, slow, but continuous way, the resources for training social workers must not only be utilized to a large extent in cooperation with the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, but that this important objective should not be lost sight of in planning methods and resources. In this way the results of studies and experiments may be brought together and made usable, not only to many counties and communities in the state, but for social work in general.

WEST PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA: A UNIT FOR SOCIAL WORK

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West Palm Beach*

Ten years ago Florida was an undiscovered country. People thought of it in terms of Everglades, alligators, and a tropical sun. A few places, such as Palm Beach, Miami, Tampa, and Jacksonville, had been discovered by the leisure classes as winter resorts and playgrounds, but the potential assets of Florida itself were yet to be discovered by the country at large.

But to the social worker who dared hazard the heat of the summer Florida was a fertile field. With its comparatively small population, its social problems were for the most part those of the rural community in the South. There were no hard winters to bring suffering to the poorer classes. There were no tenelements nor the accompanying evils that come from congestion in larger cities. Industrial concerns, with their attendant problems, did not exist. Unemployment was negligible. But the real problem facing Florida was the problem of the rural community. The lack of education and lack of opportunities for the underprivileged were prevalent. Neighborliness was abundant, but it was neighborliness without intelligent direction.

And six years ago Florida was just beginning to come into her own. There was a stalwart citizenship with a capacity for leadership which has since proved itself in the zeal and energy with which Florida has capitalized the growing interest in her native assets. The most salable of these, "sunshine," is more precious to the permanent residents and to thousands of Florida visitors each winter than the diamonds on the shelves of Tiffany. The truth is that Florida, the last new country in the United States, a state larger than any other east of the Mississippi River excepting Georgia, is building on her broad acres a new empire. This takes the form of towns, cities, up-to-date transportation, excellent roads,

splendid public utilities, and all that is involved in intelligent, well-balanced progress. Florida is my own choice because I love it, and, next to the coral rock which forms the base of Florida, the strongest thing is the idealism of the people who love the state. To those of us who have been working in Florida during these history-making years there has seemed a great opportunity to build, along with the state's material prosperity, a real community idealism which would recognize that wealth and happiness are not found in dollars and cents, but in the well-being of its citizens.

Perhaps it is a paradox that the first forward attempt at such community building should have come from the oldest of Florida cities, St. Augustine. St. Augustine had for years a city nurse whose duties covered the field of visiting nursing and general relief-giving. She was the one social worker in the county, and was looked upon as the single source of relief whenever and wherever she was needed. She found it necessary to leave, and the people were at a loss to know what other plan to make. I happened to be at that time a field representative for the American Red Cross in the state, and was called into consultation to help solve the problem. Here was a golden opportunity! We called the whole community into conference: the county commission which had employed the nurse; the city commission; the King's Daughters, who had been for years furnishing relief to needy families; the Catholic Daughters of America; and others. This conference brought out the fact that all the organizations were working, in their individual and ineffective way, for the same thing. After several meetings and discussions it was decided to pool interests and money toward the support of a worth-while welfare program. A budget was made to provide for a public health nurse and a welfare worker. The Red Cross was called upon to secure adequately trained personnel and to assist in establishing standards of service. The conference formed itself into a formal welfare federation, each organization represented in it choosing two delegates to compose a board of directors, and they in turn electing an executive committee to be responsible for the whole program. It was agreed, in working out the plan, that each of the organizations represented in the federation should carry on its program, with the approval of the federation and supplementary to the whole program in order to avoid duplication of effort, and so that the small amount of money available from all sources might be used in the most effective way for the good of the whole. The county and city commissions each became a party to this agreement, paying their funds out according to their regulations, but only upon the approval of the federation, and agreed that all workers should be selected by the federation, so as to place the work squarely out of political appointment and frankly on a community-participating basis.

The program of the Welfare Federation was planned so as to include both the health and general welfare field. There was neither a city nor county health board, so that the board of directors of the federation assumed this responsibility, the health officer being a member of the health committee. Subcommittees

were appointed as follows: Welfare, Health, Finance, and Publicity. The organization was so constituted as to be flexible enough to expand with the growing needs of the community.

This federation has been in existence for four and a half years, and is functioning successfully. A nutrition service, a colored nurse, and a probation and school attendance work have been included in the welfare department. It is expected that a full-time probation officer and a visiting school teacher will be at work next fall. The city and county have increased their budget each year until they are now taking care of practically all administrative expense, but funds are necessary to supplement this, and the private agencies are still pooling their money and their services. All workers, whether employed by the city or the county, are engaged by, and are responsible to, the executive committee of the federation.

So enthusiastic have the people of St. Augustine become over the success of this enterprise that the city manager, the chairman of the county commissioners, the chairman of the federation, and others interested have given it statewide publicity and have assisted other communities to promote similar organizations. Since the development and successful operation of this federation, other counties have organized similar federations, each one adapting the organization and program to the individual needs of the county. Among these are Fort Myers and West Palm Beach. West Palm Beach has advanced farther than the others and has developed into a county unit.

West Palm Beach began as a city federation only, the county commission not participating in the beginning. The organization followed the lines of the St. Augustine federation, except that the initiative was taken here by the city commissioners, whereas in St. Augustine it had been taken by the volunteer groups. Here the city employed a worker to develop a city-wide federation, which was especially gratifying because the city welfare work had hitherto been very much tied up in politics. Within six months the organization was under way and functioning. After two years the county commissioners agreed to join forces with the city, and the staff now consists of a county superintendent, or director of welfare, who is the organizer, a case work supervisor, one assistant, a part-time probation officer, a school attendance officer, a colored community worker, and clerical help. Unlike St. Augustine, West Palm Beach has a number of private agencies employing staffs, as, for example, the Salvation Army, the Travelers' Aid, Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A. Also, the city has recently developed an extensive recreational program under the supervision of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. All of these organizations are members of the federation, their programs being carried on in cooperation with the county and city work. Each one has two representatives in the city federation. New organizations coming into the community must have the indorsement of the federation.

As a result of this cooperative effort the county has now created a County

Board of Public Welfare, which has for its purpose the following: first, to foster the intelligent division of work between all public and private charitable and social agencies in the county and city, to the end that public resources and charitable donations may be conserved, and the need of the county and city be adequately cared for; second, to coordinate the work of all public and private agencies, each organization to retain its own identity, to handle its own funds, and to make its own program; third, to act in general administrative capacity to the county, city, and town authorities in dealing with questions of dependency, delinquency, distribution of the poor funds, family welfare, and social conditions generally. The board is composed of two representatives from each of the organized federations in the county: one representative from the private agencies in the federation, and the other from the governmental departments of the city or town. The chairman of the county commissioners and the superintendent of schools are members of the board.

In West Palm Beach, as in St. Augustine, there was no public health program, but an active city health officer. He became a member of the federation, and under his supervision and in cooperation with the American Red Cross and the school board, a joint public health nursing program was developed. There is now a staff of four nurses, with the possible further development of a city health unit by fall, including a full-time school doctor.

In promoting this type of organization we have been guided by the following principles: first, that it takes an entire community to relieve, correct, and prevent its own ailments; second, that the community can best be reached through its organized groups; third, that group representation provides the most effective vehicle for a widespread educational program. We have felt that the proper responsibility for community upbuilding should be borne by tax funds, but that in encouraging the public treasuries to meet this obligation it is vitally important to safeguard the work from political influence and entanglements. We have believed earnestly that the private agencies have a very vital and important part to play in the development of our public health and public welfare programs, and that they should be given their full opportunity to supply leadership and to act as educational and demonstrational agencies only, not carrying the burden of financial responsibility, but keeping a step ahead of our public work and letting their programs serve as supplementary to the work of the public departments.

This work is altogether experimental. We have no final conclusions to offer. We hope that out of it may grow a state bill of public welfare which will be adapted to Florida's needs and which will benefit from the experience of other communities. We are watching with great interest the developments in Iowa, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Virginia, and Missouri. We feel that what we are working out in Florida will combine the advantages of the superintendency features of the North Carolina bill with the close cooperation now being developed through county boards in Pennsylvania; and added to that, we are trying

to build an organization which may serve as a public forum for the better understanding of our mutual problems. We have only just begun. There are many problems not yet solved. We have cities like Miami and Tampa where we must work out the further problems presented by the community chest. We hope next year to give you something more definite.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE: A TOOL FOR COUNTY COOPERATION

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Is there a question as to whether the various agencies of a county should register their cases in a central Exchange? If so, the question should be asked: Should the agencies cooperate? For without an Exchange, cooperation in case work is impossible. It is true that geographical or functional divisions of work may be determined by conference, and cooperation of that kind secured without an Exchange. But in case work, the first essential step between agencies desirous of cooperating is to learn of each other's interest in the problem. This is a truism; but how often it is ignored in case work practice!

With noticeable rapidity social work is being organized on a county basis. The State Charities Aid Association of New York was a pioneer in this movement, and its success has had a great influence in other parts of the country, notably in Iowa, Missouri, and North Carolina. In many places the Boy Scouts are organized on a county basis, as is the Y.M.C.A. The development of the Farm Bureau has given great impetus to the county as a unit for organization, while the Red Cross used the county as a unit for chapter organization in almost all parts of the county. Think of your own county. In nearly every case some of the following services are organized by counties: mothers' allowances, administration of outdoor relief, public care of children, antituberculosis work, children's courts, probation, child protection, work with the handicapped, such as the blind and crippled, clinics, hospitals, Boy and Girl Scouts, homes for unmarried mothers, child placing, children's institutions, etc. If the organization is not definitely county-wide in form, you will find that the service is available to all parts of the county. This is necessarily so. Small villages cannot develop these facilities for themselves, and wherever they exist at all, they are inevitably called upon to render service throughout the county.

Community funds have recognized this and are helping to develop it. In places where there are such funds many potential contributors live outside the city where the fund has its headquarters, and appeals are made for support, first from the the commuters and later from the local business and professional people. This leads to a more intensive canvass of the smaller communities and

rural districts, and this in turn results in a more widespread knowledge of the agencies available for service and an increase in the number of calls for help. Another noticeable fact is the rapidity of movement of population between various parts of a county—from farm to village and city—and from the city to suburbs. This is a matter of common knowledge.

If, then, there are likely to be several county-wide and several local agencies working in each part of the county, how important is it for the exchange to be functioning, and why is it not more generally used? Consider this illustration, where three county-wide agencies dealt with an unmarried mother, Mary Doe:

In July, 1924, a foster mother who had been boarding the youngest Doe child for nearly a year and a half at the rate of \$8 a week, to be paid by the mother, complained to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children that the mother was over \$100 in arrears. Taking the unsupported word of this foster mother, the society filed a complaint in the court, which was withdrawn in a few days when the foster mother reported that the mother had made payments. A month later, however, the foster mother again reported to the society, stating that the arrears were mounting up. The S.P.C.C. wrote a letter to the mother, calling upon her to make payment by a certain date, and when this was not done, the case was taken into court and the child was found to be abandoned, committed to the county Child Welfare Department, and a warrant issued for the mother, who had not appeared in court.

This ends the S.P.C.C. contact. No field investigation of any kind was made, and the case was not registered in the Exchange. If registration had been made, the society and the court would have been informed of a long record on this family in the hands of the county child welfare department, which showed that the child in question was the youngest of four children, probably all illegitimate. Technically, the case was a success from the viewpoint of the S.P.C.C.; they obtained a conviction. Actually, they compelled the county to accept the care of this baby, which the mother had tried to give them some months earlier.

Shall we register? Shall we cooperate? Consider these records taken from a children's institution which had its work studied in 1923. I quote from the report of the study:

A little girl, now seven, was admitted in November, 1918, upon the father's application. Registration made during the study in 1923 shows that the family was known to the Children's Aid Society in 1916. The girl's father was at that time, and had been for three years, living in adultery with the child's mother, together with two legitimate children of the mother. Disagreements between the man and woman, caused by non-support, led to his taking his child away from her in October, 1916. Two years later he placed the child in the institution, as above stated. The mother was unable to discover the baby's whereabouts. Later, the mother placed one of her other children in the same institution through the county office, and did not then learn, and in so far as we know, has never learned, that her other child was in the same home. Until the 1923 registration was made the Children's Aid Society did not learn what had become of the illegitimate child, and the institution knew nothing of the real circumstances leading up to either child's admission.

This is a fair picture of cooperation without registration:

In another case the probation office had been collecting \$75 per month alimony and paying it to the mother, believing that she was making a home for the children. The fact that they had been in the institution almost a year and a half was revealed to the probation officer through the Exchange registration, made in 1923.

A similar instance showed that a family organization had been working actively for several years with a family where the mother had deceived the visitor into believing the child was at home, although she had sent her to the institution nine months previously and, moreover, had secured free care for her. This fact was brought out through the registration. Through use of the Exchange we also discovered brothers and sisters and other relatives who we did not know existed.

No case work agency can make pretense now at being cooperative and efficient if it refuses or neglects to use the Exchange. Such an agency either does not know what cooperation means, or it does not care, and a vigorous campaign for the systematic and intelligent use of the Exchange would go far to improve the quality of the service rendered.

It may be urged that having an Exchange located in one part of the county makes it too expensive to be used by other parts. At times registration may be made by mail, which is inexpensive; but even where telephone registration is made necessary by the urgency of the situation it can be clearly demonstrated that the cost of the telephone call is much less than the cost of inefficient and uncoordinated social case work. The wastage caused by "going it blind" would, I venture to say, amount to enough money to enable all registration to be made by personal messenger, on engraved cards, and leave a sufficient balance to found and support a home for inefficient, stupid, and negligent social workers; and I am convinced that our clients would prosper by a realization of both parts of that program.

So much for the use of the Exchange. The topic assigned refers to the Exchange as a tool. Like any other tool, it will not be worth the money invested unless it is used for the purpose for which it is intended. There are social workers who say: "Oh, yes, we use the Exchange, you will find their slips on all of our records." And so you will, but remarkable as it may seem, the information to be found on these slips has never been used. Therein lies a danger against which we all have to guard ourselves. In the rush of our busy lives we learn to go through certain motions, and may forget, or perhaps have never learned, the reason for those motions. Registration brings to our attention a statement of whether other agencies have knowledge of the family registered. It may bring us the names and addresses of various relatives, and a statement of previous addresses. It makes it possible for us to render a quicker, more intelligent, and a less obtrusive service to the family, and it enables us to plan our work in cooperation with the other agencies interested by advising us of their interest. I say it makes these things possible. In and of itself it accomplishes nothing, and unless we use the information so obtained we might just as well not have registered.

Two years ago I had an opportunity of making a study of 130 families that had presented difficult problems to a county-wide children's agency. In this county there is an Exchange. This society had registered all of the 130 families,

and the slips showed a total of 473 registrations by thirty-five other agencies. Although these families were very difficult ones and had been repeatedly referred to the society, only 241 of the 473 registrations had been looked up. Interestingly enough, the records of the society showed 183 agency contacts that were not registered at the Exchange. This gave a total of about six agency contacts per family, and a record of cooperation of about 33 per cent. (Cooperation in this study was defined as one contact between agencies working on the same case.) The lesson of this seems obvious. The society had been unable successfully to cope with the problems of these families; had spent an average of nearly two years' work with each family, and yet had not taken the obvious steps of consulting the other agencies interested in the same families. How much more successful the work would have been had the organizations coordinated their efforts is a speculation, but all experienced workers know that "united we stand, divided we fall" is applicable to social case work.

At times workers will not register a case because they say they have not time enough. Recently I had a talk with the executives of three county-wide agencies, a judge of a children's court, the superintendent of a child protective society, and a chief probation officer. They assured me they believed in the Exchange, but their clerical staffs were too small, and they had no time to register. These people did not understand nor believe in the use of an Exchange. One of the great values of an Exchange is as a time saver, and the busier the agency, the more need of the Exchange. Such people are like the wood chopper with a large amount of wood to chop, who couldn't take time to sharpen his axe.

I sometimes think of the Exchange in terms of telephone service. When I first moved to East Aurora, New York, there were two telephone companies, and the only thing for customers to do was to have both. Supposing there had been twenty or thirty telephone companies, each having certain subscribers with whom we might wish to communicate. Imagine our home with twenty or thirty telephones in it, and the state of our nerves after living under these conditions for a time. Would you be surprised if we damned all the telephone companies of every possible occasion? I think the families who are the clients of agencies that do not use an Exchange must feel that way about it. To have a number of organizations trying to render service may be at times embarrassing; to have them do so without coordination must be intolerable. We have no right so to impose upon our clients.

The Social Service Exchange is no longer an experiment; it is not on trial. If there are several agencies doing social work in a given territory there is every reason why their efforts should be coordinated through an Exchange. Those organizations that refuse to use it either fail to understand the possibilities of social case work or else must admit frankly that they do not care to cooperate.

THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL WORK IN NEW ORLEANS

Bradley Buell, Associate Director, Community Chest, New Orleans

New Orleans is a city of paradoxes. It is on the east bank of the Mississippi River, and the river lies directly south of it. All of the uptown streets describe a huge semicircle. I reach my apartment in the eastern part of the city by traveling west. The city is below the level of the river, and all of its drainage has to be pumped up and out. Canal Street, which really was a canal, divides the modern business city from the old French quarter. In the older days no good citizen of French Town would think of crossing Canal Street; indeed, for that very reason the two biggest department stores in the city are on the French side of Canal Street. From this old quarter, now inhabited largely by Italians, Negroes, and artists, New Orleans derives much of the architectural and cosmopolitan flavor that makes it, as our Association of Commerce modestly declares, America's most interesting city.

Here is Jackson Square, so named in honor of General Jackson, who, with the assistance of Lafitte, the well-known pirate, defeated the British in the battle of New Orleans. Facing it is the famous St. Louis Cathedral, flanked on one side by the Cabildo, the seat of government in the Spanish and French days, from the balcony of which in 1803 was read the proclamation announcing the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, and on the other, by the old Caputian monastery. Here are famous old courtyards with quarters in their rear for the slaves—those slaves who hammered out the wrought iron gates and galleries that are part of the charm of French Town. Here is the famous Napoleon House, so called because if Napoleon had been rescued from St. Helena, and if he had come to New Orleans, and if he had found this house suited to his purposes, it would have been the house that Napoleon would have lived in.

But the French quarter does not house all of the picturesque paradoxes of New Orleans. Out Canal Street are the cemeteries where people are buried above ground. Here are the City Park and Audubon Park with their huge live oaks with the dusty gray Spanish moss hanging from their branches and giving them an ethereal and ghostlike appearance.

The social and civic history of New Orleans makes just as fascinating a story as its political history: the yellow fever epidemics and the fight for control of the yellow fever mosquito, the Bubonic Plague of only a dozen years ago, the gradual filling in of the old canals to make wide and spacious modern streets, and the substitution of a modern sewerage system for the old open sewers. Until 1909 each house had its own cistern, and these constituted the city's water supply.

The population of New Orleans was 387,000 at the time of the last census, and is estimated at 415,000 at the present time. Of these 100,000 were colored in 1920. The white population is thus more a native American population than is the case with our northern and eastern cities. On the other hand, the influence

of the old French stock is more marked than the census figures of the first and second generation would indicate. There are four times as many people whose parents were born in France as there are of the first-generation French stock, and the ratio would undoubtedly increase with the third and fourth generation. French family names are very common, while of course the French restaurants and cooking are among the things which have made New Orleans famous.

New Orleans is a commercial city. It is the second port in the United States (incidentally, it is 100 miles from the Gulf), and not only does very much of its historical past center around its dock and port facilities, but much of the hope of its future business development. As a railroad center its combined transportation industries account for something over 25,000 of the working population. Manufacturing is not a prominent feature, although across the river in Gretna and Algiers are strung a series of industrial and manufacturing plants. But its Cotton Exchange, its banking facilities, its selling and distributing organizations, mark it as a commercial center.

New Orleans is a Roman Catholic community, the proportion of the white population who are of that faith being variously estimated from 50 per cent to 85 per cent. The second largest religious group is the Episcopal Church.

In presenting in detail certain figures in regard to our social work I want to make it quite clear that they are not based on such a study as Mr. Clapp has been supervising throughout the country. We have, during this year, been concerned with two intensive studies of quite a different nature: of the methods and standards of work in our thirteen family welfare and about thirty-five children's agencies. The figures which I am presenting have been gathered hastily and for the sole purpose of giving Mr. Carstens something to go on in the detailed evaluation of our children's work. Some of the figures are frankly estimates—in only one or two cases have the expenditures in a given agency been segregated to the different fields of work—and, perhaps most important of all, it has been impossible to estimate the percentage of expenditure which should be credited to New Orleans as compared with that which goes to serve the surrounding territory.

New Orleans has altogether 126 social agencies, whose total expenditures are \$5,171,825.00. This would make the total per capita expenditure \$12.95, which would rank us very high in Mr. Clapp's list. Because, however, so much of this goes to serve not only the rest of Louisiana but also a good deal of Mississippi and Texas, I think this figure has no real significance. Of the 126 agencies, 80 are supported by the Community Chest, 29 others are supported by private subscriptions, and 17 are administered by the city or state. Further analysis shows that almost the entire public expenditure is in the health field. Charity Hospital, a state hospital with a budget of \$760,000, is included in this, as are part of the state and all of the city Board of Health. The largest non-chest private expenditure is in this field also, and is accounted for by six hospitals, Catholic, Baptist, and Presbyterian, a Marine, and a Veterans' Bureau hospital, which are

not members of the chest. Four Protestant orphan asylums and an equal number of old folks' homes are the only other agencies of consequence outside the Chest. In other words, neither the city nor the state government is doing much social service in New Orleans outside the health field, while except in this same field, practically all of the privately administered work is represented in the Community Chest. All the Jewish and practically all the Catholic work is in the chest. The Protestants originally held out, but of the eighteen new agencies which came into the Chest this year, the majority were Protestant agencies, and included (which, I think, is rather unique in Chest experience) part of the work of the King's Daughters.

The general set-up of New Orleans agencies from an organization standpoint is simple. In the Community Chest are eighty agencies; the members of its board are nominated, seven by these agencies and fourteen by the contributing public; of the nine members of the budget committee, five are nominated by the agencies and four by the board of directors of the Chest. Belonging to the Central Council of Social Agencies, and with two delegates to it, one an executive and the other a board member, are all the agencies in the Chest and a number that are outside it. In addition, the Board of Catholic Charities has a central office, organized two years ago, with a family welfare department, a children's department, a recreation and nursing service to its member agencies. In somewhat the same fashion the Jews have a central federation which operates a relief department and coordinates the work of the Jewish agencies. All these four coordinating bodies are supported by the Chest. In addition, we have the State Board of Charities, the city Board of Prisons and Asylums, and the Social Service Exchange, which is an independent organization. These seven coordinating agencies spend in New Orleans a little over \$87,000 a year. I have already referred to the health field as representing the largest expenditure outside the Chest, although in the Chest is Touro Infirmary, our best-equipped large hospital, and the Child Welfare Association, a very efficient nursing organization. Health education is, on the whole, the place where our present set-up is weakest.

Because of the relationship which the family welfare field has to the children's field, and therefore to the critique which Mr. Carstens will give you, I think perhaps it is worth while to describe that field in more detail. There are eight family case working agencies, including a Charity Organization Society, the relief departments of the Board of Catholic Charities and of the Jewish Federation; also are included two volunteer organizations: the Sunshine Society (Protestant) and the St. Margaret's Daughters (Catholic), both very well organized. The St. Margaret's Daughters, it is interesting to note, has a budget of \$25,171, which is somewhat more than the Jewish Federation, three times the relief budget of the Board of Catholic Charities, and a little more than half that of the Charity Organization Society. The public agency is what is known as the Mayor's Relief Fund, consisting of about \$5,000 in petty cash that comes in from

licenses for fish fries and small entertainments, and which is given out, one dollar to the white, and fifty cents to the colored, to anyone who comes in on Saturday morning. Forty-five thousand dollars of the non-Chest amount represents the expenditure of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, while \$5,000 is the estimate for a poor fund which no one seems to know very much about.

The two principal ex-service agencies (exclusive of the Veterans' Bureau) are the Red Cross, with a total budget of \$23,000, and the American Legion, with a budget of \$5,202. The Legion is in the Chest for the first time this year, and is developing a soldiers' relief program. Some Y.M.C.A. and K.C. work in the two veterans' hospitals is also included in this. The big organization in the handicapped group is a Lighthouse for the blind, while four seamen's homes have been more or less arbitrarily grouped with the Travelers' Aid. The considerable non-Chest expenditure in the aged and chronic group are accounted for by two large homes operated by the Little Sisters of the Poor, and a large private Catholic insane asylum. The public expenditure is for a city almshouse and a home for the feeble-minded, given to the city by a wealthy New Orleans family. Four of the eleven homes in this group are for colored people. Three of the four organizations for transients are the Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, and St. Vincent's Hotel. The fourth is a local organization, Warrington House. To finish this brief description, to all intent and purposes we have no functioning legal aid society, while the two industrial homes of the Volunteers and the Salvation Army speak for themselves.

I am sure that Mr. Carstens would not have me conclude this description of our New Orleans set-up without giving you some glimpse of the character of our case work, particularly in the family and relief agencies. Last fall, at the time when Mr. Carstens and Miss Atkinson were making their study of the children's agencies under the auspices of the Children's Committee of the Council of Social Agencies, Miss Mary Russell, representing the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work and under the Family Welfare Committee of the Council, was making an equally intensive study of our case work and relief agencies. The following excerpt from the introduction to her final summary is, I think, significant:

The caliber of New Orleans work is uniformly below standard. Only occasionally in our reading of the cases of the four major agencies did we find instances where the essentials of constructive work were present. The professional personnel is untrained, and the present salary scale is so low as to make impossible the employment of better trained workers. Relief is given to individual families with very little regard to the needs of the family or to the possibility of real rehabilitation. Except in the case of one society, the amounts are almost never adequate. There is an unusually large amount of volunteer work, but it has had neither direction nor supervision.

May I say a word about these two studies which we have just completed? Both were under the auspices of the appropriate committees of the Council of Social Agencies, and a lump appropriation to conduct them was authorized by the Community Chest. In both we started out with the knowledge that much of

our work was poor, and with the full knowledge that unless these reports were able, of their own weight, to impress the different agencies of that fact, there was very little point in having them made. The reports, in other words, had to be written for the boards of the agencies, not for the Chest. In each case we therefore followed the same procedure and forwarded copies of the report to the board members of the society. In addition, the family welfare reports have been read by the Budget Committee of the Community Chest, some of the members of the board of directors, and a few other interested individuals. Altogether, the total number of copies of the forty-odd reports, which we have mimeographed and will distribute, will be in the neighborhood of 3,000. We are also considering printing the final summary of both reports, and distributing them not only to the people on our various lists who are more or less directly affiliated with the work of our social agencies, but to all the contributors of \$25 and more to the Community Chest. The results, which are already showing in some of our agencies in terms of better practice and better trained personnel, indicate a better understanding of what good social work is. The fact that so far the reports have sold themselves constitutes, I think, the highest possible tribute to the people who made them.

A SOCIAL AUDIT OF CHILD WELFARE WORK AS A WHOLE IN NEW ORLEANS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO COMMUNITY PLANNING

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The part that each specialty may render in a program of child care at this time is, and of right ought to be, different from its function ten years or a generation ago. This paper is devoted to a brief analysis of such services in the program of a modern city as exemplified by New Orleans, where the Child Welfare League of America has recently made an extensive study of the children's work, public and private.

While this study was planned and financed by the Community Fund, it made possible an almost complete inclusion of all agencies in the city.

Institutional care.—The city has depended in the past in very large measure upon institutional care for its dependent children. At the time of the study there were eight Catholic institutions, with a total population of 1,316 on the day of the count; eight Protestant or non-sectarian, with a total population of 481; and one Jewish, with a population of 146. It is noticeable that in Group 1 the average number was 166, while in Group 2 it was 60. In Group 1 the smallest population was 48, in an institution for colored children. In Group 2 the smallest was thirteen; another was 14. The largest population was 268 in Group 1. The largest in Group 2 was 80. Unless there are special reasons to justify it,

such small numbers as are found in Group 2 make these institutions uneconomical units. It is not possible, without much further study, to say what the minimum for efficiency should be, but probably any institution having an average population of less than one hundred is not an economical administrative unit. Naturally, in our study, we kept our eyes open for some logical consolidations, and we have recommended several of them. These are rarely easy to bring about, but when religious affiliation, size and sex of beneficiaries, and social standing of members of boards permit, such consolidations have both economy and efficiency to commend them. When more careful intake and adjustment work is undertaken with applications we prophesy that additional mergers will be indicated in the results.

Institutions for delinquent children.—There was but one such institution, namely, the Convent of the Good Shepherd, with a population of 125 white and 50 colored. This population was on the whole young, and changed rather rapidly. There had been during the year 67 white admissions and 81 colored. The institution is also used as a detention house for girls from the New Orleans Juvenile Court. As might be expected, not a few Protestant girls were committed, not only for temporary detention, but for a period of training. For boys, the Waifs' Home, a city institution, was used for detention, but short-time commitments were also made to it. The tendency of having private institutions or local institutions for delinquents established by counties is apparently growing. This was not marked in New Orleans. Such institutions are apt to detract from the interest and support which the citizens can insure to the state institutions, and are apt to endanger their efficiency.

Institutions for defectives.—There were two such institutions, one dependent for support upon the public through the Community Chest, with a population of 50; the other built privately, but supported publicly by the city. There are certainly in none of our cities too many agencies for the care of the feeble-minded, but the caution just expressed regarding the private care of delinquents is equally pertinent to the care of defectives. Where the element of control and commitment is present, public care is generally recognized, and usually by the larger public unit, the state. The experience of most cities is that the Community Chest cannot provide for all forms of social service, and that the more preventive parts of the program should have precedence from its funds. Instead of depending upon the Community Chest for expansion, additional needs should be met by the state, and the city should urge, and work for, larger state provision.

Adoption and placing out.—The adoption of dependent children and the placing out of older children in free homes is in large measure undeveloped in the city. The agency for such service was the only one of the children's organizations refusing to share in the study. There are many cities and states still depending upon these forms of placement of children as the only supplements to institutional care. But with the great changes that have come in our industrial life, free home placement has ceased to be of great value except as a preliminary

stage toward adoption. This limits free home placement to very small children as a valuable adjunct. This will be further discussed in connection with boarding home placement.

Juvenile court, probation, and detention.—The juvenile court, or the court dealing with juvenile cases, has different functions in different communities, but it always includes the hearing of cases of delinquency as its most important function. Its next most important would seem to be the adjudication of cases of neglect on the part of parents. This function in many jurisdictions belongs in another court, as far as the discipline or punishment of the parent is concerned. The commitment of destitute dependent children to institutions or other child caring agencies is also a function of the juvenile court in most states. These various functions make the juvenile court an important part of children's work. Important as the judge's part is, the administrative work of the probation staff is even more important. There are but few places in the United States where the probation service is both intelligent, adequate in numbers, and co-operative. The increase in juvenile court functions and of case load without a corresponding increase in equipment and number of officers rarely trained for the work, seldom specialized and, before the increase, already inadequate, is getting juvenile courts into increasing disrepute. The best educational work with the voters that can be done by chest and individual agencies will be required to bring the citizens to see the value of a well-equipped juvenile court. The Waifs' Home used for detention service for delinquent boys was found to be poorly housed, in a poor location, and provided with poor personnel. This is not an isolated instance in the country, but rarely are conditions as bad as they were here. But we believe they are already on the mend. A detention home is needed in every jurisdiction of 50,000 or more people.

This service is for delinquent juveniles, and provision for the ordinary dependent, whether public wards or not, should be made either in an institution for dependent children or in temporary shelter boarding homes. The juvenile court that has adequate social service rarely needs institutional equipment for dependents, and only small equipment for delinquents. The use of detention homes for short-time commitments fails to recognize the fundamental principle back of the juvenile court, namely, that under the chancery procedure the child is taken care of for better care and training, and not for punishment. If the court cannot make that distinction, how can we expect police, parent, or ordinary citizen to appreciate the difference?

Children's protective work.—The children's protective work of the city was found to be principally in the hands of the Louisiana Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which is also equipped with a small children's shelter. This is also used for dependent children for whom no immediate provision could be made elsewhere. The effectiveness of children's protective work, even though a large proportion of its cases are handled outside of court, depends upon the cooperation and backing which the society merits because of good work, and

that which the courts are sensitive enough to give. This outward cooperation was lacking, for the juvenile court is at present unwilling to hear evidence of neglect or remove children, even with an adequate law for the purpose, when it is against the parents' consent. We hope that with increasing efficiency the court may come to hear competent testimony in flagrant children's neglect cases. Upon such procedure much stronger preventive work can be built, which is the principal function of a private children's protective society.

Maternity home service.—The problem of the child born out of wedlock and its mother is perhaps the most complicated of all the services to children. In the city there is a Catholic infant asylum where mothers and babies receive pre- and post-natal care and where there are also some deliveries. There is also a Protestant institution of a similar character. The coordination with the maternity hospital service seems good when needed. The social service is in both cases inadequate, and the unmarried mother is largely left to her own devices in working out her problem of social adjustment. This is typical; social service is inevitably more tardy in development than the medical service in this field of work. We recommended that social service be provided by the Children's Bureau of the Board of Catholic Charities, and that a similar service be provided by the Children's Bureau recently organized by the Louisiana S.P.C.C. for the Protestant agency.

Day nurseries.—We found four day nurseries with a total population of 203 on the day of count. The largest, having eighty-four, has a fine equipment, with a per capita of \$157.00. The smallest per capita cost was \$46.00, less than one-third of the former. The equipment of the largest can, without great additional outlay, develop into a nursery school on modern lines. A day nursery is in need of close coordination with the family welfare work, and each application for the reception of a child in a day nursery should be not only cleared through a social service exchange, but referred to the society organized for family welfare work for investigation and report to the admissions committee.

The group activities.—The Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Girls' Reserves, etc. are now almost universally found in every city's plan, but the need for their coordination with case work and institutional activities often is not recognized on either side. To safeguard the dependent and neglected and keep them from slipping into the stage of delinquency would seem to be one of the functions of these group activities. It is doubtless impossible to have many, or any, clear delinquents in the troops of normals, but before they have become delinquent they should have all the opportunities to mix with other normals whose record is good. Workers in these group activities sometimes do not recognize themselves as social workers. Closer cooperation would show both groups working toward the same end, sometimes with the same child.

Most of the activities described so far have been in existence for many years. They have been generally accepted by the communities as necessary parts in a community plan. They have often ceased to keep up with the development

of modern methods, but on the whole they have established well-recognized standards and can be evaluated by detailed study. During recent years there have come certain newer phases of service.

The family boarding home.—The most important of the newer phases of child welfare services is boarding home care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. In a few places this has been done as a social service for as long as forty years. In another form, many a widower, widow, unmarried mother, or other person having to provide for one or more children whose affection and custody it was sought to conserve have themselves found a boarding home, but without getting its social benefits. But boarding home care is largely a new chapter in child care and has often been undertaken so crudely as to bring the whole method into disrepute, and therefore often neglect. By means of proper equipment the commercial element can be largely eliminated, the special contribution that each foster family is likely to make can be learned, and the process of supervision of the child may translate itself into a social education of the foster family for the accomplishment of the agency's purpose. Every community needs a boarding home agency. Its development is a slow, and sometimes a laborious, undertaking, but when in good hands it may become a service station that increases the efficiency of hospitals, clinics, institutions, family welfare societies, juvenile court, and other agencies.

Such an agency was not in existence in New Orleans. The S.P.C.C., with the new name of Children's Bureau, has now added boarding home service to its program, not only for the placement of wards committed to it by the juvenile court, but also for the care of dependent children that may be referred to it. The boarding home agency which seeks to inspire its boarding mothers and fathers with the ideals of social service is the most flexible instrument of social work for child care. Just as in our institutions we should have in our personnel only those who have a fundamental social interest in the child, just so likewise these persons are to be sought in the community for foster father and mother.

The results of institutions with delinquents have been so questionable and often so unsatisfactory that the boarding home is being turned to for care after removal from home for training has been found necessary by the court. Medical, convalescent, behavior, psychological, psychiatric, or venereal problems have been satisfactorily cared for in boarding homes in some measure. The boarding home, rather than the free home, is an important supplement to the institution. More careful study will lead us to see what child will thrive best under one régime or the other. In most places they are both needed, as far as we can now look ahead.

Institutional intake and after-care.—Closely related to boarding home care is the facility for intake and adjustment work in connection with each institution. This is a service not yet in very large use in the country, but coming to be increasingly recognized as needed. Just as a child placing agency must carefully analyze all the social facts in a case before deciding to place a child, in the same

way every institution needs to have these social facts learned, so that it may not take into its care either those who should not be taken by anybody, or those for whom something else is a better plan. Thus the institution also becomes a service station instead of merely a place to put a child.

There was already an agency in the city which claimed to be making intake investigations. But it was nothing more than a place where a few more questions were asked than had previously been asked by the executive of the orphanage, and no social work was done. All that this accomplished was to make the applicant pay another trolley fare and to slow up the procedure. Intake work requires good knowledge of social service for children. In the case of a large children's institution it is often desirable to equip it individually. This would have a large educational value to the institution. In many situations, however, some combination of service is advantageous. We are therefore recommending a children's bureau for intake and adjustment service to the Catholic children's institution in connection with the Board of Catholic Charities. In most places the value of such a service requires some demonstration. Therefore this service should begin with a limited number of institutions, so that a good quality of work can be done and certain case load standards set. In addition, we recommended that the Catholic day nurseries should be served by the family welfare department of the same board. The intake work of the Convent of the Good Shepherd should be served by its own personnel because of the fact that it draws from a much larger area than the city, and because its work is quite distinct from the rest. The Jewish Children's Home will be served by the Federation of Jewish Charities. To serve the various Protestant and non-sectarian children's institutions that are rather numerous but small, we recommended that the Children's Bureau (formerly called the Louisiana S.P.C.C.) be used. Its staff needs to be developed, but as the institutional intake last year was only about ninety, as rapidly as the boards of the institutions can be persuaded to use the Children's Bureau it can be equipped for the service.

The expense of an intake service of the highest grade is the best financial investment a budget committee of a chest can make if the various institutions and agency boards and executives have reached the stage where admissions will be made only on the basis of what is best for the child. The expense of the service is a small part of what will otherwise be saved. Follow-up service in after-care after discharge is not at all common in institutions. There are some signs of an awakening, but until case work is appreciated by institutions as part of its function, after-care will be neglected.

Child guidance clinics.—As important adjuncts to the children's work of the present have come the child guidance clinics. Where fully developed they provide not only a psychological examination for many and a psychiatric analysis for a smaller number of complicated problem cases, but also follow-up by a skillful social worker of a certain number which require a closer contact with the clinic than even a well-equipped children's agency can give.

I believe I am interpreting the "best minds" in this field when I say that until the children's and family agencies are reasonably well developed, the service of child guidance clinics is too limited, and therefore too expensive, for the amount of social returns. We are therefore recommending establishment of a child guidance clinic only when the children's work and the family work programs are farther advanced.

Visiting teacher work.—A modern city's program for child care has added visiting teacher work to its other services. Already about seventy-five to a hundred cities have at least one such social worker attached to the school system. To be worthy of the name, the person to do this work must have had training in either family welfare work or children's work or both; she must not be so overloaded as to deal only with emergencies, and must be thought of as neither a substitute for truant officer nor a school nurse, but will in many cases make the service of the other two unnecessary. The school approach is the easiest access to the vexing social problems of many a family. The visiting teacher will more likely be welcome in these families than anyone else. The work is generally successful and is making its way into new school systems each year. We are therefore recommending that visiting teachers be attached to the New Orleans school system as the best way to do preventive work, especially to cut down delinquency in its early stage or before its inception.

Big Brother and Big Sister work.—This has suffered much because it makes a strong sentimental appeal, and has drawn into its ranks persons who have had no conception of social service and have believed that difficult personality problems could be easily solved by a person who tried to be a friend. The fundamental idea of the work is correct, but the dilettante is of little use. An instinct for genuine social service is needed in the Big Brother and Big Sister so they will take guidance from a skilful social worker and from a psychological or psychiatric clinic and will themselves get the response of a good plan built upon a solid foundation of facts. Big Brother and Big Sister work must therefore be the work of volunteers guided by an expert based upon case work principles. When so organized and guided, we recommend this as a part of a children's program. Such work we did not find in the city, but cities where such work is done scarcely number more than a dozen at present.

Work for crippled children.—The intrusion of the volunteer interest into the children's program is nowhere more keen than in the care of the crippled child. There are many persons and clubs interested in work for crippled children. Outstanding work has been done by the Shriners, who have built a series of hospitals for crippled children, and by the Rotary clubs in various cities, who have inspired the establishment of clinics for orthopedic and other cases and have also seen to it that individual children have obtained the available help. The school system of New Orleans has a clinic with an orthopedist and social worker attached. There is a check-up of old cases, and planning for braces and artificial limbs with families, clubs, and agencies. It is for white children only, and is not

adequate. Many shut-ins are not in school and not likely to be found. A census is needed that a thoroughgoing plan of clinics and vocational training service may be devised.

The present New Orleans equipment is perhaps as typical and as peculiar as that of most cities when one examines all the elements of a children's program. We found not only a genuine spirit of cooperation in the study but a desire to know, which promises adaptation to needs, flexibility to make changes, and a receptivity to new ideas that will bring results. No single plan can fit every community. The plan must grow out of the indigenous social life of the city, but may be guided by those who understand the fundamentals of good children's work and successful methods in other places.

A CHARTING OF THE ORGANIZATION AND PERFORMANCE OF WELFARE WORK IN CLEVELAND, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RECREATION AND CHARACTER BUILDING

Rowland Haynes, Director, Welfare Federation of Cleveland

It was your chairman's modesty in shaping the program which kept him from choosing Chicago as the city to be used as an illustration of recreation. We all recognize that Chicago has developed recreation much farther. However, Cleveland may be suggestive as a city more nearly ordinary.

First I want you to understand the difference between the task of Mr. Lies and that which I have. My job is not to criticize, not to say what is good or bad in Cleveland, but simply to try to draw an understandable picture of what is being done here. In order to do that, I have had placed in your hands this little outline.

In the first chart we have tried to enumerate all the social work being done in Cleveland, not merely that being done by private philanthropic organizations, but that done by tax funds and commercial organizations. This is not an organization chart which shows relationships; it is simply a table which enumerates the types of work. In the second chart we have simply tried to show the relationships between those organizations which are administering recreation in this city. The data for the last table and last chart are from Mr. Clapp's *Study of the Volume and Cost of Social Work* under the auspices of the American Association for Community Organization. The third table shows for Cleveland only the average number per day using philanthropic agencies in Cleveland in each of four types of work: dependency, delinquency, health, and character building. In order to get a comparison in Cleveland between different types of work and a comparison between Cleveland and the average of nineteen other cities, Chart IV is used. This shows the amount of money spent and its source. The measure is not very satisfactory, but we took the only basis on which we had

material available. The significance of each of these tables and charts seems to me to be as follows:

Chart I shows that the largest amount of welfare work in Cleveland, as in most cities, is done by tax-supported bodies. This is significant because when you are trying to get an appropriation from tax bodies, or any other bodies, it is what they are doing as a whole that affects what you will get. The whole picture is significant, for what is being done as a whole affects the amount available and needed for any given field.

Chart II simply segregates the recreation activities in Cleveland, dropping any reference to dependency, delinquency, or health. It is significant since it indicates that we have no centralized recreation commission, as in some cities, and no predominant development by either park or school board. We get a loose coordination of plans and work through the Recreation Council, which has in it not even the germ of any compulsory power. It is an organ of understanding to develop and promote, but not to enforce, a comprehensive plan.

Chart III uses a common unit of measure, the average number served in a day. It is a poor basis of comparison, because in a hospital or children's institution the day's service is twenty-four hours long, while on a playground it may cover only a couple of hours, but it is the best unit we can get which will be common to all four types of work. In the dependency group seven-eighths of the work is done by private agencies, because in Cleveland we have no public outdoor relief. In the delinquency group approximately seven-eighths of the service is likewise given by the private agencies. The proportion of the service in the health field which is provided by private agencies is smallest of all, being about seven-eighths of the entire work done. In the character building division about three-fourths of the work is being done by private agencies.

Chart IV compares Cleveland with eighteen other cities in the support of the various fields of philanthropic service. In the health field Cleveland is better than the average in providing funds, both from taxes and from endowments and contributions. In the dependency group the amount of support from taxes in Cleveland is about half the average, while the amount from endowment and contributions is considerably larger. In recreation the amount spent from tax support in Cleveland for character building activities is less than half that spent in the average of these nineteen cities, whereas the amount spent from endowment and contributions is more than the average of the other cities. Lumping the amount available from both sources, Cleveland ranks about with the average.

This outline has shown briefly both the form of organization and the performance in Cleveland. Now the questions come: How has our form of organization affected our performance? Have other factors than organization been more influential on performance? Those are the questions which fall to my successor on this program.

CHART I

OUTLINE SKETCH OF WELFARE WORK FOR CLEVELAND PEOPLE

I. Provided from tax funds

1. By the state

A. Charitable institutional care for

- a) Insane
- b) Feeble-minded
- c) Epileptics
- d) Blind
- e) Deaf
- f) Tubercular
- g) Deformed and crippled children

B. Correctional institutions (If properly administered, rightly a part of welfare work)

- a) Industrial schools for boys and girls
- b) Reformatories and penal institutions for adult convicts

C. Licenses institutions and boarding homes for dependent children

D. Inspects and investigates management of boarding homes for dependent children, also all public, private, benevolent, and correctional institutions of the state and county, and municipal jails, workhouses, and infirmaries¹

2. By the county

A. District board of health

B. Soldiers' and sailors' relief

C. Blind relief

D. Juvenile court

- a) Probation and detention homes
- b) Mothers' pensions

E. Probate court (Adoption of children)

F. Poor relief (Small amount for those whose legal residence has not been established)

G. Dependent children (Pays board through state welfare department)

3. By the city government

A. State-city employment

B. Department of Welfare

- a) City hospital
 - (1) In-patient service
 - (2) Out-patient service, professional
 - (3) Out-patient service, social
 - (4) Child hygiene
 - (5) Communicable diseases
 - (6) Public health nursing
- b) City infirmary for aged poor
- c) City farm
- d) Tuberculosis sanitarium
- e) Girls' home
- f) Boys' home
- g) Workhouse for minor offenses

¹ The Ohio Institute, a privately supported agency, studies programs, administration, and finance of state departments and institutions

CHART I—*Continued*

- C. Municipal Court
 - a) Probation work
- D. Police Department
 - a) Policewomen
- E. Department of Parks
 - a) Public baths and beaches
 - b) Parks and playgrounds
- F. Dance hall inspection
- 4. By the Board of Education (Only departments performing service similar to that of welfare agencies enumerated, not mentioning the great work of the schools, the education of children)
 - A. Special classes
 - a) Blind and restoration of sight
 - b) Speech defects
 - c) Deaf and hard of hearing
 - d) Mental defectives
 - e) Tubercular pupils
 - B. Vocational guidance
 - C. Recreational activities (Playgrounds and gymnasium centers; community centers)
 - D. Health education and safety instruction
 - E. Dental inspection
 - F. Medical inspection and corrective methods
 - a) School nurses
- 5. By the Library Board (Beside usual library work, following activities have special relation to welfare work)
 - A. Books for the blind
 - B. Books for foreign language groups
 - C. Books for hospitals, industrial plants, etc.
- 6. By the Metropolitan Park Board (An independent taxing district developing an outer belt of parks and forest preserves)
- II. Provided from philanthropy
 - 1. Supported by the community fund
 - A. Family welfare agencies
 - a) Relief giving
 - b) Homes for aged and invalids
 - c) Day nurseries
 - B. Care of dependent children
 - C. Hospitals
 - D. Health agencies other than hospitals
 - a) Promotion agencies like the Anti-Tuberculosis League, Mouth Hygiene Association
 - b) Serving agencies for
 - (1) Blind
 - (2) Crippled
 - (3) Visiting nurses
 - E. Recreation agencies
 - a) General (Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls)
 - b) Neighborhood (settlements)
 - c) Camps

CHART III

CLEVELAND

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CASES SERVED ON ANY ONE DAY

| | TOTAL NUMBER RE- CEIVING CARE OR SERVICE | UNDER PUBLIC AGENCIES | | | UNDER PRIVATE AGENCIES | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| | | Total | Receiving Material Relief or Institutional Care | Receiving Service Only | Total | Receiving Material Relief or Institutional Care | Receiving Service Only |
| <i>Dependency:</i> | | | | | | | |
| Dependent children..... | 4,953 | 103 | 103 | 0 | 4,850 | 1,442 | 3,408 |
| Day nurseries..... | 546 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 546 | 546 | 0 |
| Family relief..... | 5,388 | 714 | 714 | 0 | 4,674 | 1,382 | 3,292 |
| Ex-service men..... | 2,013 | 460 | 418 | 42 | 1,553 | 147 | 1,406 |
| Physically handicapped..... | 1,196 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1,196 | 0 | 1,196 |
| Travelers' aid..... | 50E | 0 | 0 | 0 | 50E | 0 | 50 |
| Legal aid..... | 25E | 0 | 0 | 0 | 25E | 0 | 25 |
| Employment bureaus..... | 731 | 668 | 0 | 668 | 63 | 0 | 63 |
| Salvage industries..... | 182 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 182 | 182 | 0 |
| Aged and chronics..... | 1,053 | 444 | 444 | 0 | 609 | 609 | 0 |
| Transients..... | 93 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 93 | 93 | 0 |
| Total cases..... | 16,230 | 2,389 | 1,679 | 710 | 13,841 | 4,401 | 9,440 |

AVERAGE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS SERVED ON ANY GIVEN DAY

| | TOTAL NUMBER RE- CEIVING CARE OR SERVICE | UNDER PUBLIC AGENCIES | | | UNDER PRIVATE AGENCIES | | |
|--|---|-----------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| | | Total | Receiving Material Relief or Institutional Care | Receiving Service Only | Total | Receiving Material Relief or Institutional Care | Receiving Service Only |
| <i>Delinquent:</i> | | | | | | | |
| Delinquent children..... | | | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Adult probation..... | 192 | 192 | 0 | 192 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Protective work for young people..... | 941 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 941 | 0 | 941 |
| Detention protective re- form..... | 282 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 282 | 282 | 0 |
| Maternity homes..... | 211 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 211 | 211 | 0 |
| Total..... | 1,626 | 192 | 0 | 192 | 1,434 | 493 | 941 |

AVERAGE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS SERVED ON ANY GIVEN DAY

| | GRAND TOTAL RE- CEIVING CARE OR SERVICE | UNDER PUBLIC AGENCIES | | | UNDER PRIVATE AGENCIES | | |
|---|--|-----------------------|---|---------------------|------------------------|---|---------------------|
| | | Total | Receiving Material Relief or Institutional Care | | Total | Receiving Material Relief or Institutional Care | |
| | | | Free | Part or Full Pay | | Free | Part or Full Pay |
| <i>Health:</i> | | | | | | | |
| Hospitals, in-patient..... | 2,769 | 945 | 891 | 54 | 1,824 | 350 | 1,474 |
| Dispensary and out-patient | 1,386 | 383 | 383 | 0 | 1,003 | 1,003 | 0 |
| Medical social service..... | 13 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 11 | 11 | 0 |
| Public health nursing..... | 1,697 | 1,115 | 1,115 | 0 | 582 | 285 | 297 |
| School nursing and medical inspection..... | 64 | 64 | 64 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total cases..... | 5,929 | 2,509 | 2,455 | 54 | 3,420 | 1,649 | 1,771 |

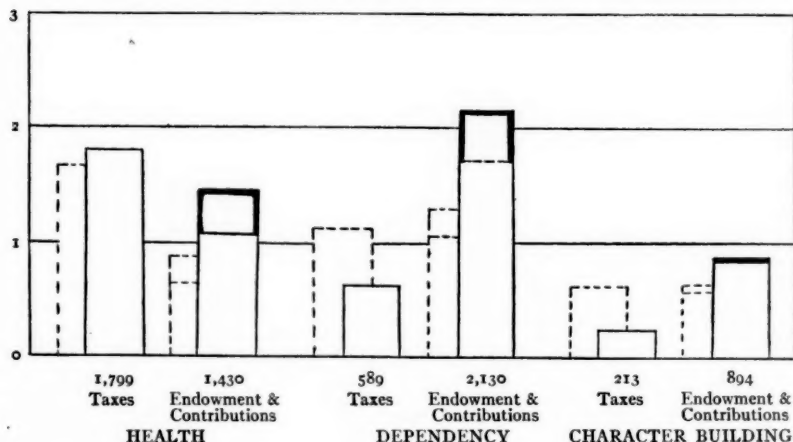
CHART III—Continued

AVERAGE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS SERVED ON ANY GIVEN DAY

| | TOTAL NUMBER RE- CEIVING SERVICE | UNDER PUBLIC AGENCIES | | | UNDER PRIVATE AGENCIES | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| | | Total | In Or- ganized Groups | In Unor- ganized Groups | Total | In Or- ganized Groups | In Unor- ganized Groups | Institu- tional Service (Camps, Dormi- tories) |
| <i>Character building:</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Settlements..... | 20,664 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20,664 | 19,167 | 1,497E | 0 |
| Social centers in public buildings..... | 7,028 | 7,028 | 6,761 | 267E | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other agency clubs and classes..... | 66,050 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 66,050 | 65,892 | 158E | 0 |
| Scouting and campfire.. | 854 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 854 | 854 | 0 | 0 |
| Summer camps and out- ings..... | 1,345 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1,345 | 0 | 0 | 1,345 |
| B. and T. Homes for young men and young women..... | 787 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 787 | 0 | 0 | 787 |
| Playgrounds (supervised) | 22,092 | 19,201 | 19,201 | 0 | 2,891 | 1,464 | 1,427 | ..... |
| Public baths..... | 3,779 | 3,659 | 247 | 3,412 | 120 | 0 | 120E | ..... |
| Total..... | 122,599 | 29,888 | 26,209 | 3,679 | 92,711 | 87,377 | 3,202 | 2,132 |

CHART IV

PUBLIC (TAX) SUPPORT AND PRIVATE (ENDOWMENT AND CONTRIBUTION)*



*Support of the three major divisions of social work in Cleveland, in thousands of dollars. For comparison, dotted lines are inserted to show what the figures would be for a city of Cleveland's size with income equal to the average per capita for the nineteen cities studied.

COMMUNITY RECREATION: ITS SIGNIFICANCE, OBJECTIVES,
MACHINERY, AND STANDARDS

*Eugene T. Lies, Special Representative, Playground and Recreation
Association of America, Chicago*

In view of the fact that it was not possible to get in hand before the opening of the Conference the material which was being prepared in Cleveland, setting forth especially the recreation and character building agencies in that city (which material I was supposed in this paper to analyze and evaluate) it seemed to me it would be of some value to offer instead a dissertation embodying some important aspects of the field of community recreation. This has been done with the approval of the chairman of the division on Organization of Social Forces. From this presentation it is possible that hearers and readers may be able to make their own critique of almost any city's achievement along community recreation lines.

As a preliminary to an understanding of the first-rate importance of this field of civic and social endeavor, however, it is necessary for us to realize very clearly what have been the dynamic forces behind its rapid development in America. Without this realization we cannot hope to come anywhere near a proper evaluation of what is going on. After I have described these forces as best I can within my time limits, I shall try to explain the significant objectives of the movement, the types of machinery through which community recreation functions, their merits and demerits, and cite recognized tests or standards by which to judge a community's status in this field.

*Why the rapid development in community recreation in the United States?—*Nearly every year for the last nineteen years, in the annual compilation of facts and figures regarding community recreation prepared by the Playground and Recreation Association of America, there has been a showing of consistent progress. For example, expenditures of nearly \$1,000,000 in 1907 reached a total of \$18,816,000 in 1925; whereas in 1907 there were only a few score of paid workers, last year 17,177 were reported, the increase in the last three years alone being 6,210; in 1925 there were, as far as known, 748 cities which conducted recreation programs under leadership, while in 1913 there were 342, an increase of 406 in twelve years; the number employing all-the-year-round leaders increased from 83 to 320 in this period, a really significant mark of progress; the total valuation of property utilized for recreation purposes in 1925 was upward of \$100,000,000.

While all this is true, the impression must not be given that America has reached its goal of ultimate achievement in respect to recreation for all of its people. It has not, for there are possibly 400 cities of 8,000 and upward that have done practically nothing as yet, and several more hundred of lesser size that have nothing to boast of. And yet the progress indicated is so great as to merit

the conclusion that it does signify that some determined thinking has been behind it all as a driving force. It is not so difficult to understand the backgrounds of this thought, for one simply needs to observe and analyze what is going on.

Our urban population has been growing rapidly. With it comes congestion. With congestion comes occupation of open areas, harassing living conditions, menaces to health, character, and happiness. Wise men declare that this is dangerous, and that the city itself must provide places for play and recreation for its people if it would not reap a whirlwind from its sowing of the wind. Furthermore, we are a strenuous people, and we are proud of it. Does this characteristic not account for the covered wagon adventurers, moving ever westward in the olden days, seeking new worlds to conquer; for the marvelous achievements in the mechanical and commercial fields? Is there not a sign of it in the ownership by Americans of 20,000,000 automobiles, 15,000,000 more than are in existence in the rest of the world, and some of them capable of going 100 miles an hour if hard put to it? And what about the seaplane that last year negotiated 245 miles an hour?

But the other side of the ledger shows that there are some 290,000 persons in our asylums for the insane, and that the number of private sanatoriums for nervous breakdowns is increasing out of proportion to the population increase. Then, too, while the germ diseases are being conquered, the organic diseases accompanying sedentary life are rapidly increasing. No wonder, then, that the insistent demand for parks, play areas, athletic fields is heard in the land.

If we take pains to inquire we shall find that both the captain of industry and the organized labor leader are concerned about what is happening to industrial workers as a result of the rapidly spreading use of the automatic machine and of the fine division of labor processes. What they see is deterioration of physical stamina, blighting of spiritual nature, plugging up of creative outlets, repugnance to the job; and what they are saying is that obviously, off the job in his free hours, the worker must get those opportunities and experiences which will balance him up again, give him exercise and blood circulation, tone his mind and spirit, and give him hope if he is to be saved to his family and to good citizenship and not become a mere robot, a clod. No wonder, then, that the American Federation of Labor, many state federations, and craft bodies have in the last few years been passing resolution after resolution calling for increased and better community recreation programs in all our cities; and that business and industrial leaders are active in cooperative efforts to get facilities established for service to adults as well as to children.

But these citations of fact do not tell the whole story. There is the revelation brought to us through the draft examinations in the Great War, that one-third of our young men, supposed to be at the most robust period of their lives, were physically defective to such degree as to be incapable of effective service, and that at a time when civilization hung in the balance and no man dared say which way it was going. Here certainly was indicated the need of a renaissance in phys-

ical education and training in the United States. Coupled with this showing, we cite the results for years of the physical examination of school children, revealing a shocking state of affairs.

What the educators, the workers with juvenile delinquents, the thinkers in the social hygiene field, and in the church have been saying in these latter days about the all-round developmental and character building values in constructive play under trained guidance, amounting, seemingly to a thrilling rediscovery, has been of great value as reinforcement to those agencies professionally engaged in aiding cities and towns to do their duty by providing more adequate facilities and right leadership for leisure time activities. With greater unanimity, and more clearly than ever before, they see in the play urge something spiritual to tie to and to utilize in preventing human waste and moral dereliction, while at the same time contributing to the wholeness of life. They would use it as a stabilizing factor in an era more complex and distracting by far than any which ever preceded it.

It is our judgment that much of the progress in the community recreation field is due to the second thought of the American people, that after all, what we get out of our work goes pretty much into our pockets, and what we get out of our leisure goes into our characters; that life can, and ought to be, less grim and more joyous; that living means more than merely existing; that the child's proper business is play, and if we deny it to him we shall deserve what we'll get—human wreckage—and that we shall be doing a criminal thing.

Objectives of community recreation.—One element in the theory upon which modern programs of community recreation are based is that all the people, young and old, need it. In the early days we thought only of the needs of the youngsters in the congested areas of great cities, whereas now we know that rich and poor of all ages and of all races everywhere require this life-giving, life-enriching and life-saving influence.

Then, too, we are thinking that in a materialistic age nothing is more important than a continuous injection of the creative spirit, which is the spirit of play. Not merely to fill free hours with pastime, but to draw out, through self-participation, the inner powers of human beings in ways that give a glow of satisfaction, a sense of enlargement, is one of the great motives in the play leader's effort. Thus does he tap talents and cause them to flourish; thus does he enable children, youth, and adults to get more out of life. Under the stimulation and guidance of those who know their job, the child will get, through adapted, progressive, and varied types of physical play, what he needs for the development of those 13,000,000,000 neurons which we are told he possesses at birth and without which he is doomed to come to the adolescent period subnormal in body and nerve stamina. He will receive that development of muscle and vital organs so basically necessary for mental progress.

Furthermore, the highest type of leaders have keenly in mind the real possibilities in group activities for the training of social attitudes such as fairness,

honor, loyalty, cooperation, recognition of merit in others, subjection of self to the rules of the game, and to authority—in short, training in the fundamental qualities of citizenship through habitual practice and in a spirit of freedom. Such leaders recognize that in a code of sportsmanship involving ideals like these there is something to be cherished as sacred. They are aware, indeed, that upon such a code has lately been founded an International Sportsmanship Brotherhood, in whose promotion even such usually opposed groups as capital and labor are sincerely engaged.

Beside the objectives already indicated or implied we find that a broad, modern program of recreation has in it the aim of reviving neighborship in America, almost a lost art. Bringing people together in the play spirit means giving democracy a chance to function. It tends to break down class feeling, make them a bit more generous, more understanding of others. Yes, it can weld a community into a state of high morale by emphasizing the human note. Play is a common denominator.

Many of the splendid objectives enumerated, we must remember, are to be achieved not merely through physical activities. No, the modern idea is to offer also rich opportunity for expression through music, dramatics, pageantry, handicraft, art, nature study, and many other means which satisfy deep human hungers. Through them all may the legitimate use of leisure be made at least as attractive as the illegitimate, as a Cleveland newspaper writer suggested only a few days ago in commenting upon a now notorious theatrical festivity in the East. It is possible to exhilarate the human spirit by means of things of good repute. Exhilaration need not be left to the things of ill repute. The fight between the two is on in every community where wise men have thought through to the end the purpose of human life.

What about the types of public machinery for the achievement of these great objectives?—First, let it be said that according to the Year-Book number of the *Playground Magazine*, the types of municipal recreation administration functioning in 1925 were as follows: playground and recreation commissions, departments, divisions, boards or bureaus did the job in 174 cities; boards of education, in 113; park boards, park commissions, park departments, city councils, etc., in 151 cities; combinations of governmental departments, in 21 cities, which makes a total of 459 cities in which tax-supported recreation was carried on under public bodies in the year 1925. In 175 places we find public recreation was conducted by voluntary agencies like playground associations, community service boards or associations, and the like.

The best thought on the subject seems to be that while privately supported effort may be necessary to initiate a community-wide program, yet as soon as possible it should give way to a tax-supported plan under municipal auspices. However, a local recreation association may continue in existence for the filling of gaps, for creating public opinion in favor of expansion and improvement of the municipal system, for experimentation along lines which the public authori-

ties are not ready to assume, and, at times, for raising of money to supplement tax funds. Now for the arguments, pro and con, as to the various forms of tax-supported recreation systems. They are presented tersely to save space.

Park board—Pro: Has physical facilities definitely provided for use of all the people. Con: Oftentimes these consist only of large areas remote from the homes of a considerable portion of the population. These parks may not have fieldhouses for community gatherings, and sometimes the board is forbidden by law from providing them. A park board usually does not have experience and understanding enough to conduct broad activity programs, and is often legally inhibited from doing so.

School board—Pro: Has prestige, permanent organization, taxing powers, perhaps the support of the public, is often less tainted with politics, is in touch with children, has grounds and facilities, as a rule. Play is an educational process, and therefore should be carried on by the educational authorities. Con: School boards are usually conservative regarding anything that seems to be outside of the traditional province of education, hence, even as to play after school hours for school children, may not favor a broad program, much less the conducting of a community-wide system for people of all ages. School-yard areas are not, as a rule, large enough for all normal play purposes, and buildings are ill adapted for community uses. School boards usually have insufficient funds for what are regarded as school purposes, and therefore could not, if they would, enter the recreation fields. If they did, whenever appropriations were curtailed, the first cut would likely be in the recreation budget.

Independent recreation commission—Pro: It is set up for a definite job, has its mind on that job, and is likely to get farther than boards which have divided functions. It can, and often does, have in its membership representatives of other public boards, and thus gets better and continuous cooperation. It can, and often does, under state law, obtain independent tax funds for its special purposes. Con: "Every new board added to what we've got makes just another old board." There should be unification rather than multiplication, and anyway, you can enlarge the functions of the other boards, get the right people on them, more money for them, and they will be equipped to do the whole recreation job.

Conclusion: There is no patent formula for all cities and towns. Each must be studied as to traditions and trends in the community, as to the likelihood under those conditions and trends of one or the other type of administrative unit doing efficiently the vitally important task of catering to the leisure time needs of the people and of getting adequate and continuous financial support. The figures cited for last year, however, seem to indicate that the tendency to establish independent commissions or departments with taxing power is growing. Some city charters give authority to appoint such units. In other cities special legislation is secured for getting the authority. Twenty-one states have laws giving such power, while twelve (New York, New Jersey, Indiana, Iowa,

Illinois, Ohio, Florida, Vermont, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia) have the provision that upon petition of a designated percentage of the voters, the question of setting aside a special tax millage may be voted upon at a regular or special election. All these laws, I believe, state that the tax money may be voted to an existing board, or a special one, to be created, but in any case, whichever gets the decision of the people, that board is to carry out the purposes of a recreation board, which are to provide, establish, maintain, and conduct a system of supervised recreation, including playgrounds, athletic fields, gymnasiums, public baths, swimming pools, and indoor recreation. That board is empowered also to employ playground directors, supervisors, superintendents, and other necessary workers.

Tests of a community's status in the recreation field.—There are certain recognized tests, based upon experience and the thinking of leaders, by which one can judge whether a certain community really recognizes the first-rate social and civic importance of constructive recreation and the degree of development it has attained at any given time. For the sake of terseness I shall put these in the form of questions.

Is there anything like consensus of opinion among, at least, the alleged leaders in the educational, religious, business, labor, social welfare, and civic groups that a community recreation program under skilled leadership is as important, e.g., as a community lighting and a community garbage system; that in reality it is a vital public utility? Has a recreation survey been made, reported upon, and adopted, showing facilities already available, private and public; the extent to which these are serving all the needs of all the people; their degree of cooperation for the common good; and how far and in what manner commercial recreation is boring in upon the life of the people for good or ill?

Does the survey report set forth the ideal requirements as to areas needed for play and recreation throughout the city, like the following? Play lots, equipped and under supervision, for children up to five years, 6,000 to 10,000 square feet as near as possible to the center of every child population group of one hundred, below school age; neighborhood playgrounds, properly equipped and under leadership for children 5 to 14 years of age, and for older ones on special days—from 4 to 10 acres as near as possible to a population of five hundred such children, and with an effective radius at most of one-half mile, but preferably a quarter of a mile; district playgrounds, with park effects, equipment, and leaders for young people and adults for big games, athletics, picnics, and celebrations—10 to 24 acres for every 8,000 to 12,000 of the population; recreation parks, outlying large areas of 100 to 250 acres, away from the business and congested traffic centers, one for every 40,000 inhabitants; for schools: elementary, 8-10 acres; junior high, 10-20 acres; high school, 20-40 acres.

Certainly an important test of a city's status is as to whether it has set up a definite department or board to carry out such a program. Has it an adequate budget with which to do a city-wide job? Has it taken pains to get as an execu-

tive the best available trained person, and given him as wide authority as possible to do a big service among all the people?

Parenthetically, it may be said here that the annual per capita expenditures for community recreation supported by tax funds runs all the way from nothing to over \$1.00, the average being somewhere around 50 cents. A city spending much below 50 cents is decidedly delinquent. Another interesting test, and one that opens up many questions for careful consideration, is to compare cost per person reached by a public recreation department with cost per person reached by a private recreation agency. Inquiries in some cities show their costs to run from 3 to 12 cents per person served, as compared with amounts running as high as \$12.00 per year for private agencies. More and more the per capita of municipal expenditures ought to go up toward the per capita of private expenditure.

Going on with my questions, Where there is a community program functioning, is it so well devised that it appeals to the many sides of human nature—the physical, the creative, the manual, the linguistic, rhythmic, dramatic, aesthetic, social, and civic? If not, it is incomplete and not up to standard.

Is there in the scheme of things a plan for reaching out to interest the people in the neighborhoods sufficiently to take advantage of facilities provided, a plan for public education and organization, or does everybody on the inside merely wait complacently for the "customers" to come in?

Does the staff conceive that it can, and ought to, constitute itself a general service center for furnishing suggestions about home and back-yard play, about neighborhood gatherings and how to conduct them, about possibilities along recreation lines in churches and clubs, etc.?

Does the department realize its great opportunity of becoming an agency for the training of volunteer leaders in practically every sort of leisure time activity? In one city recently such training was given to 593 persons during a five-week period. This is probably the only method by which eventually the ideal of reaching all the people with constructive play opportunity will be achieved. It is one way of actually solving the leisure time problem.

Does the department function throughout the full year, and not merely during the summer?

Finally, does the public recreation department do its utmost both to serve and to link together in helpful cooperation all the private agencies in this field, recognizing the merits of each and backing it heartily in its needed specialized effort? These, then, are some of the tests of an up-to-date scheme of things in the community recreation line. True, they apply in greatest degree to the sizable city, but nevertheless in principle they have validity even in the smaller places. By them we may judge the quality of the effort put forth to meet one of the greatest needs of the American people. The degrees to which those needs are met wisely and well must determine in the long run the very quality of our civilization.

We dare not deny the child its birthright. We dare not forbid youth oppor-

tunity for finding all of its talents. We dare not withhold from age the spirit of youth. Yea, we ought to covet the service to lead all into the joys and satisfaction of the abundant life.

UNIFORM DISTRICTING IN A LARGE CITY FOR SOCIAL AND CIVIC PURPOSES

*Blanche Renard, Associate Director, Community Council
of St. Louis*

Those of us who are directing our thoughts to what community life may become under selected leadership and through wise planning are continuously challenged by the complexity of community life and the variation of success in our program as it applies to one section or another of a modern city. We generalize and often determine on a basis of cause and effect that congested neighborhoods supply us with the largest number of dependent families, that delinquency statistics are higher when the neighborhood continues to breed already infected sources to stimulate these conditions, yes, even that a community fund team more easily reaches its quota when its team members are familiar with their assigned area and understand "how to approach who." In other words we know, each in our own field, technical planning and the scientific ratio between cause and effect. But we fail frequently because we do not assemble all of the facts, or, having secured them, we do not interpret them in such terms as to make them intelligible to the people whose problems they are. The doctor of today who makes a careful study of his patient and then secures the full cooperation of the patient and those attendant upon him in understanding the diagnosis and carrying out the plan of treatment is some distance ahead of the "not so long ago physician" who set up his profession and himself as part of a great magic, whose mystic potion had its equally magic cure.

Scientific case workers recognize the fact that past, present, and future are all first essentials, and they know too (probably after very effective failure, when they neglected to have the family in the foreground in both plan and treatment) that you cannot make people do things, however scientific and technically correct the groundwork, until you make them want to do them. It is equally true that a superimposed community program remains floating, as it were, over an impenetrable surface until the community understands it, believes in it, and desires it. As the president of the Community Council of St. Louis said in a recent annual report, "The age-old adage, 'Man, know thyself,' is being supplemented by a still more important injunction, 'Community, know thyself.'"

How then can we approach our community problems and direct our community program? We face the fact in St. Louis that the city covers 61.2 square miles of area, and has 842,614 population; that it is too extensive physically, too complex socially, too varied economically, for its citizens to speak in

terms of neighborly relationship or see in an initial plan community problems as a whole. Only by subdividing the city into its natural units can the specific problems be localized and brought home to residents of that community. Moreover, action taken on the basis of civic responsibility in the smaller neighborhood areas will be far more effective than what appears to be outside interest. A committee was organized by the Community Council of St. Louis. It consisted of a representative of the City Plan Commission who had been thinking in terms of the assets and liabilities of the city from a physical standpoint; representatives of the research departments of a daily newspaper, and of the Bell Telephone Company, who were interpreting in terms of economic values; and representatives of welfare agencies concerned with social factors. This committee decided that comprehensive planning needed as a basis smaller units of homogeneous areas and complete knowledge of all the factors, physical, economic, and social, in terms of the areas as units; further, that attempt should be made to arouse the interest of the people in each area to their own neighborhood, and then, by comparison, to their neighbors' neighborhood. In other words, as we would strengthen each member of the family in a plan for the family as a unit, so should we develop neighborhood units as a basis for a larger community comprehension, thus making possible a strong chain of community links.

By the working of this plan St. Louis has been divided into twenty-six areas which, in the main, are not over 50,000 in population. Many which are now under 50,000 have been purposely planned in that way because of the expectation that as the city fills in its vacant areas these districts will greatly increase in population. These districts, so far as possible, are made up of people of similar interest and racial, national, and economic background and conditions. Attempt has been made to group them about natural centers of population, such as the intersection of great traffic arteries. So far as possible the boundaries have been set on the basis of actual division between areas of different character of population.

It is the intention of the committee that these districts shall be permanently used so that for all times a comparison of conditions of human life in St. Louis, month by month and year by year, may be kept. The advantages of this plan for long-time comparison of community conditions are obvious. Because of their lack of permanency the boundaries of the wards into which the city is divided for political purposes were not used for this permanent districting plan. In order to use all possible local enthusiasm and community feeling these districts have been named as well as numbered. The names have been taken from objects of local importance, such as parks, streets, names in common use which describe these districts, or the names of old real estate subdivisions which still have significance. All of the organizations whose representatives participated in the creation of this plan, including public agencies such as the city health department, City Plan Commission, research department of the *Post-Dispatch*, and private case working agencies, have agreed to the acceptance of these dis-

tricts for their work. The federal Bureau of the Census has been asked to plan to conduct its census in 1930, using these district lines as the outside boundaries of its own census enumeration districts.

These districts will be used in the first place for compilation of all available information regarding human problems in St. Louis, such as births, deaths, increase or decrease in population, disease, delinquency, poverty, juvenile dependency, crime, and other factors in the social life of the community. Moreover, the boundaries of these districts will be incorporated in the boundaries of organizations which are on a city-wide basis, such as the St. Louis Provident Association, the Visiting Nurse Association, and the Children's Aid Society, while agencies at work in smaller communities will use one or more of these districts as indicating their own spheres of influence and activity. The figures as to community conditions will be collected monthly by the agencies concerned and turned over to the Community Council, which will tabulate them. It will prepare comparative figures for these various districts into which the city is divided; it also will give comparisons of conditions in the city as a whole, month by month and year by year. This material, when analyzed, will be interpreted through charts and through statements which will be given both to the daily newspapers and to the neighborhood publications, so that all the citizens of St. Louis may know exactly how their communities stand in terms of human welfare.

For the better information of the residents of these various districts meetings will be arranged by the Community Council as the opportunity offers, district by district. To these meetings, which will be held in central locations, will be invited all citizens. The latest information which is available as the result of the compilation of these figures will be given through charts and through competent speakers, representatives of charitable and civic organizations, and agencies at work in these districts will also explain how the residents of these districts may use them for attacking the human problems which are indicated as existing there, so that social agencies and citizens alike may work together, district by district, for improving human well-being. As a further step in making these districts uniform for all purposes, the Community Fund will use them for its campaign solicitation, so that the residents of these districts, in giving to the fifty charities and philanthropies which make up the community fund, may know exactly what kind of service they are giving to in terms of their own neighborhood problems.

In the past there has been no uniform basis for the collection or dissemination of such information or for the organization of effort to act on that information. The result has been confusion, duplication, and waste of effort, and, more often, no effort at all, because individual citizens who were aware of conditions in general saw no way in which to effect specific situations. This new plan of permanent, uniform districts and carefully assembled and analyzed information should enable each community of St. Louis to know its problems and to take

effective action on them. This plan will not stop at the St. Louis city limits, but will be extended throughout St. Louis County and be applied to county-wide agencies in the very near future.

In order to illustrate briefly the application of the general case work method, I have organized a few slides indicating how we may make a study of background and present situations; further, how such a study will lend itself to comprehensive interpretation of the conditions in diagnostic fashion and will suggest a plan of treatment according to conditions as discovered.

Identifications.—Tower Grove, one of the 26 acres, or District 16, represents a community 2 miles square with a population of 39,800 individuals, approximately 9,700 families.

Historical.—Its original settlers came there about twenty-five years ago, moving up from a more congested part of the city. They were for the most part first- and second-generation German, with a keen appreciation for the wooded area into which they moved. Both space and trees have been preserved.

Physical.—The area today covers about 400 city blocks, has thirty-one persons per acre, in comparison to St. Louis' average of forty persons per acre, indicating definitely a non-congested area. Practically all houses are of the old design known as the "St. Louis flat," housing two or four families. Each usually has its garden, its terrace, and its hedge. The one-story bungalow with ample space on sides, rear and front, represents the newer type of architecture. There has been little invasion by the popular apartment tenement. This district has one park acre for every 140 citizens, twice as much park space for each person in its boundaries as St. Louis as a whole averages per citizen. Its parks are used for recreational facilities, the citizens having enlisted the support of the park department for athletic equipment and general use. The district shows results of the thought and care given to it. Lots are not littered. Alleys are kept in as good condition as the streets. All of the streets are paved, though many are not city thoroughfares. In the district both street railways and busses make it possible to go from anywhere to everywhere in both the city and the county.

Economic.—The rents of this district are for the most part above the average rent paid in St. Louis. Sixty-four per cent of the residents have telephones. The district has within its boundaries 181 independent stores, including 63 groceries, 23 drug stores, 5 furniture houses, 14 ladies' ready-to-wear shops, 13 real estate offices, 3 music stores, 3 banks, and so on over a long list of 21 varieties. Nevertheless, department stores welcome the opening of charge accounts from inhabitants of this neighborhood more than from any other neighborhood in St. Louis, because of the well-known stability of the people.

Educational.—There are three grade schools of the most up-to-date type, two parochial schools, one high school, the latter built on a lot formerly used as a cemetery, which neighborhood pressure had removed and had taken over by the Board of Education.

Religion.—There are sixteen churches in the district, representing various denominations.

Social.—Socially we found the community to have a parent-teachers association in every grade school. There are also organized in the district ten Boy Scout troops and four Girl Scout troops. A study of reported contagious diseases, including scarlet fever, diphtheria, and tuberculosis, over a two months' period shows this neighborhood to be far below its quota. Moreover, a two months' study of the intake of the Social Service Exchange indicated that dependency and delinquency were almost nil.

The diagnosis of this area could be summed up in such terms as thrifty, foresighted, and desirable. Moreover, since community planning involves both the giving to and partaking of its resources, this community would afford an excellent environment for the placement of children in foster homes, and as a source for securing Big Brothers and Big Sisters. Within its own groups should be developed a very successful community fund team for solicitation within its own area. These, then, represent a few of the factors which can be etched into a neighborhood picture. The study only just begun shows us many resources for available facts which have never been tied together. This, as a function of the Community Council, is in itself a very real opportunity in community planning.

While the immediate idea of the plan is for the improvement or better use of the areas, the permanent result could be the stimulation and direction of attention of the members of the community to conditions as they are, to focus on the possibilities for the future, and, most important of all, to inspire ideals of civic pride and responsibility for more effective community planning and, as a result, better community living and community thinking. Finally, out of the strength and growth of group thinking from citizen to citizen and from neighborhood to neighborhood we may hope to be able to see clearly and attack vigorously the causes of defects in community organization.

THE NATURAL AREA AS THE UNIT FOR SOCIAL WORK IN THE LARGE CITY

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Over a year ago Amelia Sears, associate director of the United Charities of Chicago, asked the Committee on Family Social Work of the Council of Social Agencies to consider the feasibility of working out a plan of uniform districting for city-wide social agencies. At that time she outlined the argument for the scheme of uniform districts that to me, at any rate, was both convincing and compelling.

Of the points in her argument of the various advantages to be expected from uniform districts, as local statistics, local conference groups between workers of different agencies, joint housing, one made a deep and lasting impression upon me. Miss Sears pointed out that the main trend in social work in the past few years had been in the direction of concentration at the top. During the last decade we had watched the rise and development first of councils of social agencies, and then of financial federations. In this trend the social worker in the field had the sense of the coordination and regimentation of the overhead administration. Had not the time arrived for experiments in local conference and discussion groups of social workers from the different social agencies in each community in the city? But with the present confusion of independent districting such attempts were difficult, if not impossible.

Through the cooperation of Dean Edith Abbott of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, Miss Clark made, during the past year, a study of the history and problems of districting with special reference to a practical program of uniform districts for Chicago, and will report upon her findings. I wish, therefore, to try to cover only one aspect of this topic, namely, the natural area as a unit for social work in the large city.

There are many who hold that locality is of decreasing significance in city life. The rapid growth of the city has led to a decay of local communities and to a decline in neighborhood spirit. The automobile in both the country and the city has emancipated the family and the individual alike from the narrow confines of the neighborhood. Where the horse and buggy gave a radius of movement of from five to ten miles, the automobile provides from twenty-five to fifty miles of freedom. In the city young people are escaping from the wholesome festivities of the neighborhood to the adventure and stimulation of the bright-light centers. With but few dubious exceptions, the many widely heralded crusades to revive the neighborhood have ended in unreported but disastrous defeat.

It must, then, be admitted at the outset that the neighborhood and the local community, at least in the form cherished in the memory of old residents, have disappeared, or at least are rapidly disappearing, in our largest American cities. At any rate the urban neighborhood and the local community will be in the future vastly different from what they have been in the past. This fact is one of the reasons why individual social agencies have been able to disregard what dividing lines still exist in the metropolitan community. This is undoubtedly the cause of a healthy skepticism of many who are more prone to think than to feel toward any crusade to revive the neighborhood. It is also the main objection in the argument of those who oppose the organization of social work on a local basis. I, for one, do not regard this as a valid objection. In fact I regard it as the strongest argument for just the opposite conclusion. For it is one of those curious paradoxes that the pivotal consideration for placing social work on a local basis inheres in the very fact that city life has lost its old local character. It is

this change that accounts for the disorder, disorganization, and confusion of our most rapidly growing large American cities. Only a few historical names of local communities remain, like Gramercy Park, Chelsea, and Greenwich Village in New York, or Hyde Park, Lawndale, and Lake View in Chicago, but how different are the districts still so denominated from the flourishing neighborhoods of the past!

Because of these changes, because of the rapid growth of cities, and because of the consequent increasing complexity of urban life, it has come to pass that the city—or, at least large areas of it—has become an unknown land, *terra incognita*. The typical inhabitant of the city knows only two of its areas: the neighborhood in which he resides, and the downtown business center. All the remainder of the city is almost as unknown to him as was America to a European in the days of Columbus. Many persons in Chicago are familiar perhaps only with the block on which their apartment is located, and with merely the department stores, theaters, and “Boul Mich” of the loop. Otherwise the city is a bewildering maze of streets and boulevards and an endless succession of houses, apartments, churches, theaters, stores, shops, and skyscrapers. The impressionistic, not to say cubist, pictures of the city mirror quite accurately the confused image of the city in the minds of many of its residents.

In our studies during the past ten years in Chicago I have been searching, like Diogenes, unsuccessfully, for a certain man. Unlike Diogenes, I have not been hunting for an honest man, but for a man who really knew the city. I have failed to find him. I have come to the conclusion that he probably does not exist. But I have found many persons who do know a great deal about certain aspects of one or two localities. First, of course, is the old resident living in his memories of the past, unreconciled and unreconcilable to the actualities of the present. I wish it were possible to pool the information of the old residents and so to reconstruct the Chicago of the past. Then there is the politician. He really knows a great deal about his neighborhood; he has to know his constituents, or lose his job. The knowledge that he has of human nature and local conditions should be pooled and pondered over by all the well-wishers of progress through legislation or other forms of immediate action. Then there is the real estate man; he is interested in his locality in a vital way, particularly with reference to trends. From him data can be obtained valuable for predicting the futures. The social worker also goes into the community, comes to know conditions of poverty and problems of behavior and of family life. This material ought to be funded into our common store of knowledge about the city. Then, too, there are the statistics of our social agencies, our police departments, our courts, our health departments, which also should be assembled in one great central depository.

Yet all this collection of knowledge about the city is not of much practical importance unless we know something of the distribution of these facts over the community. To say that 2,500 boys were brought into the juvenile court in

eighteen months on the charge of delinquency is not nearly as significant as a map showing, by nationality of the parent, the homes of each of these boys. For that reason a division of the city into local areas, into districts, is of prime importance. For the city can only be described and understood in terms of its component parts. Chicago is not alone the lake front region, with its Gold Coast, its residential hotel zones, its long line of apartment house territory, parks, and boulevards; nor the West Side, crowded to overflowing with diverse immigrant colonies; nor Packingtown, with its circle of dependent districts; nor the Calumet region, with its gigantic steel mills and industrial population; but it is all of these fused into the common life of a modern American city. Chicago, like any other city, must be analyzed into its parts in order to obtain a conception of the community as a whole.

What, then, are these divisions or parts of the city that may be taken as the natural units of its economic, social, and civic organization?

At the present time social, civic, and governmental agencies must perforce use districts in order to carry out their work. But, as if the city were a corpse, instead of a living being, each agency carves it into districts, in almost utter disregard of the lines of separation which naturally have developed in the physical and social structure of the city itself. The United States Census has its system of tracts and enumeration districts. The city has its arbitrary ward lines, changing every ten years, almost perversely, before the volume on population appears, with figures for the old wards. The police precincts follow a still different, but quite as arbitrary, pattern. The city health department has five or six different kinds of districting. The five departments of the juvenile court have five types of districts. The county agent has his own districting plan. Among the social agencies under private auspices the United Charities, the Visiting Nurse Association, the Infant Welfare Society, each has its own system of dividing up the city into districts.

The social, civic, and governmental agencies of a city apparently must have districts. In a changing city what is the natural unit upon which a workable district structure may be based? As a result of several years of study the conclusion has been reached that the most serviceable natural unit is the one which inheres in the physical structure of the city itself. The great lines of division laid out in the physical make-up of the city are rivers, railroad lines, industries, parks, and elevations, those natural lines of demarcation which separate the different sections of the city from each other. A map of railroads flanked by industry gives the basic anatomy of the city. For Chicago a second map, showing in black railroad property and property zoned for heavy industry, pictures even more unmistakably how these main lines of transportation and centers of basic industries like iron and steel, lumber and meat packing, give the crude outline form of the city.

But inevitably the question will arise, Why take this physical formation of the city as indicating the natural units for social and governmental agencies?

More important by far is the economic and business organization, and most important is the cultural and civic organization. This is a valid point, but it can be answered in a way to capture even the most ardent advocate of this contention.

In our studies of Chicago, and I venture the same will apply to other large cities, it is found that the intersections of street car lines determine business centers of local communities. Since Chicago was laid out by section lines, these business centers have developed almost uniformly a mile apart, and have usually a trade area of one square mile. At the same time, and this is the point of the discussion, these trade areas fall within the main natural lines of division shown on the maps of property zoned for railroad and industrial use. Therefore at the present time, and increasingly in the future, the business and economic organization of the city will fall within lines determined by its physical structure.

The same may be said—with somewhat less finality, it is true—for the cultural and civic organization of the city. By its cultural areas are meant the different organized “states of mind” found in the city. First of all there is the “Chicago state of mind,” which distinguishes the patriotic inhabitant of the Windy City from the patriotic Bostonian or Clevelander. Boston still, I believe, regards itself as the intellectual hub of America. The New Yorker is convinced that the metropolis is the only real city on this continent; that all the other cities are only villages filled with “hicks” and “rubes.” The state of mind of Chicago had never been so well articulated as by Carl Sandburg, in his famous personification of the spirit of this city of the Middle West:

Laughing the stormy, husky, brawling laughter of
Youth, half-naked, sweating, proud to be Hog
Butcher, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player
with Railroads, and Freight Handler to the Nation.

Just as cities are essentially “states of mind,” so are their component parts. The Gold Coast is a state of mind, an identification of the old and successful families of the city with financial and social leadership, with the business and cultural development of the city, with satisfaction in general with the existing order, and with philanthropic ideals of social welfare for the poor and unfortunate of the community. Hobohemia is a state of mind, of revolt against the capitalistic system and of wild dreams of a new and better society in which the capitalistic wolf will lie down with the proletarian lamb. Little Italy is a state of mind, hypersensitive because of the criticism in the press on the prevalence of gunmen deaths among those of Italian stock, but growingly conscious of the solidarity of their community. The cultural center of the Poles in America is to be found in Little Poland, in Chicago’s northwest area. Hyde Park, within the city limits, and Evanston, outside to the north, are rivals for the position of the Boston of Chicago. Other cultural centers, and at the same time states of mind, are Chinatown, Bohemia, with its artist colonies and radical religious and aesthetic cults, the Black Belt, and the Ghetto. But these cultural areas, these

states of mind, whether those of immigrant groups, or of economic classes, or of all the other social groupings, in the long run coincide, or fall within these areas that are marked off so strikingly by the physical structure of the city.

It is true that these cultural areas may, and do, shift. Indeed, the movement of these areas is now being studied, and is found to follow the order of a regular process which is called succession. For example, the movement of a nationality is generally out from the center of the city along one of its main business arteries. Thus, on the North Side, the Germans and the Swedes have marched north along Lincoln Avenue. The Poles have found in Milwaukee Avenue a thoroughfare that has determined their drive northwest. The Italians have migrated westward following the turns in the direction made by Grand Avenue. The West Side Negroes have moved out along Lake Street toward the city limits. The Russian Jew has overrun the territory along Roosevelt Road to the city limits. The Bohemian has taken Twenty-Second Street as his highway, from Pilsen through South Lawndale out into the neighboring community of Cicero. The Irish from the old settlements of Bridgeport and Hamburg have driven south along South Halsted Street. The Negro has found in South State Street an open gate to a penetration, more or less peaceful, of the South Side.

In this movement from the center to the circumference of the city, nationality and racial groups have pressed hard upon each other. Hull House neighborhood has been inundated by successive waves of nationalities, first the Irish and the German, then the Bohemian, recently the Italian and the Greek, and now the Negro. Types of succession other than those of nationality are to be observed. In the decline of a neighborhood the following stages of deterioration have been worked out: first, the stage of residential home ownership, with a high degree of community spirit; second, the stage of tenancy, with a decline of neighborhood loyalty; third, the invasion of business; fourth, the rooming-house stage; fifth, the entrance of a racial or nationality group of imputed inferior cultural status; sixth, the intrusion of vice and crime; seventh, the stage of social chaos; and eighth, the final stage, when business or industry takes full possession of the area. This is the general cycle of the life-history of the neighborhood. There are, of course, certain variations in this pattern, as when a residential area of single homes is transformed into an apartment house or residential hotel, area.

However, these movements of population, these successions of nationality and racial groups and of types of residential areas, are influenced and conditioned by the basic structural pattern of the city. These barriers of railroad track flanked by industry often stand as almost impenetrable walls between racial and nationality groups. For a generation the Pennsylvania Railroad lines have separated the Negro and the Irish. The lines of the Burlington and the Northwestern along Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets have been serving almost as well as an impassable barrier between the Jews and Italians to the north, and the Lithuanians and the Bohemians and the Poles to the south. In other words,

in the long run the movement and the distribution of nationality and other cultural groups in the city is determined by the natural units of its physical pattern.

By the civic organization of the city is meant the forming of persons into groups, associations, and societies for the promotion of their common interests. Many of these organizations, of course, are city-wide, like the Association of Commerce, the Federation of Labor, and the Church Federation. But many of these are local, as district business men's associations, neighborhood improvement clubs, community federations of churches, local Kiwanis and Lion's clubs. Mr. E. L. Burchard made a list of over 1,300 of these organizations in Chicago which he classified in thirty-nine local communities.

The districts of social agencies and of the municipal government I would call administrative, in contrast with these local institutions which are here called civic, those organizations predisposed to act to promote the welfare of their own members and the welfare of the community. One of the functions of social agencies is, I take it, to put at the disposal of the underprivileged, the handicapped, and the unfortunate any and all of the resources of the community. The work of many of these agencies is, and must be, localized. Is it not almost self-evident that in the planning of districts due consideration be given to the natural formation of the city?

More and more, as social work advances from its early form of relief-giving to a professional art of adjusting personal, family, and group relationships, will recognition be given to the increasing value of the knowledge of the community to the development of the technique and sympathy of the individual social worker. City life is new to all of us. Modern society itself is experimenting on this great urban adventure. The demand is imperative that those who are acting as guides in directing the conduct of other persons and their affairs have all the knowledge available, and all that may be made available, on the present and future trends of city life.

All that has been said may be summarized in a few words. The city is a growth. In that growth it subdivides naturally into units determined by its outstanding physical features. In this form the processes of economic, cultural, and civic growth take place. If social and governmental agencies are to base their work upon a knowledge of city life, their administrative districts should be changed in conformity with the basic pattern of the city.

UNIFORM AREA PLAN FOR CHICAGO CITY-WIDE SOCIAL AGENCIES

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Recently I visited the Chicago Social Service Exchange and found the secretary puzzling over some interesting and significant facts. Since 1915 the A. family, with its four children, has lived in at least eighteen different places

and has had contact with thirteen agencies. The K. parents and their eleven children have lived in twenty-four dwellings and been known to nineteen agencies and institutions. Since 1911 a certain Chicago tenement house has had 173 separate families registered in the Exchange. A few blocks away is another tenement which has 175 family registrations in the same period. Such "over-registered houses and families" are familiar to all social workers.

Correlated with turnover in tenancy is too frequent change of personnel within the organization and, as a consequence, within the family. The head resident of a Chicago settlement recently remarked that labor turnover either deliberately planned for or unavoidable makes knowledge of the community difficult or impossible and cooperation with neighborhood resources, as a consequence, a negligible quantity.

But it is not only such inefficiencies and difficulties as these that are disturbing Chicago social workers and those of other cities. Along with industrial and commercial centralization has gone a high degree of interagency centralization and, perhaps more important, extreme focussing of control within agencies. The district which has been employed by social agencies for over sixty years has become almost exclusively a device for increasing the professional efficiency of the workers, but little or no control of its policies is left with the residents of the district. Together with this absence of local control has gone a large increase in number of districts, with a consequent overlapping of boundaries in such a manner that it is either difficult or impossible to ascertain what any of the agencies are doing in a given area. Consultation between organizations is an almost insuperable task, and as a natural sequence there is duplication of work, dissatisfaction among the workers, and rebellion among the more alert and aggressive clients. Out of this situation has grown an interest of some of the Chicago organizations in a districting arrangement that might be expected to eliminate in part some of these defects in administration.

The device of the district was early conceived because it is "a manageable portion of civic territory" and enabled the worker to have more complete acquaintance with an area. The city district is now so large, unwieldy, and involved that any considerable knowledge of its resources is difficult. If the uniform area can help the social worker in any way so to understand her district, its consideration is not futile.

There are two senses in which the uniform area may be considered. We might talk of absolute uniform areas, which are entirely impractical and mean that all social agencies doing approximately the same type of work should conform all of the boundaries of all of their districts for all purposes. Such a plan is inconceivable in large city organizations where, even though all of the agencies are engaged in some form of social work, the size of the district must vary with the details of the work. The second plan is more practical. For the purposes of the Chicago social agencies, the term means an area or areas which can be utilized for any number of purposes by any number of social agencies who shall agree

that none of the district boundaries shall overlap those of the stipulated area. The agencies need not conform all of their district limits to those of the basal area; the assumption is that there would be no conflict between the boundaries of the districts of the agencies and those of the uniform area. Thus an agency might use any combination of uniform areas for its districts, or subdivide them in any way feasible.

That there is an increasing interest in the local area is demonstrated by the many experiments carried on in restricted areas. First, there are those conducted by several racially homogeneous groups of agencies. They are housed under the same roof, all use the same district, all attempt to improve professional service through the use of the generalized worker, and make serious attempts to increase volunteer service and local interest. These experiments have been carried on by Jewish organizations and have been called "district service."

The next type of district experiment is conducted by health agencies which seek to demonstrate the value of professional service to a restricted area, the limits of which may or may not be definitely described, which often use the same building and sometimes employ generalized nurses as demonstrators of the program. These "health center" demonstrations are carried on in nearly every sizable city in the United States.

The East Harlem Health Center of New York City illustrates the third type of uniform area demonstration. This center, although not called an experiment with a uniform area, is in reality the best illustration that I have found of the absolute area. A conscious attempt has been made to coordinate the activities of all of the special agencies functioning within a definite district, regardless of their local or city-wide interest or of their health or general social program. Pooled and comparative statistics have thus been made possible; interagency conference, with the resultants of improved service to families and more wisely directed efforts, results; and an intelligent evaluation of the work of many agencies in one specified area is not only a possibility, but an actuality. None of these things could be so well done without a common base area.

Another kind of area demonstration is that of the deceased Cincinnati Social Unit. "Its purpose . . . has been to test the theory that the organization of a community, if it is to be democratic and effective, stimulating people to meet their own needs, should be based" on the organization of the citizens by small primary units as the block, the organization of those serving the community because of a special knowledge or skill, and the organic and coordinate working relationship of groups having special knowledge, and the representatives of the residents.

The St. Louis plan, which divides the entire city into uniform districts, many agencies, both economic and social, using the defined areas for statistical purposes, is elsewhere described.

If uniform areas are to be both practical and fairly permanent they must be evolved from some plan which has been scientifically conceived and evolved with

due consideration of the problems of social workers. Any one of three plans might be used in Chicago: first, a system of eighty areas located by the staff of the Local Community Research Committee; second, a system of forty areas which are combinations of the above eighty; third, some small number, as five, which follow the main physical and geographical divisions of the city. In order I shall attempt a description of these three proposed plans.

The staff of the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago has made a map of eighty communities. These communities were discovered in two ways: first, by locating the ecological communities, and second, by ascertaining, through field research, the cultural communities. The city is divided into these areas which are separated from each other by railroads, viaducts, factories; other areas are separated by boulevards, parks, street cars, elevated railways. The physical community affords a logical base, then, for uniform areas because social workers can count on it and feel fairly sure that there will be no unforeseen changes in their boundaries. Whether or not eighty areas are too large a number to employ for a uniform area plan is another thing.

The forty areas have been derived from the thirty communities and represent combinations of some of the latter. These forty communities are to be included in the new Chicago Social Service Directory with an alphabetical directory of the social, religious, and civic resources of each area. This plan has two advantages over the preceding one: first, there are fewer areas to consider in reshaping the organization districts, and second, it is already accepted by the agencies as a logical and legitimate scheme for studying community resources. The question can again be raised as to whether forty areas is not too large a number to employ in the initial stages of the installation of so new an experiment as uniform areas.

If it is thought that a large number of small areas is too elaborate a scheme for social agencies at first to consider, a very simple one of a small number of large areas can be proposed. In such a plan the three major divisions of the city formed by the river offer the basis, and two other boundaries formed by railroads. These five large divisions can be prophesied to remain, and if the social organizations rearrange their district limits so that none conflict with or overlap these five, the simple beginning of a uniform area plan is made. If the agencies wish, they can take into consideration as much as seems wise or practicable the boundaries of the forty or eighty included smaller areas.

The advantages of uniform areas can be listed as follows: first, they are logical and, if based on ecological communities, reasonably permanent; second, they offer a unit for joint housing; third, they can serve as the base for the collection of comparable data regarding the cooperating agencies and the assembling of other types of community information; fourth, they will facilitate interagency consultation and make possible, if desirable, a community council of social agencies; fifth, they will make easy interagency division of labor; sixth, they will increase the contacts of the staff, and thus broaden its interests and training;

seventh, they will afford units for financial campaigns and community education and publicity; eighth, they will encourage the focalization of all types of information concerning the community, and the pooling of data by all agencies; ninth, they will afford a unit for community research and tend to promote that attitude of mind in the workers.

The disadvantages can likewise be enumerated: first, they are arbitrary because they are not based on case count and the location of the people; second, to initiate them would require much—too much—work; third, statistics derived from comparison of the work of the various agencies would be useless because they are not comparable; fourth, the values of such a plan would not compensate for the inconvenience of change and of upsetting the present arrangements which have grown out of needs; fifth, the uniform area would be difficult to describe because the boundaries would often not conform to the four points of the compass; sixth, there is such great population mobility that the limits of the uniform areas would have to be changed too frequently; seventh, there would be an overemphasis on administrative devices; eighth, the interests of residents in local communities are city-wide, and hence the return of emphasis upon the neighborhood and community are unwise.

Whether or not the uniform area is an administrative device which will promote community understanding and appreciation of the partial reasons for the attitudes of the clients of social workers it is not for me to say. The uniform area is not a formula or a panacea or a cure-all; rather, it is a suggestion, the application of which may be of some assistance to the social worker in her attempt to understand attitudes, personalities, forces, changes, conflicts, and accommodations.

IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES IN THE SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW YORK

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State supervision of private agencies has always been a subject for discussion at state and national conferences. This is not surprising because the question itself is one of large importance and there is much room for discussion. This arises from a disagreement, not as to the need of supervision, but as to the nature and extent of the supervision. When we come to determine policy we enter the realm of political science, and our policy inevitably falls in line with our political philosophy.

Those who hold to a philosophy of state paternalism and state autocracy are in favor of conveying to the state an absolute control—in fact, in many cases, an absolute and exclusive right to organize and operate all agencies of relief, of custody, and correction. Others of this school, but less radical, sponsor the cause of private agencies but would put them definitely under the complete supervision and direction of the state. Desire for uniformity and a conviction that state control will mean greater efficiency would seem to be at least two of the reasons back of this position. Such men, however, fail to take into consideration the effectiveness with which social work is done by the majority of private workers and the actual limitations of governmental powers and efficiency, which is written large across history. The other extreme group is composed of those who belong to the school of individualistic philosophy. They object to all state intervention as interference. Their convictions are derived from a realization of the evils attendant upon state paternalism, which they characterize briefly as a curtailment of efficiency and usefulness and an overlordship which can readily slip into tyranny.

It would seem that the old saying of the schoolmen, *in medio stat virtus*, conveys the true solution of the problem. The dangers of dominating legalistic control without due attention to the aims and rights of the private agencies are only too apparent. On the other hand, there exists no reason why state supervision should not be so organized and operated that it would prove of definite construc-

tive value to private agencies. The ideal relation between the two forces should be one of joint partnership and sympathetic cooperation in the execution of a vigorous, thoroughgoing plan of action. To secure this ideal relation there seem to be four pivotal principles in accord with which the whole question must be decided: first, the right of the individual to engage, singly or in cooperation with others, in any line of activity that is pleasing to him and not harmful to others; second, the right of the public at large to be protected against exploitation; third, the right of the underprivileged and helpless to be protected against incompetent, careless, or unfit guardians; fourth, men individually, or united in families, cannot reach that perfection of their physical, mental, and moral well-being that is proper to them. Civil society is essential to supplement their efforts, but it should never destroy private initiative. The state was made for man, and not man for the state. Adequate supervision then, and not arbitrary control, should be the basis of the working relationship between the state authorities and the private organizations.

State supervision or private agencies.—In New York the powers of the State Board of Charities have been restricted to the supervision of public agencies and of private agencies receiving public funds, and the right to demand reports of admissions and discharges from child caring agencies. This jurisdiction does not require discussion. The New York State Board of Charities has taken the stand that it should be granted the further power to supervise and inspect all private charities, whether the recipients of public funds or not, and for the last few years has annually introduced in the state legislature a bill embodying such provisions and has tried to obtain its enactment. Objection to this extension of state supervision arises mainly from private organizations which do not have the custody of their charges, such as family relief agencies. In the case of institutions having the custody of individuals there is little objection to state supervision. Many private agencies in New York, non-custodial in nature and not the recipient of any public funds, do not believe that there exists any necessity for state supervision over their activities, and are of the opinion that it would prove undesirable.

Attitude of Catholic agencies.—At the present time in the New York diocese all Catholic agencies and institutions are supervised by the Catholic Charities. Catholic agencies are entirely in sympathy with the present New York State policy of inspection of charitable agencies—a policy which respects their rightful autonomy. They welcome impartial, reasonable, and wise inspection and supervision of all custodial agencies, whether or not they receive public funds. They desire to maintain their charitable work at the highest level of efficiency. It is their constant aim to bring to the service of their clients the best known methods of scientific social treatment. Catholic agencies are always willing to join with the public authorities in formulating any comprehensive plan of co-operation which will safeguard the welfare of their charges and advance the best interests of society.

Approval of new ventures.—One of the most difficult duties assigned to the State Board of Charities is the approval of the incorporation of new charitable ventures. In passing upon such proposals originating from religious groups the board can be greatly helped by the advice of a central diocesan organization. In the field of Catholic charity no new activity can be started without the approval of the bishop. The wisdom of this policy has been evident where racial or fraternal groups desired to start new orphanages or other works which were either unnecessary or lacking in assurance of substantial support and capable management. For political or personal reasons a public body might have hesitated to refuse the required authorization. In other instances the work proposed may be necessary, but the plans and the location faulty. The state board is more or less limited to a simple approval or disapproval of the project. The diocesan organization is able to work with the proposers in the selection of a better location and in the formulation of better plans. After this valuable preliminary work has been done the state board can then give consideration to the project. Where objectives, plans, and financing are acceptable there may still remain in the mind of the board some doubt as to the ability, experience, and trustworthiness of the individuals making the proposal. It is helpful in such situations to be able to call upon a central agency which is in a position to furnish reliable information.

Assurance of sound financing.—The financing of charities is also a matter of great concern. Yet the state board is not in a position to deal effectively with this problem. An organization may incur indebtedness upon indebtedness until it is hopelessly insolvent, all without the knowledge or approval of the state board. This situation cannot happen in the Catholic field, where institutions are prohibited from contracting for a loan or mortgage without first securing the approval of the diocesan authorities. On the other hand, the central organization can secure increased borrowing power for any of its agencies and thus provide for the development of far-seeing undertakings. Bankers readily extend increased credit to charitable agencies which have the indorsement of the diocesan authorities. In addition, the diocesan organization, from its general resources, can provide finances to meet emergent situations. In the matter of appeals for funds, the Catholic agency has the benefit of the experience and counsel of the diocesan organization. Thus inopportune, simultaneous, and conflicting appeals can be avoided, and methods that have proved wasteful, and professional organizers who have been inefficient or unreliable, can be eliminated. In New York City, Catholic Charities requires that every solicitor for Catholic charitable work shall secure a card of authorization from the archbishop. This is a guaranty to the contributor of the worthiness of the appeal.

Cooperation in carrying out standards.—For various reasons the supervision of the state board is often limited to an annual inspection of premises and procedure. Following this inspection a list of recommendations is submitted to the agency. Often the state board has no further contact with the institution until

the next annual inspection. With Catholic agencies the diocesan organization may be the instrument to carry out these recommendations. Equipped with trained specialists it is able to work with the officers of the institution and introduce the improvements suggested. These supervisors, for instance, may follow up a criticism of the dietary of an institution by formulating and putting into effect a standard dietary adjusted to its particular needs. Or again, the diocesan supervisors may instal a standard system of social and financial records adapted to the requirements of the institution and see that they are properly utilized.

Supervision of agencies not subject to the state board.—In New York the supervision of the diocesan organization frequently extends beyond state and city requirements. For example, the departments of health of the city and state are empowered to exact certain sanitary standards of day nurseries, summer camps, and other organizations. But the many other important activities of these agencies are unsupervised by any public authority. The Catholic Charities of the archdiocese of New York, however, with twenty-seven nurseries and twenty-two camps under its supervision, has not only met the regulations of the public authorities in matters of sanitation, but has formulated standards of medical care, nutrition, recreation, education, and policies of admission. The social values of this policy are obvious.

Organizing for new needs.—With its knowledge of state-wide conditions, the state board may often see a need for the establishment of new agencies or the discontinuance of old ones. To be able to present these problems to a central diocesan agency is often of great value and frequently results in an adequate adjustment of the situation. For example, the state board recently brought to the attention of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York that the great influx of colored people into New York City had created an urgent demand for additional child caring facilities for children of this race. Serious consideration is being given to the marshaling of resources and the readjustment of present facilities so as to provide for this need.

State supervision should be constructive, not repressive.—Whatever program of state supervision and direction is formulated and put into effect, it should not have room in it for petty annoyance, unreasonable interference, or arbitrary repression. Private philanthropic effort at the present time is bearing a very large proportion of the burden of remedial effort and, indeed, some of the most effective social work is being carried on by the private social agencies. Moreover, private agencies have contributed constructively to social advancement by experimenting with, and demonstrating the value of, some of the most significant forms of social work which later were taken over by public authorities. We cannot afford to discourage their experiments in untrodden fields or minimize their pioneer attempts to improve methods and procedure. Private agencies tap financial resources and draw on the enthusiastic support of personalities seldom available to public agencies. Such forces must not be diverted from the magnificent work of social betterment through enervating supervision by state authori-

ties. The supervisory policy of state boards in regard to private agencies should be educational and persuasive. In their work of inspection and in making their recommendations they should be reasonable, sympathetic, and impartial. They should endeavor to work with agencies, and not against them. Their attitude should not be that of carping criticism or petty domination, but generous, broad-visioned, and constructive.

A suggested plan of social leadership.—A state board of charities composed of men and women of eminence, ability, and vision might safely be trusted to assume the social leadership of the state. Such a leadership would bring together in conference the executives in social work, heads of important institutions, and other public-spirited persons for the purpose of surveying the social work of the state. Investigation of divers problems might be delegated to the persons or agencies best equipped to conduct them. Intensive study might go far toward solving problems of duplication, cooperation, coordination, and would bring about an interchange of ideas and methods and the formulation of standard policies of administration. Leaders and workers throughout the state, inspired by a program such as this, might be prevailed upon to accept an improved standard of service and pledge themselves to its attainment. Supervision of private agencies carried on in such a spirit of helpfulness, with vision, with an understanding of difficulties, and with a consecration to the highest ideals of service to mankind and to God, will bring untold benefits, not only to the agencies and to their clients, but to all the people of the state.

SOCIAL RESEARCH IN AN INFIRMARY

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What I shall have to say will necessarily relate to the type of infirmary with which I am most familiar. I refer to the Rhode Island State Infirmary, which is an institution for the care of those who, for one reason or another, are unable to take care of themselves or be taken care of in the community.

In the past the reasons for admissions to so-called almshouses, infirmaries, city, county, or town farms were numerous, but in recent years the conditions which formerly necessitated such admissions have been rapidly lessening. At present the principal cause is illness, usually a chronic illness, affecting for the most part the patients themselves, but occasionally some member, or members, of their families who otherwise would have been able to have supplied the necessary care at home.

Ten or fifteen years ago, in studying the population of the average almshouse, one would find a fairly good number of comparatively healthy, able-bodied men and women who were there on account of economic conditions alone.

It is very probable that if a mental and psychological examination had been made of those physically healthy inmates it would have been quite evident that the economic status of many was due to their low mental level, making it impossible for them to cope on equal footing with their fellow-men in the industrial world. A certain number, no doubt, would have been found to have been there because of a mild and chronic type of mental illness; others, as a result of chronic alcoholism.

It is not my object, however, to emphasize so much the cause of admissions in those days, as the fact that before the advent of social service and modern medicine in these institutions the occupants invariably became institutionalized and stayed there the remainder of their lives, which they do at the present time in institutions without some sort of social service. The problem then was considered to be, and is today in most of the smaller town and county farms, a custodial one, providing a place where their unfortunate inmates (I am tempted to say victims) live, or eke out a vegetative existence. Such was the situation a decade ago, not only as applied to the poor and those suffering from a chronic physical illness, but also to those suffering from a chronic mental illness as well.

Then social service came along, and through its efforts a great many of those chronic sick were placed in the community in positions—not necessarily of the same type and responsibility as those they held formerly, but positions the duties of which were consistent with the physical and mental status of the patient, disregarding his former qualifications and facing the situation as it existed. This resulted in a great saving to the state, a great benefit to the persons so placed, and a distinct service to the community, because there always has been and always will be work to be done which does not require the physical strength of a Samson or the mental ability of a Socrates.

Social service had been successfully carried on in municipalities and hospitals several years before any systematic effort was made to use it in institutions caring for the poor; in fact, so far as I am able to determine, only a very small percentage of such institutions at the present time have a full-time adequately functioning social service department.

This is probably accounted for by the fact that the majority of paupers are still cared for in small town or county farms, each of which cannot afford a social service department or do a great many other things which we have come to feel are quite essential to the care of those sent to us. The larger and more progressive institutions, however, have faced the situation squarely, and have prepared to assume the rôle, less of custodial places, and more and more of hospitals. Consequently as their medical staffs have been increased they have inaugurated social service.

The Social Service Department of the Rhode Island State Infirmary was established three and one-half years ago, and I propose to give you a brief résumé of its activities during this time, mentioning some of the difficulties encountered as well as results achieved.

First, in order that you may understand the scope of our work, it will be necessary to explain the type of patients we have. Rhode Island (unlike any other state in the Union, with the exception of Massachusetts, I am told) attempts, in part at least, to care for its poor in an institution maintained by the state and known as the state infirmary. The population of our infirmary is a little over 600, with an admission rate of about 400 per year. We have men, women, and children ranging in age from newborn babies to those a hundred years old, and occasionally we have some even older. It is also the custom in Rhode Island to send to us unmarried women and girls who are pregnant and cannot be taken care of in their homes or by outside agencies. It is not difficult to understand the crying need for social adjustment and the opportunities presenting themselves for social salvage in such a conglomerate group of unfortunate human beings.

Social service activities at the Infirmary begins the moment the patient enters the institution, and includes all work done by agencies within the institution to uplift and enhance the social status of the patients and help to prepare them better to adapt themselves to outside environment when the opportune time comes for them again to assume the burdens of extramural life. We believe that preparedness is the underlying factor that makes for success in any undertaking. Many of our people, because of injury, physical handicaps, or lack of training, are absolutely unprepared to face extramural life, its problems, and difficulties with any assurance of success, but instead, with all prospects of being shipwrecked on the sea of mental and physical maladjustment. We cannot harvest potatoes until we have first prepared the soil, planted the seed, and cultivated the plant; neither can we successfully practice social service without first preparing the soil; and it is my belief that this should be started the moment the patient enters the institution, with rehabilitation as the ultimate always in mind.

I do not mean to imply that we reclaim, or even hope to reclaim, all of the 400 patients who come to us each year, because a great many (probably 30 per cent) before admission have reached a stage, because of some chronic illness or extreme age, where even the most optimistic would not dare predict a return to the community except as a result of a change in the social or economic status of the relatives which would enable them to take their mother, father, brother, or sister out and supply them with the necessary nursing care and medical attention. As a matter of fact, a change in the economic status of the family very often takes place—or, with a little assistance, can be made to take place—and I feel that we should always be on the alert for opportunities to lend a helping hand in assisting the relatives of our patients over a family crisis due to illness or financial reverses. In other words, I do not believe that social service should be limited exclusively to the patient, but also should include the relatives, friends, employers, social and domestic associates, with the end in view of bringing about some change that may be of benefit to the patient. In this connection

I wish to mention the feeble-minded, of which we, like most institutions of this type, admit many each year.

Some of these, because of their very low mentality, need permanent institutional protection; others, because of their delinquent and criminal tendencies, need permanent segregation; but there are others who, especially after having formed regular habits as a result of their stay in the institution, can serve a very useful and necessary rôle in the industrial world providing they are intelligently placed in positions suited to their mental endowment, and with understanding employers who will not expect more of them than their degree of intelligence will permit them to give.

Undoubtedly our most difficult problem is that of unmarried mothers, yet it is with this group that we have the opportunity to do the greatest amount of constructive work. We have, on the average, twenty-five admissions of this type each year. These girls are the problem cases upon which one or several of the social agencies of the community or city from which they came have worked and failed, we getting them as a last resort. Here again we must set in motion, the moment the girls enter, our machinery for placing them out. Many of these girls are suffering from some physical illness which must be corrected; their histories show a social maladjustment; many of them are underdeveloped mentally. A social investigation is made, and their particular failings and shortcomings ascertained for use in future dealings with the case. Their homes, environments, and especially their early training are studied, for it is felt that upon these depend the formation of proper habits, character, and personality—in fact, the fundamental characteristics, which enable one to make satisfactory social adjustments. This sociological study, together with a study of their mental make-up, temperament, emotional stability, inhibitions, judgment, etc., helps us to determine and supply the training which they did not have and which they will need if they are ever to learn the fundamental principles of living or develop a philosophy of life, simple though it may be, that will enable them to go out into the world to face its problems and make satisfactory adjustments and adaptations.

It is very hard to estimate with any degree of accuracy, or express in appropriate terms, the results of work among this group of people, but a brief consideration of the number and type of patients placed will, I think, show conclusively that social service has not been without worth-while results, measured not only in terms of service rendered to the patient and the community, but also when measured in terms of dollars and cents.

The cases mentioned do not include, of course, those who have gone home to relatives or friends, the arrangements for which were made through channels other than the social service. In other words, this group represents those who ordinarily would not have gone out, and for whom social service actually brought about the necessary arrangements or adjustments whereby they could go out, and for which the entire credit is due, therefore, to social service.

In conclusion, may I state briefly what I have attempted to prove to you, namely, that in infirmaries, almshouses, city, county and town farms there is a real opportunity for constructive and worth-while social service work; that to accomplish results one must be human; one's manner and attitude must be tempered with a love for the cause of humanity. During the past three and one-half years the Social Service Department has placed out in the community sixty-eight men, fifty-two women, and seventy-one unmarried mothers with their babies. Upon analysis of the group of unmarried mothers we find that eighteen were returned to their homes with their babies; forty-three were found employment, their babies boarded in licensed boarding houses, the board being paid by the mothers; and ten were found work in homes where they could have their babies with them. Out of this group there have been three failures, making it necessary that they be returned on account of misconduct. The others are doing well. Fourteen have bank accounts; eleven have married, and up to date have gotten along well. Out of the sixty-eight men placed, nineteen have been returned; the others, with the exception of seven who have died, are still in the community and self-supporting. The average age of the fifty-two women placed was sixty-five; eighteen have been returned after an average stay in the community of six months. These people had been in the institution five, ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, and even thirty years. Figure the aggregate number of years these 191 persons placed represents; then multiply that by the per capita cost per year to get some idea of the loss, in dollars and cents, to the state, which might have been saved by social service. Add to that the accrued interest on money spent, plus the economic loss to the community, and contrast the result with the amount saved during the past three and one-half years as a result of not having to care for those who have been out. I dare say that even the most cold-blooded business man will admit that social service has more than justified its existence.

ADMISSIONS AND RECORDS IN AN ALMSHOUSE

Emily B. Randall, City Hospitals, Baltimore

An almshouse is bound to have a more heterogeneous population than any other institution. There is but one element in common among its applicants, and that is poverty. The persons that come to the admission office are sick and well, young and old, good and bad, male and female, colored and white. Who should be admitted to an almshouse and who is admitted are two very different questions. An almshouse is primarily intended for the indigent poor, but all the dependent persons in a community must be provided for, and if the community lacks an institution to care for an individual, the almshouse is the place used for all the rag, tag, and bobtail of humanity. In a city almshouse, where the groups are larger, segregation and separation are possible. In a county alms-

house individual cases cannot have special care provided, and nursing care for the sick and separation of young and old are not possible.

I have lately visited a number of county almshouses in Maryland. They averaged sixteen or eighteen persons each; there were quite a few chronically sick—some bedridden, with only other inmates to give nursing care; there were some young persons; there was one whole family, the father being chronically sick, whose community lacked suitable provision for himself, his wife, and child; one almshouse had recently gotten rid of an insane person who had been housed with them for some weeks. Most of them keep simple record books with the names and dates of admission and discharge; one keeps no regular record book; but every now and then they take stock and note everyone who is with them on a certain date. Some almshouses are more modern than others, and may have solved problems that others are still battling with, but in a general way admissions must be very similar, and as a picture one large almshouse is a good deal like another. I am going to limit myself to talking about admissions and records, as I know them, in the Baltimore City Hospitals.

The Baltimore City Hospitals is an institution with a population of about 1,500, about 600 patients being in the infirmary or almshouse, about 350 in the insane hospital, about 175 in the general hospital, about 250 in the chronic hospital, and about 100 in the tubercular hospital. It is the hospital for the sick poor of the city. There is a natural prejudice in the city against going to a hospital very closely associated with the poorhouse, especially among people who are not very clear in their own minds as to whether they are one and the same thing.

In an institution of this kind the applicants are divided into three general groups: first, the hospital patients who are not eligible to the almshouse, who must be admitted and discharged as in any other general hospital; second, the almshouse patients who are also eligible to the hospitals, if they need hospital treatment; third, a small borderline group that other general hospitals do not have to contend with, such as a homeless drunken man who must be watched for a period of hours to be sure that he is not going to develop symptoms which would be serious. He is not really a hospital case, perhaps, neither is he definitely an almshouse case; he has to go somewhere, and the almshouse is the temporary solution.

Patients are admitted to the almshouse in several ways: the largest number come through the admission office; about 20 per cent come through the magistrates, who have the power to commit to the almshouse any aged, infirm, crippled, or not able-bodied individual who has no home and is a vagrant, or is found begging on the streets, with a sentence of from two weeks to one year; we also get emergency cases brought in by the police after hours, not sick enough to be in a hospital, not bad enough to be kept in the station house, and with nowhere to go. The emergency admissions and the police commitments do not come through the admission office. Therefore, unless they are old offenders, we

have no history of them when they arrive at the institution. This information must be gotten at the institution, and because of lack of funds to employ a qualified person, the records of emergency cases are taken by an inmate who is eighty-six years old and a very remarkable character.

To the admission office come a great variety of applicants: homeless old people, respectable and disreputable; senile persons who may have homes, but cannot be taken care of in them; feeble-minded persons, young and old, who need to be safeguarded in an institution; middle-aged and old blind people; cripples, young and old with venereal disease and in need of treatment; pregnant girls with venereal disease, whom no other institution will admit; colored pregnant girls under the jurisdiction of the court, for whom there is no other institution; drug addicts; transients awaiting transportation. Then we have a group of individuals who are unable to adjust themselves in a home situation. Often their families or friends would be willing to keep them except that they are old and eccentric and continually at odds with the world and particularly with those around them. The almshouse is a safe boarding house for them. The children who want to get rid of their old parents and make the city bear their burden present many problems. The admission office can try to collect board if the children are able to pay. Does the old person suffer more in humiliation in an almshouse than as an unwelcome guest in someone else's home?

Standards of admission are difficult to maintain when the power of rejection is withheld from the admission office. Any rejected applicant can go to the magistrate and get himself committed, or families can move away and abandon a sick relative, leaving him to the mercy of neighbors, knowing that the police will be called in and the person will get to the City Hospitals through them instead of through the admission office, where the reasons for rejection were good and proper. The magistrates do try to limit their commitments to the particular group eligible. But they, too, need a place for their problems, and the City Hospitals are elected to fill the bill.

The Baltimore City Hospitals being on the outskirts of the city, it has seemed advisable to have its admission office centrally located in town. Until a few months ago the patient was questioned at the admission office, the information was recorded, a slip was issued with the individual's name, and he was sent out to the City Hospitals. There each person or department through whose hands he passed needed information, so they, in turn, repeated the questions. Sometimes the person's memory was weak and he didn't remember what he had told the last station. Sometimes he must have had a sense of humor, and thought it would be fun to change the stale facts. Anyway, the patient was asked over and over, and the results were not good.

When I first went to the City Hospitals I was impressed with how much information one could get about a person. The admission office knew a lot about him, the man under whom he may have worked, the dispensary where he went for pills, the man in charge of the room where he slept—they all knew him well.

But all there was in writing was filed in the office on a 3×5 card, just the information required on a death certificate. Each time the patient was readmitted all the information was taken afresh, and the new card was clipped to the old ones, with the names of friends or relatives on the back. Sometimes an emphatic note said "Do not readmit this man." But the admission officer, even if he knew the applicant as an unwelcome guest, couldn't resist the bad actor's seeming repentance, and would administer a scolding, note on the admission card that he promised to stay, or to obey—anyway, to repent—and back came the boarder. The admission officer had been too busy to register the applicant with the Social Service Exchange. When I went to the City Hospitals I registered about one thousand persons with the Exchange and found that about 33 per cent were already known. No doubt we could have identified many more if our information had not been so meager. An admission office needs all the information and advice available in determining the eligibility of an applicant.

Now a carbon copy of all information taken at the admission office accompanies the man to the hospital. This includes the names, addresses, occupations of relatives who will bury him, and, if he has an army record, the question whether he has a pension, sick benefit, insurance, etc., which brings up interesting problems of how much responsibility the almshouse should assume in protecting these little bits of property from the clutches of otherwise indifferent relatives and friends. In the same way the hospital is trying to send back to the admission office any further information obtained later. The individual, on arrival at the institution, is seen and admitted by a doctor. We have acquired now a larger card for our records at the hospitals. About ten admissions can be made on the same card. There is room for more information; the identifying information is taken once, and in a form which will be true, presumably, for a lifetime. Every man has a dispensary history which starts with the physical examination made when he arrived, and soon we hope to have a history of that individual in his work life, if he was able to do any work as determined by the doctor—what he did and how he did it while in the institution. In time we hope that we will have a social card attached. When the man is discharged the whole history is returned to the admission office, to be waiting for him if he applies for readmission, and as a guide both to the admission office and the institution.

If we are going to improve methods of admission and records we are going to give ourselves more work, we are going to assume more responsibility. There is no point in opening doors if we are not prepared to enter. The admission office cannot do a good job unless it has a staff adequate to its work, and unless it can turn over its beginnings to others in the institution, trained in social work, to carry through. The almshouse is a very discouraging and depressing place to work; it is full of all the failures. But if one has any interest or sympathy for failures, any concern for the many community problems which an almshouse population reveals, there is much social work waiting to be done in city and county almshouses.

THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALMSHOUSE

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Poor law administration in the United States, particularly in the eastern United States, is handicapped by antiquated law and tradition based upon it.

Speaking for Pennsylvania, with which I am most familiar, our poor law originated in the Elizabethan system. A general code, based upon the system of the mother country, was passed in 1771, adapted to the conditions of the colony. Responsibility for the care of dependents was thereby placed upon local governmental units. This act was reaffirmed following the Declaration of Independence and was not modified materially until 1836.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania's increase in population was exceedingly rapid because of her open-door policy in regard to emigration, and a problem of dependency and unemployment of considerable proportions was created. The burden became too heavy for certain of the smaller governmental units to bear, so in 1798 an act was passed "To provide for the creation of a house of employment and support of the poor in the counties of Chester and Lancaster," with the avowed purpose of providing that able-bodied paupers should contribute to their own support. This act became the model for seventy-eight special acts creating almshouse districts in the interval between 1800 and 1873. Since 1836 some changes have been made, but in principle our present system finds its basis in the old English law.

In consequence of the conditions just noted, we find ourselves with eighty-five almshouses which vary in size from small cottages to massive institutions; which render a variety of care from that of very poor custodial service to the best type of hospital care; and which depend for their support on a population which ranges from 1,661 in the smallest township unit to 1,800,000 in the city of Philadelphia; at a per capita cost *per diem* which varies from 41 cents to \$4.77, with certain of the smaller institutions supported throughout the year by the taxpayers, but which serve no inmates. It is obvious that such a wide variation in type of structure, quality of service, per capita cost, and taxable unit requires that public officials should study the situation with great care and, in the light of the facts obtained, press for the necessary changes which will provide adequate and proper service at reasonable cost. The lack of economy in state, county, and municipal public service has been brought forcibly to the attention of the taxpayer both by the President and by the studies made by the Department of Commerce within recent months. This fact leads me to hope that we have arrived at the point at which the interests of social welfare and of big business (incidentally the big taxpayers) coincide, and that we may look for progress in the development of our poor-relief administration.

In Pennsylvania, in the space of two centuries, we have passed through four periods. In our first period we granted "doles" in the form of outdoor re-

lief; second, we organized a "house for the use of the poor"; third, we established "county farms," on which able-bodied paupers were expected to pay their own way by work, and in addition to carry in part the expense of maintaining the other paupers; fourth, in which stage we now are, the "county farm" became the "county home," rendering kindly custodial care, but leaving much undone which must be done if we are to meet the needs of the present-day problem of dependency. Through all these periods the dole has continued as outdoor relief. This fourth period finds us with a very few of our present-day county homes emerging into a fifth phase, characterized by a real hospital service, while there are many, particularly of the township and borough almshouses, which are still operating after the fashion of 1729, when provision was made for the first "house for the use of the poor."

As a basis for thought in this matter we have two comprehensive documents, one issued in 1925 by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, entitled *Paupers in Almshouses*, and the other issued in 1925 by the Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *The Cost of American Almshouses*. In addition, Pennsylvania has been giving her own system of poor relief close study as a major project under the Department of Welfare, and the Pennsylvania Poor Law Commission has added material for consideration. Several comprehensive reports on old age pensions and mothers' pensions and workmen's compensation are also available. In addition to the material in our own special field we have pertinent studies in the field of vital statistics.

A consideration of all these data leads us to some very definite conclusions: First, the field of poor-law administration has in recent years been greatly restricted and the almshouse population diminished in proportion to the total population by the operation of military, civil, and industrial pensions and allowances to mothers with young children, and in addition by workmen's compensation and other forms of sickness and accident insurance; second, these forms of pension and insurance have, to a considerable degree, eliminated from the almshouse population the younger age groups, many of whom were capable of performing a good day's work in the fields or in domestic service; third, the increased expectation of life, the result of improved sanitation, and an energetic campaign of health education is insuring as candidates for almshouse care an ever increasing number of middle-aged and old persons suffering from the degenerative disorders of heart, kidneys, vascular system, and metabolic disorders (the statistics of Massachusetts show an increased life expectancy of 15.48 years in the last 55 years. The Registration Area of the United States notes an increase of 7.08 years in the last twenty years); fourth, the able-bodied in almshouses have decreased, according to the United States Census figures, from 21.6 per cent of the total inmates in 1910 to 7.1 per cent in 1923, in Pennsylvania 10 per cent being reported as able-bodied. This being the case, it is obvious that the almshouse population cannot be depended upon to run a farm or even to do the domestic work of the institutions successfully; fifth, the invest-

ments in almshouse plant and equipment are enormous and the costs of maintenance are excessive, especially in view of the unsatisfactory results obtained (the investment for the United States exceeding \$150,400,000; that for Pennsylvania, \$16,500,000; while the maintenance cost for one year exceeds \$28,700,000 for the United States, and for Pennsylvania, \$3,100,000); sixth, the annual admissions to almshouses for the United States number 63,807, with 78,090 in residence on January 1, 1923. Of these, at least 32 per cent had been previously admitted for from one to four or more times. This percentage or readmissions is of interest as paralleling so closely the percentage of recidivists in our penal and reformatory institutions. Individuals readmitted to Pennsylvania almshouses constitute 25 per cent of the total; seventh, the duration of stay of persons discharged from the almshouse in a given year (1922) indicates, contrary to expectation, that they are relatively a transient group, for out of 44,066 inmates discharged or transferred, only 12 per cent (5,681) had been in the institution for more than one year. Seventy-eight of the number had been in residence twenty years or over. Pennsylvania's figures show that over 86 per cent remained in the almshouse less than one year.

It is obvious from the facts just cited that those who drift in and out of our almshouses are susceptible of improvement as to physical, mental, or economic condition, and that it is the part of statesmanship as public servants to utilize that fact as the basis of a constructive program for the benefit of the individual and the relief of the taxpayer. Pennsylvania taxpayers have in the last ten years paid \$100,000,000 for poor-law purposes, almshouse expense, and outdoor relief, and yet the service tendered is such that no one wants to "go on the county," and no one willingly or cheerfully goes to the almshouse.

A consideration of the admissions by age groups is of significance. An individual, if in health, should be in the period of his full productive maturity between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-four. A study of the statistics shows that of 63,807 admissions for the year 1922, slightly more than 50 per cent fell within this age period. The question then resolves itself into this: Is there need for reorganization of our poor-law administration so as to diminish the number of those in the prime of life who seek asylum in the almshouse, to diminish the number of repeaters, and to give better value for the expenditure of public funds?

My answer to the question is that the time has come for such a change, and that we should frankly step forward into the fifth period in the development of the almshouse: from a county home to a county hospital with a fully developed social service department, the avowed purpose of this change of emphasis from "farm operation" to "hospital administration" being the physical and social rehabilitation of those capable of salvage and the intelligent institutionalizing of the residue. I make this emphatic statement because of our personal observations in Pennsylvania, which I will ask you to consider.

The inmate population of fifty-seven almshouses was studied for 1925. The

total number in care was 4,227. These inmates were seen personally by our representative, when possible in company with the physician employed by the directors of the poor, and a diagnosis was obtained in each case.

Using the classification of Dr. Boas, of New York, we found the distribution of cases in relation to need of hospital care as shown in Table I. Those whose

TABLE I

| Class | Number | Percentage |
|--|--------|------------|
| A (needing active hospital treatment) | 696 | 16.5 |
| B (needing nursing care) | 761 | 18.0 |
| C (needing custodial care) | 1,047 | 24.8 |
| D (able to attend to their own personal needs, but able to do little else) | 1,723 | 40.7 |
| All cases | 4,227 | 100.0 |

physical ailments were sufficiently definite for diagnosis by the physicians (who all too often render merely perfunctory service) numbered 1,840. A rough grouping of conditions diagnosed is shown in the Table II.

It is interesting to note that for the year 1923 only 1.5 per cent of the total almshouse maintenance (for eighty-five almshouses) was expended for medicine

TABLE II

| Structures Diseased, Injuries, etc. | Number | Percentage |
|---|--------|------------|
| Diseases of the nervous system (not insane) | 1,178 | 64.1 |
| Specific infectious diseases | 213 | 11.6 |
| Diseases or injuries of eye and ear | 115 | 6.3 |
| Injuries (broken back, etc.) | 100 | 5.5 |
| Circulatory disorders | 54 | 3.0 |
| Tumors, benign and malignant | 36 | 2.0 |
| Diseases of trachea and bronchi | 36 | 2.0 |
| Diseases of bones, joints, tendons, etc | 35 | 2.0 |
| All other | 73 | 4.0 |
| Total | 1,840 | 100.0 |

and hospital supplies, or about \$5.89 per capita for the year for each of the 8,060 inmates. This will serve as an index of the inadequacy of the present medical service. It is obvious that adequate hospital service cannot be provided for patients in the small institutions run under the township and borough plan of poor law administration, and any effort to care for an individual who is sick and dependent is at excessive cost to the taxpayer, as witness this report which came to my desk this week: A township overseer of the poor, being called upon to provide for a woman who had suffered a paralytic stroke, the woman having re-

sided in the county only one year, had no almshouse in his township. He has commandeered the house in which the patient is lodged, has employed a trained nurse at \$4.00 per day, and maintains the nurse by providing board outside the house at an approximate total cost to the taxpayers of \$180.00 per month. His fellow-overseer wishes to remove the patient to his home and agrees to care for her at the rate of \$75.00 per month. Neither plan is in the interests of the patient nor the taxpayer, and both suffer under such arrangements.

In order to make effective the hospitalization of the almshouse there are certain fundamentals which must be kept in mind. The first of these is that the political unit to be served must be sufficiently large to provide the necessary funds by taxation to maintain the plant, and sufficiently populous to make it economically sound to establish such a plant. Therefore nothing less than the county should be considered as the organized unit, and in less populous regions district hospitals should be the aim. Good roads now make a district hospital practical. The personnel for the management of the institution must be professional, not political; if sufficiently large, a competent physician, serving full time, is essential; if not large, a registered nurse superintendent with a competent visiting physician (or staff) is required. Unless the professional spirit is permitted to dominate the institution, the aim sought in the "county hospital" will be lost, namely, the study, treatment, relief, or cure of chronic disorders in a large group of adults in the prime of life. The establishment of such hospitals for the care and treatment of chronic disorders will add a link in the chain of medical service which is sorely needed.

The Pennsylvania Department of Welfare has supervision of 160 general and special hospitals, caring for more than 300,000 patients yearly. In the wards of these hospitals there is a gradual accumulation of chronic patients which seriously interferes with the flow of acute curable cases into the hospital. Dictates of humanity compel the hospital executives to give space to the chronic cases long after they should have been evacuated down the line to institutions in which bed space and daily care are not so costly.

The population of one hospital studied some months ago in relation to chronic cases gave the following results: of 251 patients, 56 were found to have been in the institution over three months; 44 had been in residence eleven months or less; 2, from one to two years; 3, from two to three years; 3, from three to four years; 2, from four to five years; 1, over seven years.

There are only nine institutions in Pennsylvania which undertake to receive chronic cases, and their bed capacity is very limited. It is, therefore, obvious that the development of "county hospitals" whose primary object is the care and relief of chronics will meet a very pressing need, and will be needed even if old age pensions become a reality.

In addition to an adequate plant with hospital equipment and medical and nursing personnel and occupational therapy, there is an important service which even today should be supplied in every county home and in connection

with outdoor relief, and that is professional social service. No modern hospital is complete without social service; no program of relief for the handicapped can be successful without the trained family case worker. Our county hospital must render a service combining both of these functions, for physical rehabilitation must be accompanied by social reconstruction of individuals and families if we are to diminish the load which the taxpayer carries.

Dr. Boas has demonstrated that a much larger number of chronic cases can be rehabilitated by careful diagnosis and active treatment than has ever been supposed. We know from the statistics reviewed that public officials of the future will have an increasing number of surviving adults, suffering from chronic disorders, who will have to be provided for out of the public purse unless a program to reduce that number is operative; the medical profession and the life insurance companies know that the next big battle in the conservation of life lies in that sector which aims to prevent chronic disorders in adults in the prime of life.

If by intelligent, tactful leadership we can win the cooperation of our poor-law officials, who handle vast sums of the people's money, in this campaign for hospitalizing and socializing the administration of the almshouse, we shall have rendered a real public service in the evolution of our democratic institutions.

THE TRANSPORTATION AGREEMENT

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The Transportation Agreement is an effort to bring a reasonable system into the sending of persons from one place to another. It is in contrast with a lack of system, still seen, which was wasteful of money and human resources, and which was often most unkind to persons in distress.

This Agreement was administered for nearly twenty years by a committee appointed by this National Conference. Then, in 1921, at the request of this Conference, it was taken over by four agencies whose work, nation-wide, is through their local members, with families in distress. A fifth like agency joined last year; other like agencies would be welcomed. The committee which administers consists of one member each from the agencies and as many members at large.

These agencies all encourage their local members or branches to sign the Agreement. One agency, the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, requires its constituent members to sign. It is signed yearly, to insure a continued active interest. There are 585 signers. Of these, 301 are members of that association just named, that is, family welfare societies, by whatever name, the country over. Travelers' aid branches number 107; tuberculosis so-

cieties, 79; children's agencies, 44. Agencies which are public, as overseers of the poor or state boards of charity or public welfare, number only 15, beside four agencies which say that they cannot sign but that they approve and will use the Agreement.

The next point to make plain is the Agreement itself, that the form which agencies are now signing is a new and simplified form. Here are the rules, in brief, to which you agree: that before you provide transportation you will be satisfied, by adequate evidence, of two conditions. The first is that the prospect of the applicant in opportunities shall not be decreased by sending him to a proposed place. That is, that he shall not be worse off! And secondly, that at the place proposed he shall have resources for maintenance (such as relations ready with support), or is a proper charge upon agencies there, or has a legal residence there. And you agree further, before sending a person, to make reasonable effort to obtain a report, on those questions just given, from an agency at the proposed destination. Thus a family welfare society or a travelers' aid would inquire of a like society. Thus may information be had to insure the wisdom of the proposed sending, and objections may be weighed beforehand if good objections should be reported. Also, if the person is sent, an agency in the proposed destination knows of his arrival there. Finally, you agree to make provision for the applicant through to the destination which is determined. There is no more passing on. Such are the rules, conditions of combined real sympathy and good sense.

But there is agreement also to abide by the interpretation of the rules as set forth by the Committee on Transportation. Those interpretations, in the new 1925 leaflet, are in eleven paragraphs. Several are decisions of the committee itself. Most of them are in decisions made by a subcommittee which considers matters of complaint between two signing agencies arising out of actual transportation. Those interpretations which are of sufficient importance to be noted here fall under the following few heads. First, of fundamental significance to public agencies, is that such agencies are not obligated by the rules in any particulars when those conflict with settlement laws of their states. Next, the rules apply to any expression of help to transportation. It may be gasoline for an automobile, or merely advice. If one agency plainly understands from another of a proposed transportation which seems plainly in violation of the rules, the first agency becomes a party thereto unless it tries to discourage such transportation. The call in the rules for "adequate and reliable evidence" has resulted in several complaints and illuminating interpretations. Complaint has brought out also that an agency at an intervening place which is used en route and which changes the plans made by the sending agency without explicit approval of that agency, thereby becomes responsible for what may follow. If an agency en route faces new conditions which raise questions as to plans, then that agency should open up the case as if it were a new one. Finally, an agency is to keep a full record of the essential facts on which the furnishing of transportation is based, and

is to give at least a summary of such on request from any signer of the Agreement. These interpretations are points which largely, if not wholly, should "go without saying" in a sympathetic and thoughtful use of the rules.

This new issue of the rules and interpretations contains also several suggestions of procedure and three interesting "Illustrative Decisions" selected from the fourteen cases decided, in about as many years, by the special committee on decisions.

Conditions under which a person may be considered "a proper charge" upon agencies in a place have been considered in several decisions, such as that on the Allen family, one of the three given, to which I shall refer later.

You will notice that appeals to the Transportation Committee are regarded in no way as unfriendly acts between agencies, but as means of obtaining interpretations of the rules. In these simplified rules there is no penalty provided for failure to accept and follow a decision. A suggestion under the head of "Procedure" says that an agency which cannot accept a decision of the special decisions committee shall report its specific reasons to the larger and responsible Committee on Transportation. An agency which so appealed and still disagreed might be dropped from the list of signers. But the spirit of the simplified Agreement, like its letter, is to win support from agencies in a cooperative movement of general helpfulness.

So we reach the essence of the whole matter: that transportation is one form of relief, of helpfulness to persons in need; that persons, if sent anywhere, should be sent to the place where there seems to be the greatest promise of improvement in their condition; and that such a process means the application of what is well known today as good "social case work."

This developing process of good social case work is just one of the many expressions of growth which we see going on in social work. A public officer, such as an overseer of the poor or county agent in sparse communities, may be a storekeeper nine-tenths of his working time and an overseer only one-tenth; but if he is both a kind and a thoughtful man, he should wish, if he has occasion to send off a needy person, to use that form of relief in the most kind and wise way that is possible. Probably many public officials would follow the Agreement if there were a strong national association of public relief officers to encourage its use. Cannot state welfare agencies do more for it? The fact that several important public agencies now sign and use the Agreement shows that there is not in it any general organic obstacle to its use by public officials. And, as we have shown, an interpretation of the rules as part of the Agreement specifically releases public agencies from following it in any particulars when those particulars are in conflict with local legislation.

I have long been sorely troubled by suggestions that public officials must, by the nature of things, be very conventional, mere followers of crystallized customs; and that therefore the public official must wait for private, voluntary work to blaze all the ways. Of course public officials are to observe the laws; but

who can be better leaders for modifying laws bearing on their own duties than thoughtful public welfare officials! I learned a good lesson when taking up work as head of a large city board of charity and correction. When I asked the city solicitor about certain powers under the new city charter, he answered: "What work does your board wish to do? I shall let you do it, if possible." He knew the possibilities of leadership in getting what is earnestly desired in such a field as public welfare when the hearts and heads of a community can be touched.

In conclusion, I would illustrate the essence of the whole matter of transportation by a brief story of the family called Allen, from the first of the three "Illustrative Decisions" printed with the Agreement. Please remember that the rules of the Agreement give a "legal residence" as one condition out of three which may justify transportation. Some states only have poor-law settlements, while all recognize residence. Mr. and Mrs. Allen had lived for forty years in a city called D. They had been assisted by the overseers there during every year but one during a period of ten years. They moved, with six children, without assistance, to S, a city in another state. There they soon had to be helped. A private agency took them up. Fourteen months after arrival there, the agency, having spent over \$100 on them, raised with a like agency in D the question of prospects in D and the propriety of a return there. As to opportunities as between D and S, there was no satisfactory, clear-cut evidence; there were no resources for independence established in D; so the one question remaining was whether this family was a proper charge or had a moral claim on D. The agency in S, seventeen months after the family came there from D, assisted it back to D. The Transportation Committee, appealed to, gave a decision from its subcommittee on decisions that the agency in S had not erred. The committee, reaffirming an earlier decision, held that the meaning of being a "proper charge" should be settled on the basis of evident responsibility for care of a person because of previous dealings with him. We notice that in this case a residence had been lost in D and a new one acquired in S; but the committee held that the Transportation Agreement emphasized the possibility of sending to places where there is not a legal residence.

I wonder what would have happened if a public agency in S had dealt with this family. A person may lose a legal residence, or a poor-law settlement, if such exists, in one place, and may or may not gain it in a place in another state. The place of most promise for a family, or the place where good sense and kindness indicate that it belongs, may or may not be the place of legal residence or settlement. Should not the conditions of most promise be allowed to govern? For to improve the conditions of persons, rather than to win in technicalities as to payment for care, is what we all, public officials or private agencies, should strive to accomplish.

THE NEED FOR A UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAW

*Arthur P. Hasking, M.D., County Adjuster, Hudson County,
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For a long time there has been recognition of the responsibility of a community for the care of its dependents, and also for the temporary care of those in their midst who are transient or recent residents. It was also recognized that this responsibility should be followed by reasonable and proper attempts to remove or aid in the removal of these latter to the place where they really belonged.

Because of this there were evolved legal procedures as to the way in which this was to be accomplished, and to determine when and where the responsibility for care should be placed.

Under the English law this was determined by settlement laws. These were brought to the colonies and served as the foundation for statutes in states and were adopted in principle by states later entering the Union, so that today there is some legislation on this subject in every state. At first there was general uniformity, but later changes have brought considerable conflict in the statutes. In England the problem was generally between counties or towns under a uniform national law, while we have the state as a new unit between divisions of the community and nation, and, under our form of government, the state laws govern the counties composing it, we having no national laws. The states have enacted legislation which has produced, through lack of uniformity, conditions not originally anticipated.

It has been said, under common law, and generally accepted as a principle, I believe, that no one is without legal settlement somewhere, but, principally due to lack of uniformity in our state laws, people are found who have no legal settlement. It is this lack of uniformity in laws and the resulting conditions that should urge us to take some remedial measures.

I wish to urge the great importance of this and, through recognition by this organization and similar bodies interested in social welfare, to bring this subject to the attention of the legislative bodies so that our communities shall not be needlessly burdened by care of the non-settled, yet the non-settled may be humanely cared for, and that their removal may be effected in an orderly manner, so that the interests of all may be properly guarded.

When we consider the large number of non-settled non-residents or alien dependents who receive care in addition to the regular citizens of a community we must realize that it produces a condition of overcrowding or of inadequate care of the real citizens for whom the institutions were primarily built and maintained. In many states, the burden of the alien or non-settled has increased to large proportions and necessity for their removal has become pressing. The great importance of this cannot be denied. It is becoming recognized by the financial department of our states because of the increasing cost of care of de-

pendents. I wish to refer to the able presentation of the facts pertaining to New York, in this regard, by Dr. Spencer L. Dawes, of the Bureau of Deportation, New York State Hospital Commission, before the American Psychiatric Association in 1924, and published in its *Proceedings*.

It is not only the recognized right, but, I believe, the duty, of the community to remove dependents having only transient or temporary claims to its services, but how is this to be brought about, with the many conflicting state statutes and the many agencies of the state charged with this duty? It has been said by some that only federal action, legislation, or constitutional amendment will do this; with this I do not agree. I believe it is a matter that can, and should, be met by the states. To point the way, we have but to consider the automobile; after it came into existence, there came legislative need to govern its use; each state legislated as it saw fit, but these regulatory acts varied, as did local conditions or views, and in consequence, interstate auto travel was handicapped. This resulted in a conference between heads of motor vehicle departments of a few neighboring states, and the working out of a plan for uniformity in the essentials relating to the use of automobiles in states other than those in which they were registered. This, in turn, resulted in state legislation in conformity with the general plan, so that now, I understand, there is approximately a uniform law covering the interstate use of automobiles. All this was brought about by simple conference and agreement. Similarly, there are many laws concerning business relations that have been made practically uniform throughout the states.

If uniformity can be brought about in such matters, how much more proper is it that we should seek uniformity in matters relating to the welfare of unfortunates who, from some physical, mental, or social disability, have become unable to care for themselves? Certainly the humane aspects should be the strongest incentive for prompt movement in this direction. How shall we accomplish this, and what are the important points to be considered?

I believe that prominent organizations like this, the American Psychiatric Association, and the departmental officers of the various states could do this very well, as their recommendations would have great weight with the legislatures.

I feel that we have more uniformity in cases of the insane. Many of the states are in accord in major details for this class of dependents, yet there are many to be improved. In New Jersey, in 1915, a commission was appointed by the legislature of persons officially connected with this work; that commission, as a report, submitted a bill, which was enacted in 1916, dealing only with the insane. Its usefulness was so demonstrated that in 1918 the feeble-minded, epileptic, and tubercular were included within this act. In 1924 the poor laws were revised and the general provisions and scheme of placing responsibility of the general act was incorporated in the poor law, so that we now have in New Jersey one general uniform plan for determining details of support, maintenance, set-

tlement, and removal of all dependents, and all groups, practically, are handled through the same agencies and departments. I believe that in the plan of a uniform law within the state for all classes of dependents we have a basis of effort for uniformity between states. The practical point is that one state agency negotiates for all groups of dependents; the success of the plan in our state, I believe, justifies its principle.

Therefore it might be well if the states made their requirements uniform for all classes of dependents. I do not think many changes will be found to be necessary. Many states are now practically in accord relative to the removal of the insane.

All who have to deal with the removal or care of non-settled realize the great advantage that would result if we were working under a uniform plan for all groups of dependents. While there are details to be considered in making the laws uniform, I offer some of the more important points for your consideration: First, should any distinction be made between a non-settled person who is a citizen of the United States and one who is not? Some states make citizenship necessary for settlements. While this is a debatable point, and I concede that strong arguments can be offered on both sides, still, after considerable thought, I am inclined to take the position that a distinction should be made. Second, a definite and distinct way should be provided in which legal settlement is to be acquired. In most states the requirement is continuous residence for a year. Third, a definite and distinct way should be provided in which legal settlement is to be lost. In many states it is absence for a year; some say "Residence without the state for more than a year"; and some state "Physical absence for over a year." We should have a definite provision covering the ordinary conditions of travel, absence on account of health, business, etc. As many states are making provisions for absentee voting, this also should be considered in this provision as expressing intent of the person to retain settlement. Fourth, I believe time spent in any charitable or correctional institution, public or private hospital, should be deducted. In other words, the settlement of the dependent should be considered as that which existed when he entered. Fifth, definite provision as to the settlement of a wife or minor children should be made. In most states, the settlement of a wife is that of her husband. Under federal laws, the settlement of aliens is a personal one, and not derived or dependent upon relationship. As women have the right to vote, I believe that a wife's settlement could be determined by the place of her choice as indicated by her vote; otherwise it should remain that of her husband. Sixth, a comprehensive definition should be given as to what legal settlement is. Seventh, provision should be made whereby a wife who is institutionalized in a proper state would not be transferred if the husband should later move into another state and then acquire a legal settlement there. The state has power to remove, within the prescribed time, to prevent a dependent from obtaining legal settlement, yet it could not remove the husband for any reason, and later the state may be called upon to receive the

wife, and she would not be deportable. Eighth, special provision having been made for persons in charitable homes or fraternal institutions, whereby a change in either the physical, mental, or financial status renders further care at that place impossible and they become public charges there, how is settlement to be determined? This is important, as a state in which is located an institution of this type would later be penalized by the burden of their cases. One state has a provision that their settlement is to be computed as of the time of their admission, provided they did not vote locally while in the institution. This, I think, is a fair provision. Tenth, terms "resident," "residence," or "residing" should be discarded. These terms have been generally used and variously legislated upon or interpreted by the courts. Let us use the old term "legal settlement," or else a new definite or distinctive one. Eleventh, provision should be made whereby a person, non-settled, may be retained in the state while full board is paid, and, when that stops, the patient should be treated as under the fourth suggestion. In some states the law will not allow a non-resident to be retained in a state institution, irrespective of indigency; of course, this provision would have to be reconsidered if this was to be allowed. Twelfth, some simple method should be provided for appointment of a guardian. Thirteenth, a reciprocal clause, whereby a state concedes to another the same distinctions and classifications as that state accords it, should be provided. This provision could be the first proposed, as many of the states are now nearly uniform in their requirements, and it would provide an incentive to other states to avail themselves of more advantageous disposal of their cases. It would do more, I believe, to expedite the adoption of a law that was uniform in all states than any other provision; here again I want to emphasize the great importance of having one agency in each state authorized to handle all groups of dependents, as in a short time these agencies could probably better bring about uniformity than any other group.

I hope I have made clear the great necessity for uniformity in our removal and settlement laws and offered suggestions as to ways in which it might be done. In closing, I believe the strongest argument is that the retention of the non-settled dependents deprives our citizens of the full facilities of the institutions and agencies provided and maintained for them, and also adds an additional burden on the already overburdened taxpayer.

THE NEED FOR A UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAW

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For almost five hundred years the law of settlement has plagued Western civilization. Its difficulties are as great today as in the days when the first statute was enacted in England nearly half a millennium ago. It still vexed pub-

lic poor relief officials and the executives of private charity organization. What is the history of this perplexing law?

In 1348 the Black Death swept over England and destroyed from a third to a half of the population. Laborers were in great demand, and consequently asked higher prices for their labor. The employing classes, chiefly members of the aristocracy then in charge of Parliament, passed the famous Statute of Laborers to correct this tendency and to keep the wages at the level they had occupied before the Black Death. Laborers who hitherto had been quite fixed to the manor farms began to migrate in search of higher wages. Furthermore, a little later on, the breakdown of the old manorial system of agriculture, due to the inclosures of the common land for sheep raising, added to the restlessness of the population and added an incentive to control the movement of labor. Moreover, an agricultural and industrial revolution occurred at that time. This revolution came about by certain changes, such as the discovery of America and the subsequent bringing in of large quantities of silver; by changes in the population and industry due to the many wars. In consequence large numbers of men left their settled occupations and began to wander about the country, many of them becoming vagabonds and vagrants of a dangerous character. The breakdown of the feudal system, the agricultural aspect of which was that the villeins of the manor were practically freed and placed upon their own resources and responsibilities, resulted in large numbers of people without stable relationships, who hitherto had been taken care of upon the manors by their lords. In these changing situations in a new social and economic world we find the conditions which called out the law of settlement.

This law finds its application to the problem of the dependent when in the sixteenth century, the various communities of England began to take in charge the dependent individual. One of the clauses of the first Statute of Laborers, which was passed in 1349, related that "many strong beggars, as long as they may live by begging, do refuse to labor, giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to thefts and other abominations." The law provided that no person, upon pain of punishment, should, under any color of pity or alms, give anything to such persons, and that no person should presume to favor them in their idleness, so that they might be compelled to labor for their living.¹ This statute was followed by others in 1360 and 1388, both of which endeavored to prevent laborers from traveling about the country. Those who disobeyed were to be branded on the forehead at the discretion of the justice of peace or placed in the public stocks. Impotent beggars, that is, those really unable to work, were made the responsibility of the locality where they were at the passing of the act. So many of these wanderers had drifted to London that that city in 1359 passed a city ordinance ordering them to leave the city at once or be put into the stocks. The first general poor law passed in England in 1536, and the next, the great Law of Elizabeth, in 1601, again tried to place the responsibility for the support

¹ Lee, *Source Book of English History* (New York, 1905), p. 208.

of the needy upon the community in which they dwelt. Here we have laid the foundation of the settlement law.

Gradually provisions which reached clear expression in the reign of Charles II were added to carry out the principle of local responsibility by allowing localities to send back to communities to which they belonged those who had come into their communities and were without residence there. From that first statute to the present day the law of settlement has been negative in its nature, rather than positive and constructive.

Here in the United States the early colonists brought over with them the ideas and institutions with which they were familiar in England. Among them were the established methods of relieving the poor, treating the criminal, caring for the sick and the defective. One of these institutions was the law of settlement. Moreover, certain conditions in the Colonies provided new motives for restricting "inhabitaney." Kelso has pointed out how, in Massachusetts, the law of settlement was partly the result of the desire of the local taxing authorities to be rid of the financial responsibility for the support of dependents, and partly the result of the desire to be rid of those who did not agree with the majority religiously.¹ In the Middle West the settlement law was brought, by way of the Northwest Territory, likewise from the Colonies on the Atlantic coast. The law of settlement, therefore, in this country is in part a survival from the early experiments of England to deal with the problem of migrating people and dependents who were outside the parish of their residence, and partly a device to secure religious uniformity.²

However, this country as well as England has been a great experiment station in social legislation. While practically all the states have accepted the English principle of legal settlement as a basis for poor relief, many of the states have tried modifications of the law which they borrowed, but these modifications have not been uniform, and therefore the law of settlement is not the same in all states. Length of residence necessary to establish a settlement for purposes of relief vary widely, and the other conditions required in some states, such as ownership of a certain amount of property or the payment of a certain rental, are not to be found in the laws of other states. The result is that often neighboring states have settlement laws which are not alike, with the result that a person may lose his settlement in one state and not be able to obtain it in another. The states have agreed only on the negative principle that a dependent must be supported in the place in which he has legal settlement. Furthermore, there is the difficulty that when court procedure must be resorted to in order to settle the question as to which state shall support a dependent, under our constitutional system the process is very difficult. What happens, therefore, is that local authorities frequently send the person on his way out of the community in

¹ Kelso, *The History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620-1929* (Boston, 1922), chap. iii.

² Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1914), chap. vi.

which he has become dependent toward the place in which he is supposed to have lived originally. Thus we have the vicious practice of "passing on." Moreover, the time consumed by the courts in settling disputes with regard to settlements has never been justified by the results. In fact, one of the results of the settlement law has been to promote vagabondage, instead of repressing it. Finally, since the law of settlement is negative and repressive, instead of positive and constructive, it is a question whether it has any place in modern scientific relief.

The difficulties of the law of settlement early became apparent. In a number of states into which immigrants came various devices were tried to prevent the landing of those who were likely to be dependent. When that plan was proved to be ineffective, a number of the Atlantic Coast states passed laws providing for the state care of the alien poor. Perhaps the two best examples of this are New York and Massachusetts. Moreover, the private charity organizations have tended to follow the practice of the public relief authorities. They have found the matter no more satisfactory than the public. For a time they too "passed on" those who were not residents in the community which they served. Finally the evil of this practice was manifest and the Transportation Agreement was drawn up and is signed by the members of the National Association of Family Welfare Societies. The problem of the immigrant who might become dependent became so serious that the federal immigrant laws took cognizance of the matter and passed laws providing that an immigrant, to be admitted, must have a certain amount of money when he lands in the country. These laws still stand. Their ineffectiveness is notorious. Yet they probably have saved the country the support of some dependent foreigners. While a clear case can be made out for the exclusion of those from abroad who may become dependent upon our shores, to apply the same principle as between the states of the Union when no immigration laws affecting the passage of people from one state to another, and no immigration officials to control them exist, presents a much more difficult problem, and one about which there is more serious question.

The iniquity of the law of settlement from the economic point of view was seen by Adam Smith. In the fifth edition of his *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1793, he called attention to the obstruction of the free movement of labor from one part of England to another by that law. He pointed out that this law was peculiar to England, and that it worked the greatest hardship by obstructing the movement of labor to the place where it was required. He says:

To remove a man who has committed no misdemeanor from the parish where he chooses to reside is an evident violation of natural liberty and justice. The common people of England, however, so jealous of their liberty, but, like the common people of most other countries, never rightly understanding wherein it consists, have now for more than a century together suffered themselves to be exposed to this oppression without a remedy.¹

¹ Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Dublin, 1793), Book I, Part II, chap. x, pp. 139-41.

He concludes that the law of settlement ought to be abolished.¹ That particular problem, however, has disappeared, owing to the breakdown of the rigid enforcement of the settlement law. Even Massachusetts soon discovered that it could not enforce a rigid settlement law in the face of the tendency of people to migrate. Hence it soon set up a board to take care of what it called the "alien poor," that is, those who had no settlement in a particular relief unit of the state. It still continues the state care of those who have no legal settlement for relief.

In the face of the difficulty of actually administering a settlement law, then, we have three alternatives that seem to promise a way out of the difficulty. First, such a plan as Massachusetts has, which retains the law of settlement, forcing those localities in which a dependent has a residence to maintain him whether there or elsewhere, and having the state provide for those who have no legal settlement in any local relief unit. The difficulties with this procedure are that if you have a rigid settlement law an increasing number of people become state dependents; that in any case considerable amount of time and expense is involved in securing either the return, or payment of maintenance, of paupers who are outside of the place of their settlement; and that the monetary incentive of local communities to have a pauper or one likely to become a pauper lose his settlement. The second alternative would be to have no requirements as to settlement within local political units, and to have all expenses for the care of the poor in localities paid by the state. There are difficulties in this plan also. Local relief officials will not feel the same responsibility for looking into the circumstances of the applicant for relief if the state pays the bill as if the locality itself carries the burden. Furthermore, someone will still be charged with the responsibility of sending to other states those having their settlements there. It has the advantage of distributing to the taxpayers of the whole state the burden for the care of the dependent, thus relieving to some extent the taxpayers of the locality in which the dependent is found. It obviates, therefore, one of the difficulties in the next plan to be mentioned. A third alternative would be to abolish the settlement law entirely and to have the dependent relieved at the place in which he happens to become dependent. This plan has been objected to on the ground that it would throw an unusual burden upon the centers of population.

But someone will ask, Why should one community, which perhaps attracts the ne'er-do-well and the poverty stricken, be forced to support them when their real residence is in another place? Would it not mean that the centers of population, which draw people to them from all parts of the surrounding country, would become overburdened with dependents? Why should the people of that community be responsible for the care of those who have a legal residence elsewhere? We do not permit persons to exercise the rights of citizenship in a community until, by residence of a certain length of time, they shall have established their unity with that community. Why should we allow people to flock

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 462.

into a city, and, if they become dependent, to force their support upon that community with which they have not been long identified?

The theory of the thing is clear enough. The chief objection to the law of settlement is on the basis of practicability. We have seen that it is difficult to enforce; that it leads to practices which are socially inadvisable, such as "passing on"; and that it does not solve the problem of the person when he is sent away. He may have moved his family and his goods to the locality; he may there have had employment. Moreover, the larger community may have agencies better able to deal with him and reconstruct him than the community from which he came. Yet the law of settlement compels either that he be sent to the community in which he has settlement, or that that community must pay the bills for his care. But suppose he had no settlement. It has been recognized that such case must be cared for by the state, rather than the local political unit. From the earliest days to the present the law has not worked in many cases. Why, therefore, should we not give up the law of settlement entirely, as between the different states, and provide for the care of a dependent in the place where he happens to be? If that were done a positive and constructive, rather than a negative, position would be taken. Each community would take care of those who became dependent within its borders. The community which had constructive methods of poor relief would give its best efforts to the rehabilitation of those who had fallen into need. Those who were the victims of circumstances and desired to make their own way would be helped to do so, while those who were chronically dependent would be cared for by constructive measures that would repress their mendacity.

The incapable as well as the capable drift to the cities. Foreigners, who furnish a larger proportion than their share of paupers, congregate in the cities. However, it has the advantage of simplicity since it throws direct responsibility upon the locality for the dependents that are there, much of which rests there in spite of settlement laws, and it forces localities to use the best methods known to rehabilitate the dependent and to take measures to care, in a proper manner, for those who willingly rely upon the community for support. It forces constructive social work to avoid the evils of indiscriminate relief and pauperizing neglect. Under this plan each community would have only the paupers which it deserves by reason of its treatment of the dependent. Furthermore, since most of the state taxable property is in the cities, the burdens upon the centers of population would not seem so much greater than under the second plan as would at first appear. And again, in the cities is the wealth of the country; they are the centers of industry; they require an increasing number of people from surrounding districts for industrial purposes; there the worker is worn out and becomes finally dependent; there are the slum conditions which produce the vagrant and the ne'er-do-well; and there are the conditions of unemployment which often provide the first steps in the downward career of a respectable person.

Someone may object to this program on the ground that it would be more

difficult to secure than the adoption of the Massachusetts plan. That, however, is a question. Massachusetts and New York have had their plans for many years, and yet not many states have copied them. It would do away with the numerous difficulties now encountered under a settlement law of any sort. It might induce communities to use constructive methods in dealing with the dependent, rather than passing the burden along to someone else. The settlement law has never been an unqualified success; it is not now; and I see no reason to believe that it ever will be. Why not, then, attempt an experiment on a new line?

The discussion of this subject ought not to close without calling attention to the need of information concerning the operation of settlement laws more adequate than we possess at the present time. Curiously, in an age of science we are applying very little of it to the determination of social policies. We are still guessing at the results of the operation of our laws. How much, for example, do we know, on the basis of actual facts, of the difference between the operation of the law of settlement in Massachusetts and the law of settlement in Indiana or Wisconsin? Who has ever made a comparative study of the relative values of the various systems? If we should determine to have all the states adopt uniform settlement laws, what should it be? Would it not be wise, therefore, before we attempt to have enacted a uniform settlement law, to make a comparative study of various laws, and on the basis of the findings of such a study determine what kind of a settlement law should be uniform, or whether there should be one at all? It seems to me that the indication of the present situation is that we should have the facts of the matter before we proceed farther. For over half a century this matter has been discussed at this Conference without very much attention being paid to the results of the various systems. Is it not time that someone should interest himself in finding out the facts with respect to the results of our settlement laws? In this field, as in all other fields of social policy, the need of the hour is research. Experiments we have, but no one has collated and compared the results of the various experiments. What would you think of a scientist who was working on a problem by different methods and did not compare their results? Is it not high time that we apply scientific methods to the determination of social policies?

THE IOWA PLAN OF COOPERATION IN COUNTY WELFARE WORK

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Iowa has perhaps the most informal plan of all the states in county welfare work. Mr. O. E. Klingaman, the first director of the Extension Division of the State University, created it in 1912. Ever since then the Extension Division of the University of Iowa has placed a social case worker at the service of the peo-

ple of the state to help them realize that social problems abound in their midst, and to help them launch and maintain programs, not alone of cure and prevention, but also visioning and approaching the maximum development of human capacity and talent wherever they exist. It is difficult to outline the Iowa plan, which perhaps should not be called a plan at all; that word implies uniformity, while in Iowa no two counties have identical organizations; within certain limits, however, there are outstanding similarities.

Briefly, the plan provides a case work program which unites the administration of public outdoor relief and relief from private sources under the direction of a trained case worker. Fourteen counties now function under it. A fifteenth employs a case worker to administer outdoor relief in a city of sixty thousand. The organizations are usually named social service leagues. The original plan limited the jurisdiction to the county seat or to the largest town in the county, if that was where the work started. Some of the older leagues still function in this limited jurisdiction, but those launched more recently extend their service county-wide. We favor the latter plan. Experience daily confirms our conviction that social problems flourish on neglect in small communities and in the country. They become feeders to city problems, yet remain just out of reach of the agencies functioning there.

Right here we pause long enough to raise a question. Until the draft we concluded that country people had fewer physical defects per capita than city folk. Draft figures disillusioned us. The majority of people seem to accept the conclusion that social problems have their largest quotas in cities. Would figures bear out this conclusion, or are we headed for another fundamental correction? In Iowa we have but one city exceeding 100,000 in population, while seventy-three of our ninety-nine counties have populations less than 25,000 each. Yet the report of the state auditor shows an investment in county farms exceeding \$8,000,000, an expenditure of approximately \$1,000,000 a year for maintenance of these, and an additional \$2,000,000 spent annually from county treasuries for public outdoor relief. In addition, the state maintains eighteen institutions for the care of dependents, defectives, and delinquents. We know no way of estimating the sums contributed from private sources for relief and social service. The figures just quoted are either an index to widespread social problems in small communities and in the country, or they mean an outrageous outpouring of the taxpayers' money. Is it not logical, in the face of them, to pause and probe more deeply for the sources and habitats of social maladjustment, and to urge that the most skilful of the social case workers be drawn into the country?

Under the Iowa plan a local governing board of fifteen to thirty people is created, which includes as ex-officio members the county supervisors, three to seven men, and certain other officials, such as the county superintendent of schools and the resident judge of the district court. Each board includes also a number of individuals representing private organizations, like the local Farm Bureau, the county Federation of Woman's Clubs, the Red Cross, the W.C.T.U.,

the Ministerial Association, community clubs, and service clubs. On each board are some elected members. The present tendency is to increase this group and decrease the number representing other organizations. The governing board employs as its executive a trained case worker who becomes the agent of the county board of supervisors in administering outdoor relief, as well as the executive of the larger board. Her salary and the other administrative expenses, which include a car and its upkeep, and stenographic service, are shared by the county and the Social Service League. The division of administrative expense varies from county to county. One county pays the entire salary of the executive, while another pays only \$100 a year toward it. Relief for families in temporary straits, for those not eligible for public aid, and for those whose needs require more than the statute permits is also met by the league and by special funds raised by case work methods.

Iowa statutes governing outdoor relief were passed a half-century ago, and, barring mothers' pension legislation, no vital changes have been made in them since. They make township trustees responsible for the relief "of such poor persons . . . as should not in their judgment be sent to the county home." But the phrase "subject to general rules that may be adopted by the board of supervisors" furnishes the legal loophole under which leagues have been operating. The state conference recognizes the weakness of the statute and expects to strengthen it. But, guarding against conflicting with the legislative opportunity of the Child Welfare Commission, the conference withdrew temporarily from the legislative stage. The Commission, too, recognized the need and framed a bill to meet it, but the bill was not reached when the last legislature adjourned. That fact did not concern us vitally because never had any of the leagues been challenged. But 1926 threw a bomb into our camp from the office of the Attorney General. One of our most progressive counties launched a temporary league in 1925. The county supervisors voted to consider the first year's work an experiment. If they approved the work, then they would pronounce their league a permanent organization. They watched, and pronounced the program good, and prepared to change its status from a temporary to a permanent one. They scanned the code with increasing amazement, for they found there no statute which satisfied them that they had legal authority for doing the thing which they had already been doing for a year. They were not satisfied with the legal loophole, or with the fact that the state checkers had passed their former expenditures under the plan. They went to Des Moines and consulted the Attorney General. He was not reassuring. He refused their request for his written authority to proceed, but advised them to put in writing the plan which they wished to carry out. He agreed either to indorse or veto it. If he vetoed, he would explain his reasons. The now dazed but intrepid county officials returned to their county and strictly followed instructions. But before their written document reached the office of the Attorney General, his assistant, prompted by the conference at Des Moines, issued a warning which was mailed to every county

auditor in the state. County supervisors were reminded that township trustees, of which there are from forty-five to sixty-nine per county, were the authorized agents of the county in administering outdoor relief outside of cities, and that bills for relief for families living outside of cities must be approved by them. County politicians in many places took up the cry, and the *Verboten* was published broadly through the press. In one county in which local officials had responded with lagging interest when citizens tried to start a league, the report was quickly circulated that the county supervisors had decided to employ a social worker when the Assistant Attorney General's ruling advised them that such action was illegal. Of course their constituents would not wish them to do anything illegal! A surprising number of county boards not noticeably interested formerly were pronounced bitterly disappointed. Some of the conscientious county boards operating under the plan were genuinely alarmed and ran up distress signals to the University. My colleague, Miss Tyler, and I, and our director, Mr. Lauer, thought we had traveled fast before; we never before knew what speed was; we flew from county to county bolstering morale, pointing out fourteen years of precedent, quoting judges and other high authorities. The state checkers from the office of the Auditor of State had our work in the hollow of their hands. If they continued to approve expenditures of leagues as they have done for years, our fourteen years of work were not forfeited. It was worth the price of admission to see Miss Tyler cultivate state checkers. She picked them off on streets and in hotel lobbies the first shot. She must have done some telling work, because two more requests for surveys came immediately, prompted by state checkers. A survey is usually a first step toward the organization of a league, so here was real cheer. Meanwhile, after some weeks of delay, the county board that had so innocently provoked the whirlwind sent the outline of its plan to the Attorney General as directed. He approved each paragraph of it, merely pointing out that certain formalities regarding township trustees must be observed. The fact that these had been overlooked for years in many counties, both with and without social workers, disturbed him not, for he was entirely unconscious of it. Thus, with much extra work on the part of the supporters of the plan, especially on Miss Tyler's part, the crisis passed. But the state conference will lose no time in getting a bill before the legislature which will extend to the country the privileges now limited to cities, namely, a grant of authority to county boards to center administration of outdoor relief over the entire county in one person appointed by the county board of supervisors and responsible to that board.

Aside from providing vast improvement in the treatment of those who apply for relief, the Iowa plan offers trained social service to schools in dealing with problem children. It supplies probation service to courts on request. It amplifies also the work of hospitals, physicians, and public health nurses, and fosters the public health movement. It makes trained leadership available to churches, relief societies, and private individuals. It provides reliable information service

about institutional care and proper procedure for securing it. It supplies a *liaison* service between the State Board for Vocational Training and local people who need its help. It provides a trained local agent for the State Child Welfare Department. In the city such variety of service in one agency is unknown, but in the country we are dependent primarily on the general practitioner in case work. She must supply *liaison* service with the specialist.

The search for objections to the Iowa plan among county officials in counties using it has brought many a thrill. Their quick defense of it is more than heartening. Its strong points which they cite are that it affords better care of families; that frauds are eliminated; that the number of families who apply for aid is reduced; that it costs less. Others of us who have watched it critically believe with the officials that it has everything in its favor compared with the old dole system which it replaces. But we also know that it has flaws. Obviously, the one of which we are now most conscious is its involved and unstable legal status. Furthermore, it is linked with politics and requires statecraft of its workers. While this is not a criticism, it reveals the strain of the work. The executives are overburdened to the point where standards suffer. This is the outstanding criticism. Is it honest to represent that one overburdened case worker can give quality of service to all the disadvantaged families in a county who apply for help within a year? The answer is that it is not, but we do not put it in those words. Boards are told, not that the case worker can carry the load alone, but that she can supply leadership that will make the service of participating groups and individuals more effective. The county worker's biggest responsibility and opportunity is the education of her community to see the value of service and the inadequacy of relief without service. One clever case worker in a county can begin to do this. In proportion as she drives in her wedge of education more deeply will she create appreciation of standards in service and a demand for them. This is the only hope of the Iowa plan. Any implication that a county with one case worker is a finished product is a travesty, and any worker who enters a county without the fundamental idea of leading the people of that county to a vision of adequate service must become an old man of the sea.

Like all educational movements, the Iowa plan progresses slowly. Yet bright spots fleck the dimness. One county had pridefully nurtured a league for one year. Local officials were kept in especially close touch with the work by a clever secretary bound that ultimately they should understand. The township trustees assembled to hear the secretary's report of the first year's work. Among other astonishing items which caught their attention was the fact that in one village of about a hundred families, nine related families were on the county. The township trustees waxed eloquent; discussion was rife; then they solemnly voted to limit the propagation of the unfit! Surely there is small cause for discouragement in the face of a decision like this.

HUMAN RELATIONS IN PUBLIC CHARITY

*Mrs. E. W. Bemis, County Commissioner,
Cook County, Illinois*

We all readily agree that every private charity is based fundamentally and theoretically upon the spirit of human kindness, upon that almost universal urge to pity the under dog, to help the helpless, and to relieve the sufferer. I believe, and I intend to prove to you, that in this respect public charity does not differ greatly from private philanthropy as interpreted under modern enlightenment.

There was a time when the unfortunates in the poor farms were treated with brutality, were made to feel that they were unwelcome burdens. Many years ago, as an associated charities agent, I saw much of public charities. It is a long reach from the despairing unhappiness in the almshouse of that day, when forsaken old souls jostled each other and the weaker fell back in the rush for food, to our present-day infirmaries as represented by those of Cleveland, Philadelphia, or our own Oak Forest of Cook County.

Although only public charity is to be considered here, there is surely no minimizing of the large importance of private charity and of its human relationships. There is great need for both public and private charity. We must never get the idea that public charity can supplant private aid, or vice versa. There should be in every community such cooperation between the agencies of private charity and of public aid that no conflict or overlapping of endeavor should occur. Clear-eyed administrative bodies of both should agree upon the lines of demarcation of fields of endeavor, which should be carefully differentiated.

County takes care from cradle to grave.—Advance in civilization may be measured by the attitude of society toward its weaker members: the child, the dependent, and the delinquent adult. In practically every state in this Union the duty of taking care of this weaker member devolves upon the county or city officials. In fact, it may be interesting to scan some of the duties with which the county official is charged. In Cook County the infant is registered at birth at the county clerk's office, and from that moment he is a participating factor in county government. In infancy the county nurses and doctors may give him aid. If childhood disease comes, the county children's contagious hospital opens its doors. When he reaches school age, if the little fellow violates school and community laws, the juvenile court and home hold him and adjudicate his troubles while it gives social service care to his family. If father dies, the county probate court probates the will. If there is no support, the county mothers' pension gives funds to hold the family together. He matures. He courts his sweetheart as he drives on roads built by the county or in the forest preserve bought and developed by the county. The county clerk grants the marriage license, and marries him, if so requested. He buys a home. The county recorder

files the deed, the county assessors and board of review fix his tax, and he pays at the county treasurer's office. If divorce is his misfortune, he reaches it through the county courts. In sickness, the county hospital is his refuge. If reason totters, for whatever cause, the county psychopathic hospital and the county judge receive and care for him. If poverty overtakes his family, the county agent gives relief; and when old age finds him in want, the county infirmary opens her arms to receive him. If sudden death overtakes him, the county coroner gives final service. Thus, from the cradle to the grave, the county is the governing body closest to the home. She is the mother, whose children turn to her in time of need. It is then plainly the duty of the administrator of public charity or welfare to have the human relation of his task so richly developed that the dependent or erring child will be reclaimed, the sick will be healed, or if incurable, his pathway will be cheered, the psychopathic will be humanely and sympathetically managed, the old will be cared for with homelike gentleness, and the criminal will be reclaimed, if a victim of circumstance, and treated with justice, but nevertheless in such manner as to deter others from following his example, and will be so guarded as to protect the community, whom it is likewise the officials' duty to serve.

Efficiency with humanity.—In exercising this duty the county official must endeavor to get what efficiency is possible consistent with humanity. We are given certain laws under which to operate, and nearly every one of these laws is the result of the theoretical thoughts of far-seeing individuals, which, when drawn and enacted, often lack the practical side of application. The public charity budget must be formed not only with a view to economy, but clearly with a purpose to that efficiency which conserves the comfort, self-respect, and happiness of those under its care. However, for the sake of alleged efficiency, never sacrifice the purposes of charity, for then the same would be but abstract efficiency without practical achievement.

We in Cook County, Illinois, keeping both of those points in view and seeking to coordinate economy with efficiency and humanity, have discovered many things. For instance, we have found that an electric oven fed by our own Oak Forest plant not only pays for itself in full, but yields an excellent product of three thousand loaves of bread a day, of a quality which satisfies our nearly four thousand inmates. Mattress renovators, employed the year around, are not only an economy, but, better still, give wholesome beds and a more comfortable life to our people. Gingham, bought in 1,000-yard lots, but in fifty artistic colors and designs, costs little more than 1,000 yards of dull, drab denim, but when each selects her own, cheer and hope is given to a dull old life where little color existed. An orchestra composed of inmates, under tutelage of regular employees, involves little expenditure, but to every old or crippled man there comes better courage when he plays his favorite instrument, as in better days. Corps of visiting surgeons and doctors and an advisory council save suffering and life; especially in our tuberculosis infirmary a competent corps of doctors has reduced

our deaths 112 in 1925 below 1924, although our number of inmates has increased. None can measure the benefit to be given by the six hundred radio head sets installed in our tuberculosis hospital, the patients thus regaining touch with the world left behind. The great dining room twice a week is turned into a moving picture house; pictures are put on the screen by regular employes, and are combined with vaudeville numbers by visiting artists who rejoice to drive the 20 miles from Chicago to give cheer to an eager audience of twelve hundred old and crippled inmates. A country store in the midst of the wards furnishes extras at absolute cost, and encourages little gifts of money for wholesome purposes by those visiting the patients. All of these various things that I have mentioned have been planned with an idea of bringing real human relation into what otherwise might be an abstract cold relief.

Special cottages for borderline cases.—It is not merely to poor and sick relief that we must give our attention, but among many other duties we are charged with the care of the wards of the juvenile court. In studying these problems we have decided to open at Oak Forest cottages for borderline cases from the children's courts. Behavior problems will be studied, and we hope much help will be rendered thereby, and that the reclaiming of these children to become useful members of society will be accomplished in a healthful atmosphere.

Child placing in homes.—Our budget for the last three years allowed the sum of \$30,000 in 1924, \$90,000 in 1925, and \$150,000 in 1926 for child placing in families, thus lessening the number put in institutions. The rapid increase in appropriations indicates the measure of success that we have obtained from this endeavor. This is done through the juvenile court, working through child placing bureaus of the various religious societies in cooperation with our own agencies, and it is with great satisfaction that the members of the Board of Cook County Commissioners look to the results of this endeavor. A child in a real home means a future sturdy humane citizen.

Politics have no place in administering public charity.—Cooperative effort in the public charities field has been our fortune under the efficient and humanitarian administration of the president of our board. Political differences have no place in the policy of an elected body toward its public charities. To the credit of Cook County, Illinois, be it said that our board, equally divided politically, works as a unit in lifting the standards in institutions. I trust that this is universally true. Right choice of superintendents cannot be overestimated. In my belief it takes consecration to this work to make such an official competent for the task.

Coordination of public welfare bureaus.—With the approval of the Board of Commissioners an act was passed by the Illinois legislature in 1925 providing for a coordinated bureau of public welfare, under which all relief agencies are being consolidated. This consolidation will make for more effective results and more constructive service in human relations to our people. Civil service examinations are now being held to select a director of the new enlarged Social Serv-

ice Bureau, under the supervision of a civic committee including social service and business specialists. One of the big things will be that the relief work of the county agent will be absorbed and carried on under this bureau.

Attitude of citizens.—Of necessity, any local government receives advice, criticism, and sometimes cooperative service from the varied social and philanthropic organizations which are working through civic, church, and other avenues to similar ends of service for the unfortunate and handicapped. It is the duty, as well as the privilege, of every citizen to cooperate with and to improve, where possible, the governmental service. The circle of truth must be complete in all its segments. A large segment of this circle is philanthropic and humanitarian work that must, and should, be done for the unfortunate. Another segment is the classified and tried methods by which this work can be done. Other important segments are the salaries which shall be paid the civil service laws which control appointments and the relationship of this work to our outside organizations. The public official must consider other important segments, such as the laws which govern the transaction of his public duties, the moneys which come to a given department through taxation, and which come from percentage levies dependent upon the amount of taxes paid. He must reckon with budget making, these budgets having time limits and being dependent upon the corporate fund and upon fees received, and he knows that no provision is made for debts incurred by overexpenditures. Bonds must be issued through legal processes, with sinking funds provided by law for payment of the same.

These hard facts, with many others, make important segments of the circle of truth which, in my experience as a public official, are not comprehended by many of our citizens who seek the opening of new departments, enlarged salaries, and other changes of policy. Likewise, too, many of our elected officials have but little knowledge of the foundations of organized charity and the great progress made in the field of specialized education.

It is with earnest mind that I suggest to you, my fellow-officials, and to you, my friends and co-workers who are interested in social welfare and organized charity, that we urge a more careful study on the part of public officials of the organization of social work and charitable institutions. We earnestly ask at the same time that our philanthropic citizens with high purposes for the benefit of mankind make deeper studies into the legal and financial limitations of government service. When this is done and we get fuller cooperative work on the part of the citizens, the public officials, social workers, and charitable organizations, then indeed all fields of social service, including public charity, will see the fruition of endeavor, and we will achieve that goal of human relations which may well be that charity, now translated "love," of which it is said, "Charity vaunteth not itself; charity suffereth long and is kind."

POLITICS IN STATE INSTITUTIONS

A. L. Bowen, *Editorial Writer, "Illinois State Journal," Springfield*

During the last two years scandal in the administration of penal reformatory and charitable institutions has been a continuous sensation. Every section of the country, almost every state, has been involved. Crime in all its ramifications has complicated the management of prisons and the administration of pardon and parole laws. Charitable institutions, especially those dealing with nervous and mental diseases, have disclosed their weaknesses and their lamentable failures whenever the inquiring finger has been pointed at them.

Looking deeper, can it be said that our state hospitals have made progress comparable with that our general hospitals have made? Do they stand in public esteem as high? Have the American people the confidence in these institutions they display daily in their general hospitals? Does the public respect the medical service in our state hospitals as it respects medicine and surgery in private practice and general hospitals? Can it be said that our prisons are doing a better job than they did fifty years ago? Those states that have divested themselves of contract labor were compelled to do so by the effective vote of union labor rather than by any internal initiative. What, may I ask, has been substituted for the contract system? Everywhere we hear the miserable plaint that idleness is the curse of our prisons. Do you really believe that there is genuine reason for general idleness?

With few exceptions, superintendents of charitable, and wardens of penal, institutions are selected on the basis of their political availability. Medical staffs and medical work in these two classes of institutions are stagnant. We rarely hear of anything coming from them that is illuminating or helpful. Institutional atmosphere everywhere is heavy with the negativism that is inseparable from its political inheritance. All the way down through the ranks of our public eleemosynary institutions and service we see the effects of some blighting hand, crushing initiative, deadening ambition, repelling science, discouraging experience and professionalization, encouraging incompetency by doling out as spoils that which should be assigned to students and scientific men.

What is the reason that medical organizations and medical schools have ignored nervous and mental diseases and all the behavioristic problems that have a mental or nervous slant? The state has monopolized the care and treatment of these diseases and has closed its so-called "hospitals" with locked doors and barred windows. It has made prisons of them, not hospitals. Its political frigidness has resisted medical advances. It has frowned upon the presence of medical research within the walls of its institutions. We cannot blame men of medical genius for their distrust of the state and its selfish habits. They refuse to be hampered by the senseless routine and bewildering maze of bureaucracy that encompass state hospital administration, or to be associated with the low ideals and professional lethargy that stand out like the towers and architectural

adornments with which so many of its institutions are burdened. The open-minded scientific viewpoint must be suspicious of the politically sequestered material, so carefully guarded in the jealous interest of machine politics.

The state insists upon monopolizing the care and treatment of these types, but it refuses to accept all the responsibility that is implied. The work that the national mental hygiene society and its few affiliated state societies are trying to do on limited funds, solicited from the public, is work that the state should be doing out of its own revenues. Why should it be insisted that the value of mental hygiene first must be demonstrated to the state by private initiative? I do not believe it. Mental hygiene requires no demonstration. It is inseparable from the functions of the state hospital and is detached only because our politically shaped norms do not care and have not the energy and the vision to change themselves. Every subscriber to the support of mental hygiene knows he is giving his money to a purpose that is not a private welfare service, but distinctly and clearly a state duty which the state cowardly avoids.

How much advance can you measure in our general hospitals for the benefit of the mental patient? How many general hospitals are prepared to care for an emergency mental case? Is it not into the filthy jail that the acute mental sufferer is cast to await the convenience of the court? At a period in his trouble when the most skilful treatment should be given him he is subjected to treatment that can have only the one result of intensifying his distraction and preventing his recovery. No health facility today is so badly needed in the local hospital as a mental ward.

Have we any idea why this defect remains unremedied? Why have not general hospitals and state hospitals cooperated for the benefit of the mental sick? Why do the jail and the cruel practices of our commitment system remain to taunt us as a residual dark age conception? What educational propaganda have our state hospitals conducted among the people to remove from their minds the superstitions that cling to them respecting insanity and all forms of nervous and mental disorders? Several states have made some advance in improving their commitment laws, but at best they are not what a scientific consideration of this subject suggests.

I would not leave the impression that the field has been entirely barren of good fruits. In recent years many outstanding demonstrations have been made here and there, showing conclusively that better conditions are possible than those we endure. Many devoted men and women have expended their energies in discovery and in demonstrations, although the average rate of progress of our eleemosynary service has been shockingly slow and infested with both active and passive obstacles.

Spoils politics has been one almost insurmountable obstruction. It needs no condemnation from me. It is condemned even by those most culpable. There is not a governor in the union today who will not deny that he practices the offense in his administration, and every one of them will join in the popular

denunciation. Yet we have been fifty years trying to extirpate the curse and have not succeeded. In some states the evil is more potent than in others. Some communities have been blessed with a better and nobler conception of the function of the state with respect to these institutions and have made an earnest effort to exile spoils politics from them. There are no words available to my limited tongue properly to describe the loathsomeness of the spoils system when fastened upon the flesh and blood of the helpless insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, the delinquent, defective, or dependent child, the aged poor, or the criminal behind the bars, or the petty offender in the workhouse.

We may denounce spoils politics in hot words year after year and make small gains. It is only a symptom. We may not remedy what is wrong by treating symptoms. Spoils for politicians, jobs for office seekers in payment of electioneering and election expenses, appropriations allowed or withheld as political expediency may dictate—all these may be regarded as the excrescences of ills that are fundamental in our benighted ideas about the purposes of these institutions and the form and character of their administration. We may not rid them of that which we see on the surface so long as they are founded on untenable principles. We shall have spoils politics in all its offensiveness while we continue to hold to our present low ideals and, I may say, superstitions.

What I wish to put across to you this morning is not new. I believe that it was in the thoughts of the fathers who organized the National Conference of Charities more than fifty years ago. It is this: that our eleemosynary service should not be political, but professional and scientific in its organization processes and ideals. Its outlook, its functions, its methods, and its products must be measured in the terms of professionalism and science, never in the terms of political government. We seem to have been satisfied with a political product, the expedient that has removed undesirable elements from our midst, the cheapest and easiest way for putting out of sight and out of mind that which we have not cared to see, consider, or understand. We are beginning to realize that this political expediency is not solving our problem or accomplishing even that which we have wished to have accomplished. Our institutions increase in number and swell in proportions. Long lines of suplicants for beds and care wait at the doors for the dead to give up their cots. Our states are unable or unwilling to face the problems of appropriations and housing to make humane provision for their dependents and sick. Political expediency, always cowardly, quakes in the presence of this inscrutable mystery in human life and abjectly confesses its incapacity, but refuses to relinquish control. We have more beds always occupied in state hospitals than are in all our general hospitals for physical sickness, many of which are not always occupied. Hundreds of millions of dollars are invested in plant and equipment, and tens of millions of dollars are required every year for current expenses. Our political ideal has no program or plan for the future. It is paralyzed, but refuses to concede the truth that it is incapable of the task that lies before it.

The remedies are not in legislative devices such as boards of control, directors of departments, merit systems for the selection of employes, or bipartisan commissions. The remedy is in the professionalization of the service, the infusing into it of the true scientific spirit, and the transformation of it from a political to a professional form. It must become a service detached from all extraneous influences and devoted single-eyed to its scientific problems and possibilities. It must have no other viewpoint than that of science; its material affairs must be placed in the hands of men of experience and vision, free to organize its business life on business principles. To the accomplishment of its purposes and ends the man of science must be called.

The conditions I have described I charge to our misconceptions, to our ignorance, and to our failure to grant the scientific character of the service these institutions must give in order to justify themselves as more than mere places of custody. Credit politics and the political forms that government naturally assumes at their true values; credit them with all that is due them; firm conviction remains that medical, penal, and correctional institutions and all other institutions of the eleemosynary type deal with subjects that are in no wise related to politics and never should be mixed with politics.

These desperate situations I have outlined have not been even approximately approached by politically minded organization or government. Science, untrammelled, soon would adopt those policies and courses that science knows will furnish relief. Science would not stand long without the cooperation of the state hospitals and the general hospitals. Not long would it tolerate archaic commitment laws. Preventive medicine soon would be ordered to the attack. The methods of intelligent assault upon physical disease would be harnessed to oppose nervous and mental diseases, and many of our complex phases of behavior and conduct. As long as our institutions are political rather than scientific in character our insane and feeble-minded will be committed by processes that simulate criminal proceedings; as long will these laws be absurd, brutal, wasteful, and a reflection upon our vaunted intelligence and humane instincts; nor shall we have an effective worth-while mental hygiene program.

There is no sympathy between the political form of government and the ways of science, no common ground on which both can stand and work; we may not hope to develop such neutrality. The two are as far apart as the poles of the earth. They do not understand each other; it is hopeless to expect that they ever will. We may have our welfare institutions, our charities, and prisons, and reformatories, our correctional schools, our juvenile courts, as political adjuncts, parts of a political system of government, or we may have them as centers of scientific work and research for the benefit, happiness, and improvement of the race. The power and the influence of this humane and powerful national organization should be directed and exerted toward a revolution in this realm.

STANDARDIZATION OF SOCIAL STATISTICS

*Emil Frankel, Statistician, Pennsylvania Department of
Welfare, Harrisburg*

Seeing our social problems whole.—We are bent on “seeing social work whole,” and we are setting to work with a will to collect the necessary data. I am one of those undaunted persons who wants to cast his glance even farther, desirous of “seeing our social problems whole,” and one who has the utmost confidence that the necessary instruments can be devised.

The desire to have a composite picture of our various social problems seems to me a very natural one. Our efforts in social amelioration and reconstruction are multitudinous. We are ever introducing new social work methods designed to correct and prevent social disorders. The vast number of institutions and agencies doing social work are keeping records of some sort concerning their clients and their experiences.

It is my ardent hope to have this enormous amount of social data so welded together as to show us graphically the experience of whole communities, states, and the entire nation, with social disorders and the factors affecting them; to give us a picture of the direction our social forces are taking and to show us the rate of progress, either current or over a period of time, toward the attainment of our objectives in social improvement through our manifold social efforts.

National social statistics service.—As I see it, a coordinated national social statistical service would have four important functions: first, to present a picture of the sum total of our social efforts as expressed through all public and private social work institutions and agencies; second, to enable us to observe the prevailing extent of social maladjustments and current changes; third, to furnish us statistical gauges to determine the effectiveness of our varied efforts at social amelioration and of our attempts at the prevention of conditions causing social disorders; fourth, to give us “social indicators” through which approaching social maladjustments and society at large can be predicted with a fair degree of accuracy.

Business statistics precedents.—For the establishment of such social indexes the social statistician might well take a leaf out of the statistics serving the business world.

In the *Survey of Current Business*, issued monthly, the United States Department of Commerce brings together data from a great many governmental departments, trade associations, and hundreds of technical journals. Relative numbers are published to facilitate comparison between different commodities or industries, and render the trend of a movement more apparent; index numbers are furnished combining many relative numbers designed to show the trend of an entire group of industries or for the country as a whole. Innumerable charts and other graphic presentations give a vivid and easily grasped picture of current business movements and trend in production, prices, trade, etc. in

various groups of industry and commerce. Weekly advance leaflets are published because it is realized "that current statistics are highly perishable, and to be of use they must reach the business man at the earliest possible moment."

Need for institutional statistical standardization.—Now the premises for a similar service to the social sciences are standardized and uniform statistics (and the next remark I venture even if accused of triteness), so that we have definite assurance that we are comparing the comparable. I need hardly point out that in any program of statistical coordination of social data the statistics of institutions will naturally play a very important rôle. However, the standardization of institutional statistics is imperative, not alone for building social indexes, but for its own purposes. We should be able to compare similar institutions within the state with like institutions in other states; we should have data covering the whole institutional population of one state definitely comparable with other states. In my opinion, complete standardization of institutional statistics should not prove insuperable. Generally speaking, we are dealing with fairly well defined groups of human beings presenting similar problems. In our inquiring minds there is ever present the desire to record facts and observations, and to compare and evaluate them.

History of statistical standardization.—Permit me to digress at this point to say that the movement toward standardization of institutional statistics is not a latter-day phenomenon. The first conference of boards of public charities, held in 1874, expressed itself strongly in favor of "uniformity of statistical reports," and thought that the reports of the various state authorities should be designed "so as to present an aggregate by means of which the condition of one state can be closely compared with that of another." The schedules of inquiry then suggested presented the groundwork for a very thorough and comprehensive study of the extent and cost of dependency, delinquency, and mental defect; to secure data from all private and public institutions and agencies dealing with these classes with the aim of delving into the circumstances surrounding the conditions giving rise to social disorders then presenting themselves. Thus the social statistician of today is bound to pay his respects to those of yesterday, for it is apparent that the earnestness, scientific thoroughness, and unprejudiced attitude with which they approached their problems are hardly surpassed today. It looks as if all our pride in the modernity of our present-day approach is not quite justified, for the only difference I can see as between the methods then proposed and the ones of today is that we have substituted the word "standardization" for their "uniformity."

Present status of statistical standardization of social statistics.—While the rate of statistical standardization has not been moving any too fast, I am happy to report that substantial progress has been made in the last fifty years, and especially the efforts of the last few years have laid a firm foundation upon which to build in the future. I should like to present to you very briefly the status of statistical standardization in a few of the more important social work fields.

Mental hygiene.—The joint efforts of the American Psychiatric Association and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene have resulted in a complete system of uniform classification of mental diseases and a system of statistics for hospitals for mental diseases. Eighteen standard tabular forms, a series of schedule cards, and a statistical manual have furnished the foundation. Of 163 state hospitals for mental diseases, all but twenty are using the standard classification and uniform statistical system. The forthcoming report of the United States Census on patients in hospitals for mental disease is based on the standardized system and covers "a wider scope than those of any previous census of institutions for mental disease."

The American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, working jointly, have inaugurated a complete statistical system designed to furnish important general information concerning the operations of institutions for the feeble-minded and adequate data concerning the patients. This system includes statistical cards, standardized tabulation tables, and a statistical manual. This statistical system has been adopted by forty-two out of fifty-eight state institutions for the feeble-minded.

A standard scheme of records and statistics in institutions for epileptics is being prepared by the National Association for the Study of Epilepsy.

The cooperative efforts of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the federal authorities at statistical standardization regarding the mentally diseased, the feeble-minded, and epileptics have borne fruits, as is evidenced by the testimony of the Director of the Census: "In the final reports the statistics will be analyzed with greater certainty and detail than was possible at any preceding census."

Child care.—The Child Welfare League of America has been instrumental in bringing together a group of people representing different child caring agencies who recognize the need of uniformity in terminology and reporting. In cooperation with a committee of the American Statistical Association, forms for uniform population reporting have been worked out. An account book permitting analysis of financial expenditures in a way which will bear some relation to the functions of the agencies has been set up. A set of record forms devised by the Child Welfare League will form the basis for the statistical reporting system. The report on inmates of child caring institutions to be issued by the United States Census is based upon this standard statistical system.

Corrections.—The Committee on Criminal Records and Statistics of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology (through Professor Sam B. Warner and Commissioner Sanford Bates) has devised a complete statistical system concerning adult male criminals in reformatories, penitentiaries, and state prisons. This statistical reporting system has been adopted by a great many of our state penal institutions.

The National Probation Association, through a committee of leading probation officers and statisticians, has prepared a system of case records for ju-

venile delinquents. Some fifteen courts have adopted the blanks to be used exclusively for their case records, and a number of courts are trying them out with that object in view. The committee is now at work upon a series of adult probation blanks.

Study of volume and cost of social work.—The American Association for Community Organization, including in its membership 150 councils of social agencies, welfare federations, and community funds, is making an experiment in statistical standardization through its study of volume and cost of social work in which thirty of the larger American cities are cooperating.

Family case work.—The Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation has devised a standard statistical reporting scheme for family case work agencies. Forty agencies in various parts of the United States are now regularly reporting each month.

The outlook for further standardization in social statistics.—Our experience thus shows that a great deal of what has been achieved in standardization of social statistics is due to the voluntary efforts of private national organizations. These organizations have come to realize, however, that the statistical services they are rendering could be made immeasurably more effective by having the United States Census act as a central statistical agency for social statistics, and thus render the social sciences the same statistical service it does to business.

I am able to record with pleasure that the United States Census Bureau is beginning to recognize the claim of the social statistician, and through its good offices the movement toward the nation-wide standardization of institutional statistics will be greatly furthered, and with it the foundation laid, I believe, for the establishment of current social indexes on a national scale.

At a recent conference called by the Director of the Census at the request of Secretary Hoover, the methods of securing more frequent compilation of data than is now available concerning our defective, dependent, and delinquent classes were discussed. The plan for the present is to collect annual statistics as a cooperative enterprise between state bureaus and the federal census bureau, the census bureau to act as the central compilation and publication office.

The movement toward the standardization of social statistics (covering both public and private institutions and agencies) and the inauguration of social indexes will receive further impetus through the establishment of a statistical division in the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania in conjunction with the Commonwealth Fund of New York. This division has set for itself the task of making a thorough survey of the entire field of social statistics and the inauguration of methods of coordination.

Program of standardization of social statistics.—This discussion would not be complete, I feel, unless I presented a definite program for the standardization of social statistics. While my desire is strong to make it a comprehensive one, the time at my disposal will not permit me more than to sketch it. First, let us advocate as strongly as we can what the various governmental authorities ac-

cord the same recognition to social statistics that they give to business statistics, pointing out at the same time that our general social progress, as well as our business progress, depends to a very large extent on how clear an understanding we have of our social disorders and the forces needed to check them. Second, let us have a well-understood philosophy underlying our efforts at social reconstruction; let us clearly define our sociological objectives, and create the statistical instruments to chart the course as well as measure the effects of our social endeavors. Third, let the private national organizations in cooperation with state and national government authorities devise complete standardized statistical systems which will contain the minimum amount of social data required for comprehensive understanding of the problem involved, make provision for such additional inquiries as seem to be required by a particular institution or state, keeping always in mind that the data to be obtained should be in such form as will permit its ready correlation with data in related fields of social endeavors. Fourth, let the large national organizations continue and increase their efforts to have an ever larger number of institutions and agencies adopt the standard statistical reporting system, with the ultimate aim of including all the institutions and agencies in the field. Fifth, let the United States Census Bureau create a division of social statistics, to act as the statistical planning board and be the national clearing house, coordinating all our efforts in gathering and issuing social statistics.

PROPOSED MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE CARE OF THE AGED IN MASSACHUSETTS

*Richard K. Conant, Massachusetts Commissioner of Public
Welfare, Boston*

A Commission on Old Age Pensions has for two years been studying our system of caring for the aged in Massachusetts. Its report is a most valuable statistical study and shows a widespread lack of means in old age, emphasizing the sinister dread of poverty which is experienced by many good people. The commission disagreed as to the remedy and reported a majority bill and a minority bill, neither of which, in my opinion, would accomplish much toward preventing poverty or toward removing the dread of poverty in old age. The pension bill proposed by the majority, giving a dollar a day to those who have incomes less than that amount and who have not children able to support them, is really not a pension. It is relief for the poor. Poverty must be shown in order to secure it. It is hedged around with an investigation of need, and it is reduced by the ability of children to support. It is really poor relief under another name. In Massachusetts a real pension for all citizens over sixty-five, even if it were only a dollar a day, would amount to \$60,000,000 a year. No state could afford a real old age pension under our present scheme of government.

Nor does the bill proposed by the minority of the commission, modeled on

our mothers' aid law, do much to prevent poverty or to relieve the dread of poverty. The minority bill attempts to increase the amount of aid which is being given to those who already have become dependent. The inadequacy of poor relief in Massachusetts in 1913 was sufficient justification for the state setting up a system of mothers' aid with state supervision of the local city or town overseers and a state subsidy. The report gives no evidence of any such inadequacy at the present time in the care of the aged. The effect of the mothers' aid law has been to increase the standards of adequacy in all poor relief, so that now the care which is given to aged persons in Massachusetts is reasonably adequate and is constantly being made more and more adequate. The commission's report discloses no great evil in this respect. People are not going to dread poverty in old age any less if the overseers of the poor give more aid to the people who have become dependent. The bill might add a thousand to the 3,791 persons who are at present in receipt of public relief. To add a thousand people to the overseers' lists will not improve the condition nor the state of mind of the 18,000 people whom the report shows to have yearly incomes of less than \$300 and who cannot adequately be supported by their children. The minority bill attempts to do away with the pauperizing, as it says, of persons over seventy years of age. How about those between sixty and seventy, and those between fifty and sixty? Is there any use in beginning to do away with pauperization at the age of seventy? Will you pauperize a man up to the age of seventy and then expect to depauperize him? The minority bill says that persons over seventy shall not be sent to almshouses. Will you send them to almshouses up to the time they are seventy and then take them out at the age of seventy? The minority bill attempts to give suitable and dignified care to a person when he gets to be seventy. Why wait until a person is seventy before giving him suitable and dignified care?

The remedy for the real evil which the commission's report shows (such extreme dread of poverty as still remains) is, I believe, to be found in a continuance of our progress in making relief both sufficient and humane. We must entirely abolish the old idea, already largely abolished, of treating a dependent person as a pauper. The old practice, the old words, the old attitude, all constitute the evil which modern measures try to abolish. For the last six years I have stricken the word "pauper" from every one of our hundreds of departmental forms which has come up for reprinting. We need an amendment to our statutes which will entirely eliminate the word "pauper." It is an obsolete word except in the law.

The majority bill would set up a new system of district boards in place of local overseers of the poor. I do not believe that we need such a system in Massachusetts. Two years ago several boards of overseers desired to change their names and I suggested that a permissive law be enacted allowing any city or town to change the name to "board of public welfare." Nineteen cities and eleven towns have now changed the name. Each one which has tried the new

name likes it better than the old one. With the reforms of the last fifteen years a new attitude has almost entirely replaced the old attitude, and the change of name expresses and registers the change in attitude. We need an amendment to our law requiring all cities and towns to change to the new name.

We need also to change the word "almshouse" to "hospital." Our almshouses today are used almost wholly for sick persons. We do, in most cases, just what the minority bill, in section 2, would have us do: "Give aid in the home or at some other suitable place, and not in an almshouse unless the person is ill." The institutions have ceased to be houses for almsgiving. They have become hospitals for persons too sick to take care of themselves outside an institution. Several of these institutions are already called hospitals. For instance, in Lowell the almshouse is called the Chelmsford Street Hospital; in Boston, the Long Island Hospital; and in Lawrence, the Lawrence General Hospital. In the almshouses today there are 188 nurses and approximately 866 beds, which are known as hospital beds. Today nearly all the patients in the almshouses are within the category of hospital patients. The change in name would not immediately demand any change in the institution equipment or structure, but it would help in the constant progress which we are making toward getting better hospital care in the almshouses. This year, for example, Mr. Francis Bardwell, our expert on the care of the aged, has induced four cities to make considerable changes in their almshouses to make them hospitals for chronic care. These changes would be more than verbal changes in effect. They would, I believe, greatly influence the attitude of all who deal with poor persons and the attitude of the whole community, so that substantial progress would be made in wiping out the dread of poverty.

I have one more change to recommend: a substantive change to prevent poverty, to help those who are on the way down to poverty. I would add to our present law, which provides that towns shall relieve persons in distress, a new provision that they may in their discretion aid a needy person even when he owns property. That is our policy under our mothers' aid law. The fact that the person aided owns the equity in her small home or has a small amount of cash (up to \$200 under our rule) does not bar the aid. It is not necessary to wait until the wolf crosses the threshold. It is better to meet him outside the door. The minority bill of the old age pension commission would, I suppose, allow this in the case of persons over seventy years of age. The proper time to give aid in the prevention of destitution is not at the age of seventy, but long before the age of seventy.

If we could make these four changes in the statutes: strike out the word "pauper," change the name "overseers of the poor" to "board of public welfare," change the word "almshouse" to "hospital," and give aid to needy persons even though they have some property, I believe that we would have done something toward preventing poverty, and that we would be doing a great deal toward eliminating the unnecessary dread of poverty.

X. THE IMMIGRANT

FEDERAL IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

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Immigration legislation.—Early legislation related principally to immigration statistics, of which there is some record as far back as 1820. Restrictive measures did not begin to appear upon the statute books in a material way until about 1891, and it was not until then that persons suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease were debarred from the United States. Feeble-minded persons, epileptics, and persons afflicted with tuberculosis were not excluded by legislation until 1907; Chinese laborers were first excluded in 1882; other Asiatics were not embraced within the excluded classes until 1917; and the Japanese, by the aid of the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement," were able to resist exclusion by statute until the passage of the immigration act of 1924.

In all earlier legislation the principle was that any might enter whom the government did not specifically debar, and the burden was not fully and finally placed upon the immigrant to show his mental, moral, and physical fitness to enter until the passage of the last-named act, barely two years ago. You are all familiar with the tidal waves of immigration, how they rose and fell at various times during the past century, in a remarkably close parallel to the respective tides of prosperity and depression. You are also aware that the earlier immigration, as well as the colonial population, came from the north and west of Europe; that the heavy influx of immigrants from Russia and Central and Southern Europe did not set in until the late nineties; that approximately a quarter of a million people each from the countries of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy arrived in the high tides of 1907 and 1913; and that the immigration from all of these countries was stopped during the war period. Subsequent to the war there was a great rush to get away from the debt-ridden, unstabilized, and disorganized countries of Europe, as well as the British Isles; and with some five millions of unemployed in the United States, Congress turned its attention to the problem of the restricting of immigration. Thus was enacted in May, 1921, the so-called "quota law," limiting immigration from the various countries to 3 per cent of the nationals of such countries within the United States in 1910, according to the census for that year. The law was enacted hastily, and there resulted much confusion and opportunity for an unprecedented and undreamed of exploitation of immigrants. Steamship lines brought to our ports

thousands in excess of the quotas, and, by racing to port and jockeying to position to cross the deadlines on the stroke of twelve at the beginning of a new month, would flood the immigrant stations with hordes of inadmissible aliens. While this law materially reduced immigration and served the purpose for the time being, as illustrated by the boy in the story who held his finger in the hole in the dyke wall, it led to further study by Congress, and the enactment, on May 26, 1924, of the act reducing the respective quotas to 2 per cent of the nationals of each country according to the 1890 census, which effected a reduction in the number of immigrants admitted from about 706,000, in 1924, to approximately 294,000, in 1925 (i.e., for the fiscal year ending June 30).

One of the serious problems which confronts our country today is that pertaining to the smuggling of aliens into the United States. This is accomplished in many ways. Aliens who have been members of the crews of vessels often leave their ships as deserters, and at times with the collusion of officers; others have gone to Cuba and entered along the coasts of Florida from fishing smacks or other small vessels; many have gained entry over the land boundary between Mexico and the United States; while others, in very large numbers, have crossed the border from Canada. As we at Cleveland are located more nearly to the places of seemingly greatest vulnerability, that is, the Niagara frontier and the Detroit and St. Clair River regions, it is obvious that the greater number of smuggled aliens with whom we have dealt personally have been those who came through the latter avenues of entry. Others, especially if they speak English, succeed in passing the border officers by claiming to be persons coming for a brief visit, but, once on the Yankee side of the line, make straight for some industrial center and remain there until uprooted by the toe of Uncle Sam's boot, and then place every possible obstacle in the way of a speedy removal from the United States by such means as the destruction of their passports or evidences of nationality and the giving of unreliable data as to their identity. Strange to say, aliens who gain entry illegally are nearly always found at work, and very often they enlist the sympathy and assistance of their American employers to avoid deportation, although native and naturalized citizens and aliens legally within the United States may be found unemployed in the same community.

While it may be found expedient to extend some consideration in the way of legalizing the entries of persons who came into the country in a bona fide way, but without inspection, prior to the establishment of the present requirements, it is inconceivable that the bars should be thrown down to the thousands who have entered surreptitiously, or by means of one subterfuge or another, and now seek to remain and become members of our great population. The alien who came to our borders with a lie in his mouth, or who sneaked by the outposts set for the protection of our citizens, has no place with us, and the sooner he departs the better for all concerned.

Some acute social problems.—During the years of my service many of the present laws dealing with social vices have been placed upon the statute books.

Among these is the Immigration Act of March 26, 1910, dealing with the procurement, importation, and harboring of alien women and girls for the purpose of prostitution and other immoral purposes, and providing heavy fines and imprisonment for such offenses on the part of persons violating the criminal phases of this act, and for the deportation of alien prostitutes, procurers, employees of houses of prostitution, and others receiving, sharing in, and deriving benefit from the business of prostitution. Shortly after the passage of this law there was enacted also the White Slave Traffic Act, more popularly known as the Mann Act, which afforded penalties for the trafficking in girls and women and their transportation in interstate or foreign commerce for the purposes of prostitution, debauchery, and other like acts. The Act of March 26, 1910, is now embodied in Section IV of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. The enforcement of these laws certainly had much to do with the disappearance from most of our great cities and smaller municipalities of the horrible and nauseating places known as houses of ill fame which flourished in segregated districts. Into such places formerly poured thousands of girls and young women who not only preyed upon the folly of manhood, but who themselves were the slaves and victims of the most despised human vulture—the procurer, or pimp, often the forerunner of a moral fiber so coarse and a character so base as to be utterly incomprehensible in the thought of the respectable American citizen.

In my own experience with this type, we have dealt with men who transported their own wives and other near kin to a far-off country and sold them into a most horrible bondage, and when brought to account in the process of deportation, sought to cringe behind the blind of the modest occupation of baker. Another, a ladies' tailor, who kept what appeared to be a very respectable shop in a select neighborhood, was found to have transported his wife to Cuba for immoral purposes, and when confronted became incensed at his questioners for so much as intimating anything against his character, yet his whole history later was revealed from our chance finding, on the bottom of an old trunk in his basement, of a certain number which proved to be a United States Customs label number, and led to an amazing revelation of years of procurement and the placing of girls in houses of ill fame in many cities, almost from coast to coast.

Immorality and social disease are constantly linked together in the types of cases dealt with, and these, coupled with cases in which aliens are found to be afflicted with insanity, feeble-mindedness, idiocy, imbecility, tuberculosis, and even leprosy, come frequently to our attention. The individual cases are often sad and pitiable, and I hope I may be pardoned in saying that it required a resolute heart to go forward and attend to the business of one's country when confronted with such matters as the serious syphilitic infection of a sixteen-year-old girl-wife, or a poor tuberculous patient with a homing instinct that causes him often to desire to return to his native land to await his end, or the raving mind-sick person who often is afflicted with a condition known as nostalgia, or homesickness, or a poor woe-begone Chinese leper who, from sights familiar

in his own country, possesses a mind-picture of his later days which we Occidentals fortunately cannot see.

These are difficult matters and often subject the field official to criticism for harshness, yet it is the constant endeavor of those who must deal with these unfortunates to exercise patience and humane consideration. A short while ago a young man who had been afflicted with a mental disturbance was subjected to deportation proceedings. His well-to-do relative at first demurred against what he then felt would be an awful hardship upon the young man, but after consulting with the physicians at the institution, lent his support to the deportation proceeding. Recently this man told me he himself had visited the home of the boy in Europe subsequent to the deportation, and it was a matter of personal relief and satisfaction to hear this man tell how well the insane boy was cared for on the long journey both by sea and land and delivered at his mother's door, to be received in the old home and nursed back to a reasonable state of health in the surroundings of his childhood, where, with the aid of a horse and wagon provided for him by his American uncle, he might live an outdoor life and become useful, rather than sit day by day in one of our overcrowded institutions for the insane. Instances of this character might be multiplied.

The anarchistic classes.—In several enactments and re-enactments of the immigration laws there have been provisions to exclude and to deport persons of the anarchistic classes. Due to conditions developing during the period of the war, the laws with regard to these classes were tightened up so that today they may be said to cover numerous phases and tend to strike against those who would overthrow our government by force or violence. The deportations of such persons as Emma Goldman and her associate, Alexander Berkman, and scores of others in recent years, together with the extensive operations against anarchists, communists, and bolshevists within the past few years are well known to you. You will recall the scattering of anarchistic propaganda, but the extensive development of such organizations as the Communist party of America, the membership of which was largely alien, was aborted by the prospect of the deportation of the participants to the very countries from which they were deriving their principal inspiration in anarchy—in other words, with deportation facing them, the anarchistic doctrines would be equally unpopular with them as with us if they were obliged to go back to the place whence both they and their doctrines had come. Therefore today, aside from the occasional soap-box orator, we hear very little of the glitter of communism, and the virus of this and other types of anarchy is too weak to penetrate the minds and emotions of the peoples of foreign birth who have learned in these later days of the better things to be had under the beneficent influences of American institutions.

Exploitation of immigrants.—Although in this land there is not supposed to be peonage, there occasionally comes to our attention the exploitation of some immigrant, either young or old. Actual cases have been observed where aged

parents have been induced to sell their all and come to the United States to join a son or daughter who, after taking all their money, have turned them out to live with other relatives, or to return to their own country through the merciful aid of the deportation provisions.

Effect of Immigration Act of 1924.—The principal differences between the Immigration Act of 1924 (which in itself is in addition to the general Act of February 5, 1917) and the earlier quota law are: first, to change the method of counting the various quotas, from the admission of the immigrant to the issuance to him, by an American consul abroad of a document known in the law as an immigration visa; and second, to provide for an initial inspection of the immigrant in his own country, or such other foreign country where he may be, by having him appear and make due application before an American consul. The benefits accruing to an immigrant under the latter plan are many, and incidentally the "sob" is taken from such immigrant stations as Ellis Island. In the first place the consul has authority to refuse a visa to any alien whom he knows, or has reason to believe, is inadmissible into the United States. And within this authority lie the fundamentals of what I believe is the coming practice: almost, if not entirely, to complete the examination of all prospective immigrants abroad. By this process the consul is not obliged, as formerly, to affix his visa to the foreign passport of any criminal whom a foreign government might offer the alternative of taking a term in the penitentiary or a passport to the United States of America, or a known anarchist, or a person of immoral character or mental or physical defects. Furthermore, there is opportunity (and it is being tried out in Great Britain and Ireland now, and soon will be established in Germany) to make a practically complete inspection of the immigrant before he leaves his country, this process being worked out with the assent of the foreign governments. Other foreign governments, so far, have not consented to this plan.

Briefly, this plan is one by which an official of the immigration service is assigned to an American consulate as a technical adviser. Also, there is a surgeon of the United States Public Health Service assigned to accord medical examination to the prospective immigrant and, upon the assumption that the consul will issue immigration visas to such immigrants only as pass the examination of the medical and immigration officials, the issuance of visas to unfit persons is reduced to the minimum and the work of inspection at the port of arrival greatly lessened in all cases where the inspection is had in this manner. Thus, without changing the immigration laws themselves or removing the present provisions for the refusal of admission to any who might be detected as not entitled to enter, even though they may have passed examination abroad, the work of inspection is not only simplified and the number of appeals to the Secretary of Labor on the part of excluded aliens greatly reduced, the alien himself is practically assured, before selling his all and leaving his home, that he may enter

the promised land without the hardships of detention or rejection and deportation. With your permission I will quote briefly from a recent statement made by Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor:

Between August 1 and December 1, 513 immigrants arriving at our ports with initialed visas were held for hearings before boards of special inquiry, the great majority of these being cases in which a symbol recommending such action was added by the technical advisers at the issuing consulates. With the exception of 39, all of the 513 thus held were duly admitted by boards of special inquiry.

Of the 39 aliens excluded by the boards of special inquiry at our various ports, 35 appealed to the Secretary of Labor from the excluding decision, as they have a right to do under the law; four refused to appeal, or under the law were not entitled to appeal, and were returned direct from the ports.

Of the 35 who appealed to the Secretary of Labor, 32 were admitted, two were ordered deported, and one case was referred to the Department of State for the adjustment of quota. This means only 6 aliens arriving from Great Britain and the Irish Free State between August first and December first were returned, and indicates that the plan has proved almost 100 per cent perfect (*Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1926).

The exemptions from quota under the 1924 act are few. I shall not discuss them. Opinion seems to be divided, but the pro-restriction sentiment appears to be that to increase the number of exempt classes under the act would have the effect of throwing wide open the gates to hordes of immigrants as alleged relatives, who, in turn, could bring their relatives, and so on.

Some abuses have been observed with regard to the privileges extended by this act. For instance, there is a provision for the issuance, to an alien who has been legally admitted to the United States, of a return permit which entitles the alien to exemption from the quota requirements if he returns within the life of the permit. Although extreme precautions have been taken to prevent frauds, there has been traffic in, and forging and altering of, the permits to such an extent that I should not be surprised to see the privilege withdrawn altogether; another is the practice of persons admitted as visitors to remain indefinitely in violation of their declarations as to temporary visits; and another class that may prove fruitful of difficulty in the future is the student class, or those admitted on non-quota immigration for the sole purpose of attendance at some recognized and approved school or college, but who either do not take up study at all or abandon the student status and become workers. Any exemption seems to offer an opportunity to the unscrupulous to practice subterfuge or indulge in sharp tactics. A female "student" who enters as such and marries an American citizen at once becomes a problem, and yet we have the old adage that "love laughs at locksmiths." It might not be so bad if genuine love were the controlling factor, but one is persuaded to believe that in certain cases the offices of holy matrimony have been invoked to perpetrate an evasion of quota provisions of the law.

In conclusion I desire to say that, irrespective of my official position, my own humble belief is that a rigid restriction of immigration must be continued until there is a greater stability in other countries which, under better conditions, would absorb many of the people now seeking to crowd to our own shores,

and until there is a better assimilation and real Americanization of thousands of aliens already within our gates. Let us, therefore, not rock the boat, but hold steadfast, bearing in mind that we are dealing with human beings and that the problem is one that affects the welfare of our country, our community, our homes, and our future generations.

EMIGRATION CONDITIONS IN EUROPEAN PORTS OF EMBARKATION

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The Foreign Language Information Service is at work on a manual for immigrants. For it and for other purposes it seemed necessary to have first-hand information about port conditions and port procedure as they are at the present time, so last winter I visited fifteen of the principal emigration ports of Europe. I started at Genoa, skirted the continent, and got as far east as Riga.

It was an interesting and illuminating experience and I brought back with me many impressions and much information. There are two or three points which I believe will be of interest to this audience. One is the fact that in certain quarters and in certain ports emigration seems to have come to a standstill; and the second is that despite this apparent lull there are indications that the migration movement has not stopped, but is flowing through other channels and into other countries.

At all but two of the ports, Marseilles and Bordeaux, I found emigrant stations or hotels in operation. You probably all have seen one or more of these stations. In most cases they are owned and operated by steamship companies. This is not true in Italy, where the government has charge of them, nor is it true in Riga, where the Latvian government operates a station; at Danzig there is a municipally owned station, and the Polish government has one nearby, at Wejherowa. As is the case at Ellis Island, the steamship companies contribute largely to the upkeep of these government-owned stations, paying for the maintenance of each of their passengers. Business enterprise is responsible for most of the emigrant stations, however. They have been constructed by the transportation companies in order that their passengers may have safe and cheap lodging at the ports, and at the same time in certain countries in order to prevent them from proving troublesome to the country at whose port they are to be embarked. At the immigrant stations third-class passengers are entitled to free lodging and food for a certain number of days; this is included in their tickets. Second-class passengers may lodge there if they wish, but usually they have to pay a small sum. The stations vary considerably in equipment and in provisions for the comfort of emigrants; which is natural, as they date from differ-

ent periods, some being twenty to thirty years old and others of recent construction. On the whole, in recent years the standards as to sanitary requirements have greatly improved, also as to the amount of space and privacy an emigrant should have. Competition for the emigrant business is keen nowadays and it tends to secure for them good treatment.

The emigrant stations serve a twofold purpose. They are not only hotels; they are also quarantine stations. The United States has very definite sanitary regulations with which every emigrant must comply before he is allowed to embark. The United States Public Health Service officers stationed abroad supervise the enforcement of these regulations. To prevent the spread of smallpox it is required that every third-class passenger be vaccinated before going to the United States. Still more drastic is the treatment emigrants must undergo in order to prevent their bringing typhus to this country. At the present time every third-class, and also every second-class, passenger coming from Poland, Russia, and Turkey is thoroughly bathed and deloused and his baggage disinfected. Subsequently he spends fourteen days in quarantine (the ship journey is reckoned as part of the quarantine period). For other parts of Europe the requirements are less severe, but no third-class passenger is allowed to embark till he has been inspected and found to be free from vermin and otherwise clean. It is thought that through these requirements the United States has been largely responsible for checking the spread of typhus.

Most of the emigrant stations can accommodate a large number of emigrants. For instance, the Lloydheim in Bremen had, at the height of its activity, a capacity of 4,000; now, some of the buildings having been closed, it has room for only 1,300. The Hamburg-America station located at Fedel, ten minutes' train ride from Hamburg, can accommodate about 1,900. The Cunard and White Star camp, Atlantic Park, at Eastleigh, near Southampton, has a capacity of about 1,600. The station at Libau, owned by the United Baltic Corporation, can take care of 2,200. It will be seen they were planned for a large volume of business. Ellis Island, our largest immigration station, has a capacity of about 1,600.

In contrast to the numbers they might house, the numbers actually at these stations on the day of my visit are of interest. At the Lloydheim there were probably 400 people; at Fedel, about 640; at Libau, about 200; at Eastleigh, about 330. And even at that, in all four places stranded Russians—who, unfortunately, are more or less permanent—furnished a considerable part of the population. You probably recall their story. Some 8,000 more Russians than could enter in the quota for the year 1924 were given American visas prior to July 1, 1924. At first the situation did not seem so very serious; it was thought they could be taken care of in the following year's quota. Then there was a sudden and very drastic reduction of the Russian quota by the provisions of the Act of 1924, from 28,000 to 2,248. As a result, there have been, ever since the fall of 1923, stranded Russians in most of the European ports, waiting their turn in

the quota. The consul in Riga who is in charge of the Russian quota believes that not until some time during 1929 can they all be taken care of. Many of them will then have spent four to six long years of waiting, mostly in enforced idleness, as, with the exception of France and Belgium, most countries do not permit them to seek work. They neither may, nor will, return to Russia, and few other countries are open to them. In every port I heard sad stories of physical, mental, and moral deterioration due to the abnormal conditions under which they have been forced to live.

The shrunken population of the emigrant stations is not the only witness to the effect of our restrictive immigration policy. It is shown, for instance, in the withdrawal of steamship companies from the emigrant business in certain countries. The White Star and other outside steamship lines used to be active in connection with Italian emigration. Nowadays that field is left to Italian steamship companies, no foreign line except the Fabre competing for it. Riga and Libau were once important emigration ports; now they are practically abandoned by transoceanic steamers as ports of call. Yet from Libau there was formerly sufficient emigration to warrant the construction of two emigrant stations, one with a capacity of 2,200 and the other of 500. While I was in Libau a small coastwise steamer left for Danzig with a few emigrants who were to transship at that port. They were chiefly Mennonites going to Canada; there was just one passenger for the United States, a mother coming here in the preference quota.

Fewer sailings from the different ports is another indication. In October, 1923, the Fabre Line had six sailings from Marseilles to the United States. Even as late as that date Marseilles was a prominent transshipping point. Nowadays there are not more than two sailings a month, and the ships have very small passenger lists. The emigrant station which was formerly in operation has been closed for two or three years. The French Line talks of closing its offices in Bordeaux. At a January sailing one of their ships carried only twenty-four third-class emigrants, mostly destined for Canada. It was said a February sailing would probably be canceled for lack of passengers.

Still a fourth indication are the port statistics. The glory of Rotterdam is past. In 1920, before our first Quota Act, 30,697 passengers left that port for the United States. By 1923 the number had dwindled to 8,909; and by 1924, to less than 2,000 (1,983). Antwerp statistics tell a similar story. In 1913, 100,624 passengers passed through that port. In 1921 the number was only 39,626. In 1925 not more than 11,325 embarked there, and of this number only 5,992 were destined for the United States.

And yet they still move! In spite of these things—the fact that the emigrant stations, once crowded, are now almost deserted; that steamship companies have abandoned as unprofitable fields which formerly were very lucrative; that there are far fewer sailings from many ports which once were prominent; that statistics show once flourishing emigration ports to have become prac-

tically negligible—emigration is by no means a thing of the past. The restrictive immigration policy of the United States may turn the flow away from these shores, but it will find other channels. In countries where there seems to be no compelling need to emigrate, in Scandinavian countries, for instance, and in Germany, the volume of emigration tends to correspond, more or less, to the quota allotted them. If they cannot come here they seem to prefer to remain at home rather than to seek some other country. But of countries like Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, this is not true, especially not of Italy. The statistics for total emigration from that country for the period 1920-24 are interesting. In 1920, 364,944 persons emigrated. In 1921 we limited the number that could come from that country to 42,000, and the statistics for that year and the following show a decrease—255,166 and 244,440. But in 1923, in spite of our quota restrictions, the total mounted to 348,079, and in 1924, when we still further reduced the quota (to less than 4,000) the Italian emigration mounted to 408,606! They must be going somewhere!

In view of these figures it is not surprising to find that certain steamship companies, instead of planning retrenchment, seem to be planning expansion. I met many indications of this. In Genoa I was told that the Italian government is planning to replace the present Casa Degli Emigranti by a larger and more efficient one and likewise planning to build a station at Palermo. At Cherbourg the Royal Mail Steamship Company has been rebuilding its old station and putting up new buildings. The capacity at present is 500, but it is the plan to enlarge it to a capacity of 1,000. The French Line has an old and unsatisfactory station at Havre. There also it was said to be the intention to rebuild soon. As stated above, both the Free City of Danzig and the Polish government have within the last year or so established new emigrant stations, the former small, with a capacity of from 50 to 100, but the latter with a capacity of about 2,000. The situation here is interesting. At the present time Danzig is the official port of Poland. Last December it was decreed by the government that all Polish overseas emigration must be through Danzig. This, however, is to be merely a temporary arrangement. Work on a large scale is—or was, at the time of my visit—being carried on at Gdynia, a small seaport in the Polish Corridor. It is the purpose to create here a port of magnitude which shall take the place of Danzig. Wejherowa, where the Polish emigrant station has been established, is quite close to Gdynia. These plans for expansion would seem to indicate that in certain quarters it is not by any means believed that the story of migration is finished.

In several places I saw evidence of extensive emigration to other countries. In Genoa some three or four hundred North Italians were seen in the process of being prepared for the journey to South America. In Cherbourg the Royal Mail station was filled to capacity with farmers and their families from Bessarabia. They were scheduled to sail for Brazil the following day, and another 500 were coming a few days later, likewise destined for Brazil. At Havre there were about

500 Poles also going to Brazil. It was said that about 1,200 emigrants are leaving Havre each month for South America, and only about 200 to 300 for the United States. Sao Paulo, according to reports, is planning to import 100,000 coffee plantation laborers during the year 1926. The Royal Mail has a contract with the government for bringing them. They are also being brought by the Chargeur Reunis and by the Royal Holland Lloyd from Amsterdam. Brazilian agents are said to be recruiting workers chiefly in central and eastern Europe. Other South American countries are also said to be encouraging the immigration of laborers, especially of farm laborers.

Brazilian immigration statistics are not available, but those of Argentina are. In 1924 that country received more immigrants than the United States: 159,939 as against 136,337. (This latter figure is for the twelve months of 1924, not for the fiscal immigration year.) Australia during the same period admitted 103,667, and Canada, 108,122. We are so accustomed to thinking of the United States as the chief, if not the only, immigration country that these figures are interesting. Canada has launched upon a program of immigration expansion. On September 1, 1925, the Canadian government and the two railway systems of that country agreed upon a program for encouraging immigration of farmers, farm laborers, and domestics. Great Britain and central and eastern Europe seem to be the chief fields of activity. The plan seems to be working satisfactorily. An official bulletin, *Canada Week by Week*, announced May 22 that every month since last November immigration has been greater than the corresponding month of the previous year, and that in March and February it was practically doubled.

Palestine is likewise opening up. In 1920 it admitted only 4,111; in 1924, 13,553; and preliminary figures are to the effect that during the first month of 1925 it admitted 27,604.

During the past five years France has proved a godsend to countries with surplus population, particularly to Italy and Poland. The figures for the five years for continental immigration are: 1920, 129,803; 1921, 24,490; 1922, 183,482; 1923, 262,877; 1924, 223,495; and 1925, 178,294. The decrease shown for 1925 will probably be still more noticeable in 1926. There are numerous indications that the French public disapproves of the present practically unrestricted immigration and is demanding a more careful sifting. Immigration has thus far been a mass immigration. The demand is that the immigrant be given an individual examination, especially a medical examination. It is also proposed to tax aliens for the upkeep of charitable and medical institutions. During the past year several measures tending to restrict immigration were adopted. For instance, it was decided that no person over fifteen years of age should be admitted except for obviously a temporary stay, unless he could show a work contract. The cost of a card of identity was increased to 68 francs, and workers were forbidden to change their work status, i.e., a man who entered to do farm labor must continue to be a farm laborer—he must not go to a city to try to find more congenial and

lucrative work. This regulation has worked especial hardship on the Russian refugees in France, of whom there are at least 100,000, and possibly three or four times that number.

One thing is very clear: no one country can, by its laws or policy, put a stop to emigration. If the flow is dammed in one direction it will sooner or later break through elsewhere. Very general interest is developing in the subject of emigration, and it is receiving careful study by many governments and by many organizations.

THE NATURALIZATION LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

Clara Babst Minick, Executive Secretary, Americanization Board, Toledo

There are two provisions in the Constitution of the United States that relate to naturalization. In Article I, Section 8, "the power is vested in Congress to establish a uniform rule of Naturalization." Also Article IX, Section 1, provides that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States.

To be naturalized means that a man has not only the privileges and duties of citizenship, but should know the ideals and customs which come down to us as a heritage from the patriotic men whose vision conceived this great nation.

We have been too generous with naturalization, and it is right that the requirements are becoming more and more rigid. In the years preceding 1906 many abuses arose from promiscuous granting of citizenship. Wholesale naturalization frauds under the old order were the direct cause for the assumption of full control of naturalization by the federal government. On June 29, 1906, a Bureau of Naturalization was established under the Department of Labor. There are eleven naturalization districts in the United States. Over 100 years had passed before naturalization was placed where it belonged. This did not introduce change of policy, but did change qualifications. Since that date the standard has been gradually rising until today men and women to whom citizenship is granted may rightly feel that it is given because of their own merit.

There are three ways or distinct methods of acquiring citizenship, all of which come under the term naturalization: first, by collective naturalization of residents of territory acquired by the United States or admitted to statehood; second, the deriving of citizenship through another's naturalization, instanced by the fact that since September 22, 1922, the wife does not become a citizen through the husband, minor children of the father alone receiving naturalization in this way; third, the admission of an individual by his own personal application for citizenship.

We shall consider the third way only. In the United States the process has always been a judicial one, differing from the method in European countries, where it is in the hands of an administrative officer. Naturalization grants citi-

zenship to all white persons and those of African race, barring Chinese and the yellow race. The day is practically past when anyone has the right to say that men are forced in herds like sheep through naturalization and to the polls. Much might be said about the changing standards in the process of naturalization. Briefly, they have been: first, to drive out the ward politicians; second, an attempt has been made to unify court rulings, but this has not yet been accomplished; third, the uplifting of standards, both morally and mentally, for the admission to citizenship.

In Toledo we observe naturalization hearings by having patriotic programs at which the new citizen is recognized. The Daughters of the American Revolution and the Woman's Relief Corps of the Grand Army of the Republic assist the Americanization Board in presenting an impressive program in the United States District Court. We need a court which can devote its whole time to naturalization. We need to get away from the attitude that the naturalization petitioner is a criminal up for judgment. We need to respect his desire to become an American citizen.

As social workers we have to deal with hundreds of cases, taking days, weeks, months—yes, and years—to accomplish the desired results. We are doing work, as a district naturalization examiner expressed it, that the courts are not doing, but are not intended to do. We are the friend to advise and assist our prospective citizens. We form a third point in the triangle of making new citizens, along with the Department of Naturalization and the Board of Education.

We are all glad that the government insists upon night citizenship classes where men and women may obtain information on the fundamental facts of American history, and these are provided in most places by the Board of Education. In other places, as in Cleveland, citizenship classes are taken care of by a bureau. In Toledo, at the Toledo Americanization Board, persons working nights may go to a class conducted in the daytime where, by use of charts, pictures, and maps, seemingly dull historical facts are made full of human interest. The idea is sold very generally to the foreign born and we need only say now, "Go to a citizenship class if you want to become a citizen." It is much better than the old method of teaching questions and answers parrotlike, and to give three cheers for the red, white, and blue. The prospective citizen now learns about the fundamentals of our government in a way that may be digested and assimilated, and he thus takes a step toward being a practical citizen.

Naturalization should be conferred only upon the deserving. "Better citizens," not necessarily "more citizens," should be our slogan. We must not become one-sided. There is no longer an easy road to citizenship, and the naturalization of a deserving alien is a distinct step toward assimilation and Americanization. From the time the federal bureau was established, in 1906, through the fiscal year, 2,400,500 certificates of naturalization have been issued. Citizenship was granted to 133,881 men and 18,576 women during the past fiscal year, totaling 152,457 new citizens and almost equaling the number of aliens admissi-

ble to the United States through the quota; 277,218 declarations of intention were issued, and 162,258 petitions for naturalization were filed.

The literary test for voters would reduce the number of ballots cast among the native as well as foreign born, and would be a good thing. We need citizenship classes of American voters along with those for the prospective foreign-born voters. We still need Americanization work, for a man is either alien or American in spirit, regardless of his naturalization. He needs good American friends.

A recent ruling required that an alien arriving in the United States on or after June 3, 1921, must send preliminary facts—declaration of intention form—to the naturalization office in his district in order to obtain a certificate of arrival before receiving his declaration. If this is found, he is notified to appear in court on a certain date to obtain his declaration of intention. This was a blanket order, and although much resented, is being obeyed in most places.

Applicants for first papers in Cleveland have been relieved from the necessity of establishing legal entry into the United States before being permitted to file declarations, unless it was positively known that the applicant entered illegally. Judge McMahon held that such requirement was in direct conflict with the naturalization law itself. He further stated in his decision that an alien who applies for a declaration of intention is presumed to be legally admitted into the country and may demand such a declaration as a matter of right. A question is rightly raised if such a demand may be rightfully made. According to the naturalization law an alien male or female over eighteen years of age may file a declaration of intention. There is a bill pending now to supplement the naturalization law and require that a certificate of arrival be required before declaration is given.

A ruling that the declaration must be signed in both the original and assumed name (not legalized) has been held in one of our cases, the petition being dismissed and a new declaration required. However, at present there seems to be no objection to one signature on the declaration, even though not signed by the petitioner himself, but both names must be signed on the petition for filing to make it valid. There is no ruling that requires a declarant to sign his name in order to obtain his first paper.

According to the present naturalization law a declaration is invalid after seven years. However, we were fortunate two years ago in having citizenship granted to a son on his deceased father's declaration, which was over seven years old. This was taken to the department in Washington for decision. The law is so worded now that this is practically impossible. A total of 225,291 declarations were issued to men in the United States during the fiscal year ending 1925, and 51,927 were issued to women.

Release of a certificate of arrival.—An alien desired to travel to his native land this summer, but was unable to get a passport because his declaration of intention had been sent in with application for certificates of arrival. Under

such circumstances a declaration of intention is oftentimes released by the naturalization department.

There are varied rulings for refile, if a case has been dismissed for draft exemption. We have two rulings in Toledo courts: one, in the United States District Court, whereby a man may refile when his declaration is five years old, the petition form being duly filled and sent to the district naturalization office for notice to appear. In the Common Pleas Court, if a case was dismissed before January 1, 1925, the applicant must take a new declaration and wait two years. If dismissed after January 1, 1925, the petitioner may refile when the old declaration is five years old. I recently wrote our judges asking that draft be not held against a man if his record has been otherwise clean, and received a reply from our United States District Court to the effect that he is in favor of two amendments to naturalization laws: one, to raise the term of residence materially; another, to provide for cancellation of naturalization automatically in connection of crime involving imprisonment within a reasonable period after certificate is granted. He is not ready to abandon dismissal for draft altogether. Many courts are no longer dismissing because of draft evasion, and the naturalization department seems to be getting away from it.

There are many reasons why petitions are dismissed, among them improper renouncing of allegiance. Allegiance must be renounced from the ruler to whom the country in which the petitioner was born now belongs. For instance, a former Hungarian may now be Roumanian, Yugoslav, etc., in which instance he must renounce allegiance to whatever country is his last. Dismissal for evasion of the Volstead act is common. Men's petitions are dismissed because they cannot read and write the English language. This is happening every day. Is there enough in the law to hold this against a man? Whether there is or not, except in unusual circumstances it seems only fair that he be required to read and write English to a certain extent.

The fact that many persons have been victims of clerks' mistakes in being permitted to declare their intention during a period of thirty days preceding any election has worked unnecessary hardships. Such declarations are now valid, thanks to a bill just passed. Incompetent witnesses—witnesses who have criminal records; professional witnesses, where known—are not accepted, and the petition is dismissed. We are advising men to obtain good witnesses with almost as much earnestness as we advise school. Inability to take depositions in the state and the inability to get witnesses from distant points is another cause for dismissal. This we hope will soon be taken care of by legislation which is pending.

A recent bill is of interest to all aliens who are honorably discharged veterans of the world-war. Citizenship will be granted to them under certain conditions less stringent than the ordinary procedure, and non-quota status will be given to such aliens whose wives and minor children are now abroad and wish to return to the United States, providing they are eligible to citizenship. The

law plainly states strict compliance with requirements as to residence, proof of moral character for the entire five years, actual personal knowledge of the applicant by witnesses, and the last arrival, if out of the country six months.

In many instances men's petitions are continued or dismissed because the wife is not here. At first this seemed most unfair, but we have had cases where men have lived here for years and have never attempted to bring their wives and family. Again, men have made every effort, and we feel it our duty to get the facts and present them to the authorities for their benefit, and it is appreciated. Three reasons may be given: first, not enough time has elapsed to permit all to come to the United States; second, the indifference upon the part of the husband or wife or both, after years of separation, of making a home in the United States; third, because of our constantly changing laws and requirements, men are uninformed as to procedure and often have no way of finding out or having the work done for them. This last is the work of the social worker in naturalization and immigration. Humanity dictates that we shall facilitate the uniting of families.

The independent citizenship law for women gives an additional interest to naturalization. In several instances women whose husbands are citizens are unable to give any facts to establish their own entry into the United States, and therefore are barred from citizenship. Many women have dual nationalities, and others are women without a country. We need legislation to rectify these weak spots in our naturalization law. We need more uniformity between the naturalization and immigration laws. We need a more kindly attitude of the courts toward the petitioners for citizenship, and less of the attitude of their being criminals at the bar.

Children.—Naturalization of children is interesting, and falls in five groups: first, children born in the United States having full citizenship rights; second children who were foreign born, whose birth occurred after the father was naturalized, are given citizenship rights providing they return to the United States before they are 21; third, foreign-born children under twenty-one living in the United States when their father becomes a citizen; fourth, foreign-born children of a naturalized father coming to the United States before twenty-one; fifth, children of American parents who never come to the United States. Children born abroad before the father is a citizen must come to the United States before eighteen for non-quota, and between eighteen and twenty-one for preference quota, becoming citizens upon entrance to the United States before twenty-one. Names of children under twenty-one years of age must appear on the father's citizenship paper in order to obtain their citizenship. Here is a conflict between the naturalization and immigration laws.

Many countries have two or three kinds of naturalization, but principally naturalization with practical rights and naturalization without political rights.

Nunc pro tunc examinations were discontinued in February, 1925, and the

ruling now is that unless there was a promise of *nunc pro tunc* before that date, an applicant is not entitled to one now. The question might arise as to whether it is right, under the present naturalization law, to allow a *nunc pro tunc*, and if so, whether it should not be given by the Department of Immigration according to act of June 20, 1908.

There are 100,000 aliens in the United States who cannot prove that they are legally here, and yet are lawfully here owing to the limitations of the law. Between 1906 and 1911 the machinery of law worked very poorly. Many coming from Canada cannot produce evidence the government requires. It has been suggested that in the proposed naturalization law they be permitted to pay head tax and wait three years, when they might take first papers toward citizenship, which would mean a delay of another five years. A minimum time of thirteen years would elapse before they could be citizens.

Nationality.—Very few countries have a treaty of naturalization with the United States whereby a former subject of a foreign country naturalized in the United States is treated as a citizen of the United States upon his return for a visit to his native land. There is need of international treaties providing for naturalization laws which will prevent present conditions of both dual allegiance and statelessness arising from conflicting status in various nations.

Women.—Foreign-born women are taking advantage, or disadvantage, of the law very slowly, and many American women are resentful until it is explained to them. Declarations of intention were made by 51,927 women during the past year, 22,526 filed petitions, and 18,576 were naturalized. The examination in English seems to be the greatest barrier. Every city and town needs neighborhood classes in the afternoon and evening for the foreign-born women. This is our big weak spot in Americanization and naturalization.

One thing we regret in the present naturalization law is that we are constantly making only half-American families in the naturalization of the husband and children, leaving the wife and mother out. She must be reached in a way which will mean more than making her a voter, for which she often cares very little. She needs American citizenship to help hold the respect of her children, who are quick to sense her status without using judgment as to the cause of it. This lack of respect leads to many serious problems.

Many interesting questions may be asked concerning the administration of the naturalization law. Should a law be passed permitting children adopted by American parents to take their nationality?

A teacher in the Toledo public schools for twenty years was born in Switzerland and adopted by American parents when a child. She voted because she always considered herself an American citizen, and only learned the truth when she applied for a passport to travel abroad. After much difficulty she obtained a traveling permit. After her return she was permitted to file, according to Secs. 3-36, Act of June, 1910—"Aliens who erroneously believed themselves citizens"

—and in three months was a real American citizen, and, as she expressed it, “I am now what I never knew I wasn’t.” She had indeed been a good citizen for years, if not an American one.

The Act of 1907 provides in explicit terms that an American woman marrying an alien loses her American citizenship. Before 1907 there was no statute in the United States which directly covered the citizenship of the native-born woman who married an alien, although there had been for years a statute that an alien woman who married an American citizen thereby acquired citizenship in this country. The law is that an American woman, married prior to 1907, whose husband died, or from whom she was divorced before he became a citizen, has the right to presume that she is an American citizen, upon termination of marital status, by continuation of residence in the United States. This does not apply to a wife living with her husband.

The United States Naturalization Examiners, who have conducted hearings in Toledo, have been fair in their judgments and decisions. They must be impartial, for they are endeavoring to ascertain facts in cases to help determine who are likely to be good citizens. It is, of course, more or less a gamble. They are trying to protect the United States from acquiring the wrong kind of citizens. Through them we have had the standard of citizenship raised very decidedly. They need our cooperation. The human tendency is always to form hasty conclusions from too limited number of facts.

Equality should be the first principle in our American citizenship, and it is decidedly a problem for social workers interested in naturalization to see that this equality be exercised in the interpretation and administration of our laws, and especially that worthy aliens be given a fair chance under the naturalization laws. We need to follow new decisions closely and to be constant visitors at naturalization proceedings.

We need to assist in laying the foundation for a broader interest in citizenship if we would serve the best interests of our country.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS AND COOPERATION IN AMERICANIZATION

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Americanization is a community affair. It is not something which the government or a group of individuals may do for the foreign born. It is what the foreign born do for themselves when organized social agencies offer the opportunity and point the way.

Americanization is a word which has an unpleasant sound in the ears of some persons. They say it suggests “Germanization” as it was spoken of in the

days of Bismarck, and "Russianization" as it was talked of by the Czar Nicholas. There are some who seem to think that Americanization is a word like these. No one who speaks of Americanization intends that anyone here shall serve a German kaiser or an American one, or an American or Russian czar. Some men begin their own Americanization even before they leave Europe. Others begin it in this country. A man who decides to go to night school to learn English is working on his own Americanization. This country looks upon its new citizens far differently from the way in which the Czar looked upon his Polish subjects. He was an autocrat, and his strength was in the weakness of his people. The strength of a republic is in the strength of the people. Therefore it is the American desire that every citizen shall be as strong, as able, as prosperous as possible. This allows the man of Polish descent to become an American citizen through his own efforts, but it does not stamp out his Polish inheritance nor his Polish individuality. He does not become a subject of the president of the United States, but a fellow-citizen. The process of Russianization wipes out all individuality; the process of Americanization preserves all individual character.

There are, however, ways and methods of Americanization which will harm the cause. Americanization is in some respect an art, requiring great skill of its workers. In the past we have spent too much time seeking a technical definition for Americanization or a complete change of terminology, without much success. The word Americanization is a good word. It can only offend those who read into its meaning that which has never been intended. Workers in Americanization must possess a goodly measure of respect, tolerance, and sympathy for the foreign born. Some there are who would Americanize by law, who would force the knowledge and use of the English language and naturalization. Americans cannot be made that way. Americanization above all else is a reciprocal adjustment. The newcomer is having his experiences enlarged, his standard of living altered, but he is just as surely modifying our point of view, our industrial organization, our economic values.

For an Americanization experiment Detroit presented a most interesting laboratory. The tremendous expansion of the city due to the rapid growth of industry and the incursion after incursion of immigrants in search of jobs and homes and fortunes created a natural need for such an experiment. The people who in the last quarter of a century have changed Detroit from a quiet town to a renowned industrial center are chiefly immigrants and their children. A colored map of the city showing the population as distributed by races and nationalities visualizes the story. The splash of color indicating the presence of the Slavs is the largest on the map. The same industries that had made Detroit great in size threatened to destroy its Americanism, and when business became demoralized by the outbreak of the war abroad the industries seemed unable to maintain the level of prosperity which they had introduced. The autumn of 1914 found the city suffering from an acute attack of indigestion. It had bitten

off more immigration than it could chew. Factories slowed up, and thousands lost their jobs. Melancholy mobs of the jobless prowled the streets, and then the business men of the city organized help for these men, the large majority of whom were unable to speak English.

The Americanization Committee of Detroit, as it is now known, came into being. It was made up of fifty men, representing industry, the professions, social workers, civic, educational, and racial leaders. To aid, were the broadminded officials in charge of public education. A tie-up with the educational authorities was at once made. When the interest of the large employers of labor was aroused in the language barrier which existed, the efforts of the educators bore fruit. All industries employing more than one hundred were enrolled. The response was marked. Every known means of communicating with employees was used. The printed publicity appeared in foreign languages. Some of the industries made public night school attendance compulsory; others offered wage increases for the learning of English; a number started their own factory classes.

The city was bedecked with handbills and posters. Every social agency having any approach to the foreign born assisted vigorously. The entire city embarked on a gigantic campaign of publicity for the benefit of its adopted children from Europe and Asia. Perhaps never was the city so united for a common end. At the conclusion of the first campaign twenty-nine evening schools were opened, a larger appropriation for night schools was obtained, and the opening night saw about 9,000 enrolled, with 2,000 turned away, for whom there were no facilities. The years that have passed since 1914 have found efforts toward education and assimilation of the foreign born steadily increasing. Out of the years of actual experience methods have been changed in accordance with changing views, but the end in view has not been abandoned.

The melting-pot version has never been significant in the history of Detroit's Americanization movement. That type assumes that the making of an American is only the changing of a few externals. Men can mingle and unite in this country because they are not melted. America is a mechanism which can use a Pole's love of music and the drama, an Italian's love of color, a Greek's love of art, a German's thoroughness, a Frenchman's brilliancy. But it takes these qualities and places them in the mechanism. They are not melted. They are brought into cooperation, not into a shapeless unified mass.

Today the agencies working with the foreign born conduct carefully outlined programs to bring into helpful relationships the aliens as well as the Americans of many generations; to protect these aliens from injustice and fraud; to stimulate the acquisition and mastery of the English language; to develop the alien's understanding of American government and institutions; to interpret everyday standards of living to them; and to promote social participation.

On June 20, 1922, the Detroit Council on Immigrant Education was organized, and some twenty agencies doing noteworthy work among the foreign born

were brought together. The agencies represented are the International Institute of the Y.W.C.A., the Board of Health, the Recreation Department of the City of Detroit, the settlement group, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Visiting Housekeepers' Association, the Parent-Teachers Association, the United Jewish Charities, the Americanization Committee, the Polish Activities League, the League of Catholic Women, Protestant and Catholic church organizations, the boards of education of Detroit and three adjoining municipalities, Veterans of Foreign Wars, etc. The purposes of this council of agencies was to centralize activities, weed out undesirable practices and flag waving, the direction of newcomers in this field, the elimination of duplication, and the development of more intensive and varied group work. Out of this organization, the byword of which has been cooperation, have come basic ideas, attitudes, and methods.

While in the field of teaching English to the foreign born Detroit records the greatest progress, the last few years also record achievements in health education for the foreign born, recreational opportunities, home visiting, and the creation of social contacts for alien men and women. The agencies having to do with the creation of social contacts for isolated immigrant women are making valuable contributions to the problem in the sheer joy they are bringing these individuals. They have attacked with marked success the very real problem of giving immigrant women an opportunity to participate in organized and special activities and to express whatever social talents they may have. The best in the individual is being brought out, be it music, art, or handicraft. For the handicraft produced, markets have been provided, thus creating the means of earning money at home. The cottage industries of the Daughters of the American Revolution is one of the most interesting methods of marketing the exquisite handicraft of Detroit's gifted foreign women.

In the special field of giving authentic information to the foreign born through nationality workers Detroit is well organized, and has been since 1918. The alien free information bureaus, established and maintained under the direction of the Americanization Committee, functioned last year to the extent of giving 24,848 services. Principally, this information had to do with the reuniting of families, naturalization and immigration laws, compensation and wage claims, employment, domestic relations, foreign exchange and various money matters, fraudulent practices, and other problems of common concern to the foreign born.

In any community scheme the industries are an important factor. The part the schools must play is already well known. The use of school buildings must constitute an important part, for it must be remembered that the school gymnasiums and swimming pools may become quite as important factors in Americanization as the classrooms. Beside the agencies herein commented upon, complete community programs will not be developed without the assistance of racial

organizations, English and foreign language press, churches, labor organizations, patriotic societies, lodges and clubs, the medical and legal professions, the banks, city officials, the boys and girls in our schools, etc.

Note that I throw the obligation of solving the immigrant problem upon the community as a whole, not on any one or two agencies in the community. For years the burden of this work fell mainly on the schools and on private agencies who regarded the teaching of the immigrant as a very important task. But the immigrant problem is really a community problem, a matter of the prevention of exploitation, of neighborliness, of good housing and sanitation, of satisfactory industrial conditions, of the elimination of insulting names and racial prejudice, of the broadest dissemination of educational opportunities of the intelligent use of racial organizations, and so on. Everything that touches the immigrant's life is an instrumentality for his Americanization, or the reverse.

A community about to interest itself in Americanization should, first of all, take stock of its resources. The next step is to bring these resources together under a single purpose. Team work must prevail.

XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

MEASURING THE DEMAND FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

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In this paper a variety of information has been brought together bearing on the problem of measuring the demand for trained—or, if we may use the term, professional—social workers. The first part of the paper relates to the measurement of the demand in terms of actual numbers. The second part concerns a relative aspect of the problem, that is, the effectiveness of the demand or the remuneration which it offers.

It is regretted that the principal data of the first part are estimated rather than actual. They are presented as an approximation which, until better information is available, will be of some help in dealing with this demand. They point to an urgent need for more authoritative information.

THE SIZE OF THE DEMAND FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

It is assumed that in attempting to measure the demand for social workers we desire to know how many social workers are, or will be, required for placement within a given period. To determine this we need to know, first, how many jobs there are which require, or should require, trained social work personnel. We need to know also how rapidly the number of social work jobs is growing, and something about the rate of replacement of these workers. On each of these points some evidence is presented here, but we do not attempt to arrive at any conclusion as to the precise number of new social workers for which there will be jobs within a year or other period.

The number of social workers.—There is no body of information already available which indicates how many persons are engaged in professional social work, and there are several difficulties in the way of arriving at a convincing estimate of the number. There are, first, difficulties of definition. While some fields of social work are clearly defined and definitely belong in the category, bordering these are other fields which may or may not be classified as social work. Even within the fields which may safely be defined as social work we are confronted with some difficulty in deciding what is, and what is not, a social work job.

For the purpose of an estimate, questions of definition may be decided ar-

bitrarily, but there is further difficulty in the lack of a statistical basis on which to build an estimate. The statistics of the separate fields of social work are quite inadequate for the purpose. The membership of the American Association of Social Workers, which includes all types of social workers, is restricted to workers who have had considerable training and experience, so that the number of its members, which at the present time is a little more than 3,500, does not afford us much help.

In the occupation statistics of the United States Census Bureau two titles of occupations which embrace social workers are included. These titles, "religious, charity, and welfare workers" and "keepers of charitable and penal institutions" are placed under the group title, "semiprofessional pursuits," along

TABLE I

| | 1910 | 1920 |
|--|--------|--------|
| <i>Religious, charity, and welfare workers:</i> | | |
| Male..... | 7,081 | 14,151 |
| Female..... | 8,889 | 26,927 |
| Total..... | 15,970 | 41,078 |
| <i>Keepers of charitable and penal institutions:</i> | | |
| Male..... | 5,246 | 7,953 |
| Female..... | 2,245 | 4,931 |
| Total..... | 7,491 | 12,884 |

with "fortune-tellers," "healers," and "keepers of pleasure resorts," etc. This manner of classification is due obviously to the fact that social work has not been a well-defined or clearly recognized occupation. The census figures for these two groups are not satisfactory for our purpose because they include a large and indeterminable number of persons who are not engaged in social work. It is of interest, however, to cite them. The figures for the last two census years are given in Table I. Because of the vagueness of these titles it seems probable that the figures for the two years are not particularly comparable.

Our estimate comes to a much smaller number and applies to a restricted field. As Professor Tufts has pointed out, the central field of social work is well defined. This central field includes "care for children who are not properly looked after in their own homes, care for families who are in various ways unfortunate or abnormal, and, at the other extreme, such a consideration of the social interests in a neighborhood or community as is given by the social settlement."¹ Outside this center are the border fields which, for the most part, are not as large in point of personnel. For the purpose of our estimate we have in-

¹ James H. Tufts, *Education and Training for Social Work* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1923), p. 32.

cluded in social work the following fields: first, the case work fields, including family and child welfare of various sorts, medical and psychiatric social service, travelers' and immigrants' aid; second, group work, including settlements, boys' and girls' clubs, and religious associations such as the "Y's"; third, public health education and propaganda, not including nursing; fourth, institutions for children; fifth, other fields, including organization of social work, social research, and the teaching of social work. We have omitted entirely the large number of public health or visiting nurses who are giving a kind of service extremely similar to social work, but who for the most part conceive their service more from the medical than from the social point of view. In the group work field we have aimed to omit purely teaching and athletic personnel.

The main basis of our estimate was data collected a few months ago with the help of the National Information Service from federations of social agencies. For about twenty-five cities, varying widely in size, we obtained counts or estimates of the number of professional (as distinguished from clerical) positions in social work agencies, divided by fields of work. For three cities, Detroit, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, more detailed information concerning social work positions in private agencies is available; for Detroit the Detroit Community Union gave us a list of the actual titles of all positions in the federated social work agencies.

From these data an estimate of the number of paid professional social work positions in each city was prepared. The figures showed considerable agreement in respect to the number of social work positions in relation to population. On the basis of this evidence we have made the broad assumption that on the average in cities of more than 100,000 population there are at least four social workers per 10,000 population. Applying this conservative figure to the 1926 population estimates for the cities of the United States, with allowance for personnel of national social work organizations in New York City and making an independent estimate for the rural sections and for cities of less than 100,000 population, we reach a figure of nearly 21,000, as shown in the summary tabulation (Table II). This total figure, however, appears to be highly conservative, and we prefer to estimate, in very round numbers, that there are twenty-five thousand paid professional social workers in the United States. If our figures have any merit, the percentages in the table should be of some significance. They indicate that more than half of the social workers are in the thirty-three largest cities, and close to four-fifths are in cities of over 25,000 population. Although we reduced the ratio of social workers to population progressively in estimating for the smaller places, we feel that the figures indicate too small a proportion of the total in the large cities.

Concerning the distribution of social workers by field of work, our rough figures may also be of interest. We estimate that the case work fields claim 60 per cent of the total; group work, including only the more definitely social work positions, 20 per cent; health work, as defined above, 5 per cent; institutions for

children, again including only positions which presume social work training, 5 per cent; and other fields, 10 per cent.

We hope, we should note in passing, to be able to substantiate or correct these rough figures by means of further study. We need for the several fields of social work the sort of count of personnel which has recently been made of public health nurses by the National Association for Organizing Public Health Nursing.¹

Increase of social work personnel.—We know that social work is undergoing steady growth. The census figures already cited suggest this. Two of our own recent studies show this unquestionably and throw light on the rate of growth. Data on size of staff were obtained in connection with a study of salaries in

TABLE II

| SIZE OF CITY | NUMBER OF CITIES | SOCIAL WORKERS | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | | Number | Percentage | Cumulative Percentage |
| 500,000 or over. | 12 | 7,550 | 37 | 37 |
| 200,000-500,000. | 21 | 3,050 | 15 | 52 |
| 100,000-200,000. | 46 | 2,800 | 13 | 65 |
| 50,000-100,000. | 67 | 1,350 | 6 | 71 |
| 25,000- 50,000. | 143 | 1,450 | 7 | 78 |
| 10,000- 25,000. | 459 | 1,600 | 8 | 86 |
| Smaller places. . . . . | ..... | 3,000 | 14 | 100 |
| Total. . . . . | ..... | 20,800 | 100 | ..... |

social work organizations over the period 1913-25, made in the fall of 1925. The study covered 132 organizations in 78 cities, representing more than two thousand social workers in 1925. These data indicate an increase in the number of paid social work positions in the last ten years of about 65 per cent.

In a study now in process of the trend of relief expenditures during the last ten years, data on size of staff have been obtained from a large number of family welfare agencies. These data reflect the same tendency. Of the 194 organizations represented in the two studies, 144 gave information on size of staff in 1920 and 1925. These figures show an increase in paid professional positions between the two years of 31 per cent. The increase appears to be continuing rather steadily.

This important growth factor must of course be taken into account in meeting the demand for social workers. Our figures, it may be objected, relate to existing organizations, and some social work organizations have retired from the field within the last ten years. There are also organizations which have reduced their staffs within this period, notably the Red Cross. However, only 13 out of the 144 organizations just cited showed reduction of personnel since 1920, and

¹ Louise M. Tattershall, "Census of Public Health Nursing in the United States," *The Public Health Nurse*, May, 1926.

it seems evident that the organizations which have been discontinued are many fewer than the new organizations which have appeared.

Stability of social work personnel.—The social work force is not a stable one. Various studies of turnover show a surprisingly high rate of replacement. The study of turnover in ninety-three agencies in Chicago and other mid-western cities made by W. W. Burke in 1924 revealed 286 separations out of a total of 1,064 social work positions, giving an annual turnover rate of 27 per cent for this group of agencies.¹ Other studies have shown higher average rates of turnover, and we know of rates in certain organizations well above 50 per cent.

Many social workers leave their jobs to accept better jobs in social work, but others leave the field entirely and must be replaced by new recruits. Some give up social work on account of age or illness, many to marry, and a rather large proportion leave social work for other kinds of work. Mr. Burke found that 14 per cent of those leaving the ninety-three mid-western agencies in 1924 left to enter other occupations than social work, and 10 per cent, to marry. This means at least 7 per cent of the total force of 1,064 persons in these agencies definitely abandoning the field within the course of one year. We need more information on the extent to which this is taking place.

THE REMUNERATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

There are doubtless various reasons for the high turnover rate of social work personnel and for the significant extent to which persons who have prepared for it leave this field. An important reason is found in the financial return for this type of service. There is not space here to present detailed evidence on the point. We have assembled enough data, however, to convince us that the rank and file social worker is not well paid as compared with persons engaged in several other callings which demand no more, and probably less, in respect to maturity, education, and technical training.

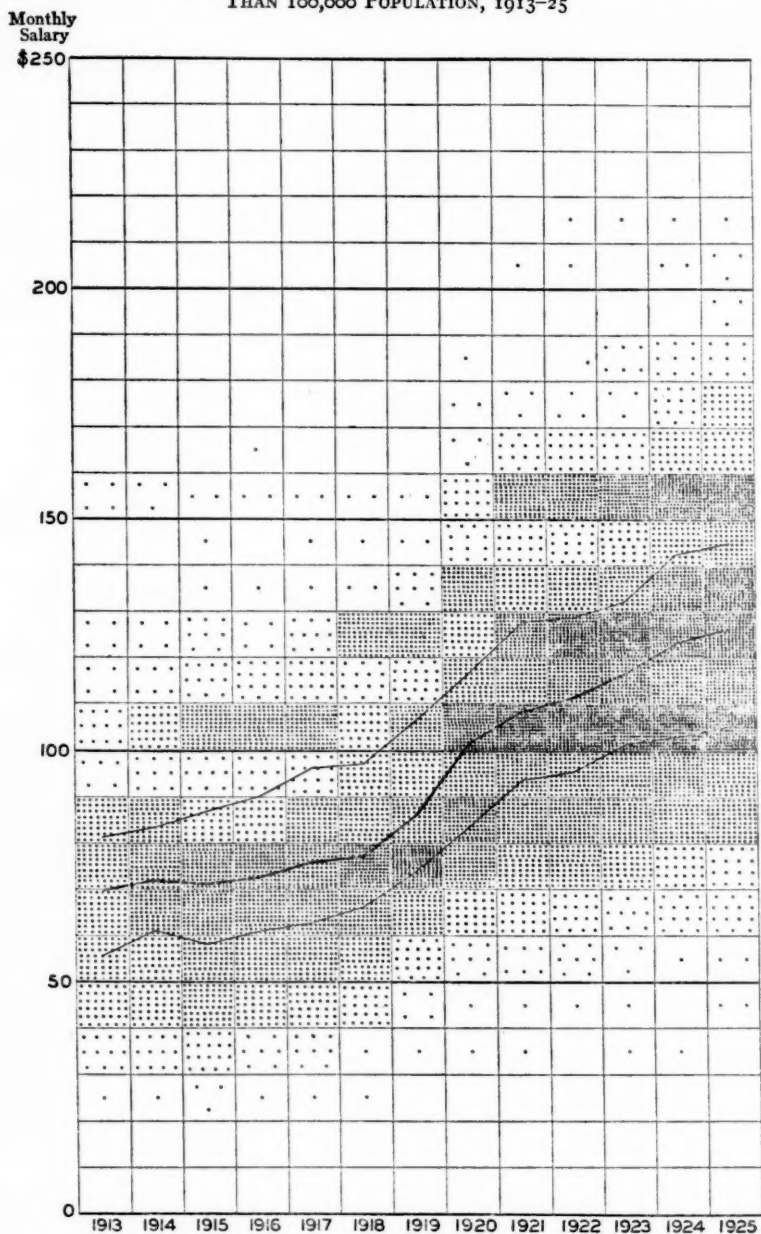
The accompanying diagram (Chart I) is from the study of the trend of salaries in 132 organizations already referred to. It shows by means of spots the distribution of the salaries of the so-called "staff" positions (that is, professional positions below the grade of supervisor) as reported to us for the years 1913-25. The two thin lines running through the diagram are "quartile" lines. They inclose a zone containing 50 per cent of the cases in each year. The heavy line running through this zone represents the movement of the average salary for "staff" positions. This line starts in 1913 at a salary of \$70 per month, or \$840 a year, and ends in 1925, at \$126 per month, or \$1,517 a year.

In 1913 this salary compared favorably with an elementary school teacher's salary. In 1925 it is definitely lower, as is shown in Table III. In this table all figures relate to cities of over 100,000 population. The figures for teachers are for school years ending in the year specified, and do not include New York City.

¹ *The Compass*, February, 1925.

CHART I*

MOVEMENT OF "STAFF" SALARIES IN SOCIAL WORK IN CITIES OF MORE THAN 100,000 POPULATION, 1913-25



* Each dot records the salary of a reported staff position. Between the two thin lines are half of the cases. The middle line traces the trend of the median salary. Fewer organizations are represented at the beginning than at the end of the period, so that conclusions concerning increase of personnel cannot be drawn from this diagram.

Space does not permit reproduction of the full series of charts relating to the trend of social work salaries for different grades of position in cities of different size and to the relation of social work salaries to the increase in cost of living which were presented with this paper. Some of these charts were reproduced in an article in the *Survey* of February 15, 1926.¹ Table IV summarizes some of these data.

TABLE III

| YEAR | ANNUAL SALARIES | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Social Work Staff Positions | Elementary School Teachers* | High School Teachers* |
| 1913..... | \$ 840 | ..... | ..... |
| 1914..... | 860 | \$ 807 | \$1,325 |
| 1915..... | 850 | ..... | ..... |
| 1916..... | 869 | ..... | ..... |
| 1917..... | 905 | ..... | ..... |
| 1918..... | 924 | ..... | ..... |
| 1919..... | 1,003 | 936 | 1,513 |
| 1920..... | 1,220 | 1,293 | 1,850 |
| 1921..... | 1,303 | ..... | ..... |
| 1922..... | 1,338 | 1,676 | ..... |
| 1923..... | 1,399 | 1,776 | 2,403 |
| 1924..... | 1,485 | ..... | ..... |
| 1925..... | 1,517 | 1,844 | 2,434 |

* From "Public School Salaries in 1924-25," *National Education Association Research Bulletin* (January-March, 1925), p. 15.

Concerning the effect of technical education it seems evident that in this profession, as in others, there is room at the top, and that the best qualified will in the long run be best paid. In view of the active demand for social workers it would be natural to suppose that the well-trained graduate of a school of social work should be placed readily at a salary well above the average for staff workers. This is probably the case where the training fits for certain special types of social work. Our analysis of the salary data assembled by the American Association of Social Workers in 1922 seemed to show, however, that experience in social work is more important as a factor in determining salary increases than education. The status of education for social work, however, like the work itself, has been changing somewhat rapidly, and a current study of the influence of education might well show a different result.

A report on salary standards drawn up by a committee of the Baltimore chapter of the American Association of Social Workers and published in the *Compass* for May, 1926, bears on this point. It specifies "a basic beginning salary of \$1,500 a year . . . to be paid to an adequately trained, inexperienced staff worker," adequate training being specified as connoting "successful

¹ This article has been republished by the Russell Sage Foundation as a pamphlet, entitled *Social Work Salaries*.

completion of four years' work in an accredited college or university, followed by a full two-year course in a school for social work." A schedule of increases over the basic salary for completion of successive years of satisfactory service is suggested. This schedule provides for the technically trained college and school of social work graduate, after five years of actual social work experience, an annual salary of from \$1,704 to \$2,040.

TABLE IV
MEDIAN ANNUAL SALARIES IN SOCIAL WORK ORGANIZATIONS, BY SIZE OF ORGANIZATION, SIZE OF CITY, AND GRADE OF POSITION, IN 1913 AND IN 1925

| ORGANIZATIONS | MEDIAN SALARIES | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|-------|------------|----------------|--------------|---------|
| | 1913 | | | | 1925 | | | |
| | Executives | Sub-executives | Super-visors | Staff | Executives | Sub-executives | Super-visors | Staff |
| <i>Large organizations:</i> | | | | | | | | |
| 50 or more workers (large cities)*. | \$4,020 | \$2,220 | \$1,246 | \$918 | \$8,196 | \$3,240 | \$2,072 | \$1,603 |
| 25 to 49 workers (large cities).... | 2,400 | 1,393 | 890 | 696 | 5,040 | 2,760 | 1,980 | 1,422 |
| <i>Medium organizations:</i> | | | | | | | | |
| 15 to 24 workers (large cities).... | 1,800 | 1,224 | 1,080 | 732 | 4,020 | 2,460 | 1,898 | 1,463 |
| 15 to 24 workers (medium cities).... | 1,944 | ..... | ..... | 744 | 3,696 | 2,220 | 1,710 | 1,294 |
| <i>Small organizations:</i> | | | | | | | | |
| 5 to 14 workers (large cities).... | 1,800 | 1,200 | ..... | 877 | 3,000 | 2,400 | 1,946 | 1,498 |
| 5 to 14 workers (medium cities).... | 1,884 | ..... | ..... | 886 | 3,660 | 1,956 | 1,895 | 1,320 |
| 5 to 14 workers (small cities).... | 1,536 | ..... | ..... | 840 | 2,748 | ..... | 2,040 | 1,309 |
| 1 to 4 workers (medium cities).... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2,736 | ..... | ..... | 1,440 |
| 1 to 4 workers (small cities).... | 1,452 | ..... | ..... | 660 | 1,944 | ..... | ..... | 1,363 |

* Large cities are here cities of over 300,000 population; medium cities, from 100,000 to 300,000; small cities, less than 100,000.

I am told that the salary standards specified in the Baltimore committee's report have been criticized by several social work executives as too high. This suggests that we should reconsider the requirements for education and training generally recommended, though not so generally observed, for the rank and file positions in the light of the salaries that can be paid. If an organization can turn over half, or even a quarter, of its personnel in the space of a year and still do effective social work, it seems logical to question whether the practice of social work in its lower positions does, after all, require the amount of training that is now being recommended, and whether this is a calling which we should invite large numbers of able and ambitious college men and women to enter. My own feeling is that the salaries will be increased. I think we need better social work more than we need more social work.

SUMMARY

First, the number of positions calling for trained social workers is large, the number in the United States being roughly estimated at 25,000. Second, more than half of the social work positions are in the larger cities. Probably fewer

than 20 per cent are in places of less than 25,000 population, though 64 per cent of the population is in these places. Third, social work organizations are increasing in number, and existing organizations are increasing in size. This increase is continuing at the present time. Fourth, the social work force is exceptionally unstable, high turnover rates being the rule. Fifth, an important and probably the determining factor in instability of force is the salary scale. Salaries in social work compare unfavorably with those in teaching and are incommensurate with the extent of education and training called for.

EDUCATING THE FIELD OUTSIDE OF METROPOLITAN CENTERS TO DEMAND TRAINED WORKERS

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for Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans*

The ponderous title assigned for this discussion indicates that it is supposed to supplement the preceding paper by revealing to some extent the processes by which the existing limited demand for trained social workers out in the sticks has come about and by suggesting how that demand may be increased. It also appears to imply that the need of the creation of a demand for trained social workers is especially great outside of the metropolitan centers.

In the development of professional social work during the last quarter of a century there appear the two contrasted methods usual in such constructive movements: one, the extensive, pioneering work; the other, the more intensive, professionalizing process. Some advocates of one or the other of these methods have not always understood or appreciated the other side and have failed to remember that the two kinds of work are essentially complementary.

My first suggestion is that, whatever may be true of metropolitan centers, our field outside is not yet prepared to discard the first of these methods of creating a demand for trained social workers, namely, the extensive, pioneering, educative method. In the great majority of our rural communities—towns, counties, small cities, middle-size cities, and states at large—we still need the creation of an understanding of, and a desire for, constructive social work as a prerequisite to the introduction of the trained social worker. Too large a proportion of our people have not yet even a flash of the social work idea. It is not safe to put over the trained worker on people who have not some appreciation of the value of the work. If this observation is correct we shall need a continuation of the efforts of socially minded teachers, preachers, lecturers, writers, and all others who are helping the minds of the people into the habit of thinking about the relations of human beings with each other. Possibly professional social workers should show a greater sympathy with such discussions, inadequate though some of them may be, and even take a more active part in their promo-

tion and directing. Out of a more general public interest in this field of thought may come greater future toleration and support of the trained social worker.

My second suggestion takes me quite to the other side of the subject. I believe that, whatever may be true of metropolitan centers, the field outside is going to demand, not merely trained social workers, but educated social workers. To supply this field with workers who are merely trained will defeat our purpose. We shall make headway more safely and, in the long run, more rapidly, if we supply it with workers of good natural ability, educated sufficiently to take a leading part in the general life of the community and to think independently about their own professional problems in the new environment in which they must work. The trained worker who tries to apply metropolitan methods to outside communities without using constructive personal thought is very apt to fail and thereby to delay the movement to place social work on a true professional basis. I believe strongly in the most thorough training based on an adequate educational foundation. I believe also that for most kinds of social work this training can best be given in metropolitan centers where varied clinical opportunities are available. Under such an arrangement it becomes the responsibility of the training school in the metropolitan center to select for training, at least for the field outside, only persons with adequate natural ability and good general education. With this in mind, after six years of preparation for the step, we have placed our training work at Tulane University strictly upon a graduate basis, requiring a Bachelor's degree from a recognized college for registration in any course, and have also reserved specifically the right to deny admission to anyone who, in the opinion of the faculty, does not seem likely to become a successful professional social worker. An additional responsibility of the training school in the city is the recognition of the fact that the best of those it trains are needed for the outside field, where workers must think for themselves instead of consulting, and must also take a leading part in the work of social organization. To the extent that the city training school is interested in the promotion of social work as a profession, instead of merely serving local interests, it will recommend for positions outside only from the best half of its graduates, and will keep the poorer half at home where they may receive additional supervision.

One of the most influential factors in introducing the trained social worker throughout the country as a whole is the national social work agency. The policies of these agencies have differed considerably. Some have made it their practice to take local recruits and give them training by graded and progressive steps both at their homes and at training centers. Other national agencies have preferred to train all their workers at central training schools and even to shift workers frequently, so that loyalty to the central organization should not become subordinate to local attachments. Some agencies encourage training that is broad and fundamental and will lead to confidence in one's own capacity to think about the problems that will arise in the field. Other agencies appear to wish to train merely the memory, and to discourage any initiative in their

workers. In recent years the national agency of the supervisory type has cut across the path of the national agency of the operating type as well as that of the local agency. Its demand for workers with training in the particular field in which it is interested is sometimes pressed at the expense of other interests that may be more vital to the community social work program. Sometimes the field agents of both types of national agencies appear to be chiefly interested in discouraging the growth of the influence of local social agencies, or councils of social agencies, or community chests, and in the promotion of the nationally centralized financing and supervision of social work. Sometimes a national agency that insists upon controlling the appointment of its local workers has not the courage to insist upon high standards of training in the face of pressure from influential local supporters who wish appointments for their friends. Sometimes national agencies make mistakes in their local appointments or in their nominations for local positions. These mistakes are often pardonable, but are sometimes due to very inadequate concern about the welfare of the local work in comparison with the interest in taking care of a worker that for some reason is out of a job. The writer, by connection with a few national agencies and by observation and correspondence in the cases of others, has gained a little information about their varied practices. It is such a large field, however, that he does not feel warranted in doing more than make the suggestions: first, that the nationally organized social agencies are likely to continue for some time to be the most important factors in securing the introduction of trained workers and in raising the standards of training; second, that an adequate study should be made of the policies and methods of national social work agencies of all types to reveal their practices with reference to the trained social worker and to determine how they may cooperate most effectively with each other and with local agencies and interests to advance the standards of social work.

By way of contrast, again we may turn from the national agency to its young and powerful local rival, the community chest. The remarkable growth of this method of financing social work has brought with it naturally a demand that the locality which pays the salary of the social worker shall have the chief voice in the selection. Many have feared that this voice would be that of certain big givers, and that the field of social work would be flooded with untrained local favorites whose appointments would be forced in this way. Discussions of this problem in previous conferences have apparently shown that the evil is less than under the older condition of unorganized local financing. More adequate salaries under the community chest plan have made possible the securing of better trained social workers, have also concentrated attention on the appointments, and given the opportunity for those who know what good work is to demand that good workers be secured. It is still important, however, to recognize that centralized local financing does not automatically secure well-trained workers. There is always the danger that the spoils idea may creep in. Only through the education of the public to a better understanding of the nature of construc-

tive social work and the devotion of some persons in each locality to the job of seeing that only qualified workers are appointed by the social agencies can the danger be avoided. The community chest has made possible the securing of trained social workers, but in each community there must be some individuals who will make it certain.

In this connection the suggestion may well be made that some form of educational work along the lines of social work is the best guaranty in every locality that educated and trained social workers will be demanded and secured. Of course, one would not advocate the establishment of numerous and unnecessary schools of social work. Those cities in which schools do exist or in which they may properly be established ought to consider themselves favored, for a real educational center for social workers will inevitably have a constructive influence upon the social work of the community where it is located. But in many of the places, both urban and rural, where training schools are not practicable, it is nevertheless possible to organize some program for group study and discussion of the problems and processes of social work. In some way the trained professional social workers must get together for the continuation of their education by study and discussion. In some way also they must see that the public is reached by educational social work publicity, and that some definite organization is effected through which a considerable number of the people are constantly studying and discussing the social problems and social work of their community. Without effective organization for education along social work lines it is difficult for any community or its social workers to maintain or advance their standards.

A proposition that will be regarded by many as being questionable is that social work as a profession should secure from government the licensing power to be used in establishing grades and a minimum standard in its field. This is not a new proposition, and is, to some extent, used in connection with civil service requirements in governmental social work. Has not the time come to establish the licensed or certificated social worker? In previous discussions of which I have heard the objection has been made that this would result in establishing minimum standards toward which the profession would be dragged down, and that we should rely rather upon our own professional association to establish standards that would be enforced by less formal social pressure. Possibly this view is correct, but the practice of other professions, such as law, medicine, teaching, and librarianship are in the line of legal certification. The general tendency is for social work to move over to support from public funds. With public support comes appointment by public authority, and unless definite certification is established through the efforts of social workers it will probably be established by politicians. My justification for mentioning this question here is that the licensing of social workers would at once educate the field outside with reference to the existence of a set of standards in social work, and probably pre-empt for trained social workers a large field that is rapidly being developed.

My final proposition with reference to the promotion of a demand for

trained social workers is this: social workers must themselves create the demand for their services. This can be done effectively only by giving the service that will convince people of its value. Of course we shall have to help many people to see the value. Most people will pay for service that will return them money profits; some will pay for service that improves their health; but scarcely anyone will pay for service that merely improves his character. Social workers see clearly, however, that character values are the greatest. It is a part of their job to help the general public to see the greater values. Fortunately, we have an opening in the fact that nearly everyone wishes to have his neighbor's character improved, and sometimes is even willing to pay for it.

The trained social worker has the double duty of demonstrating that social work is worth while and also that the trained worker is preferable to the untrained. As one primarily interested in promoting training for social work, I must confess that sometimes I have misgivings about some forms of professional social work with which I am not intimately acquainted. It sometimes seems that the specialists are chiefly concerned with the magnifying of trifles in procedure and in the restriction of the final output in service. How much more likely that this view should sometimes prevail among people who have had no special interest in any phase of the subject. It is certainly advisable for the trained social worker to keep in mind the fact that a critical public is watching both quantity and quality of output, and that their interest in quantity is more developed than their appreciation of quality. The trained social worker must do at least as much as the untrained, must give a better quality of service, and must educate the public to appreciate the better quality of service. If the social worker will do these things she will surely be in demand outside of metropolitan centers, and if she is very, very good she may, when she dies, if not before, be called to a metropolitan center.

RECRUITING OF STUDENTS BY SCHOOLS AND OF APPRENTICES BY AGENCIES

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The subject of recruiting bears an important relationship to the general topic of leadership. From the recruits of today presumably will come the leaders of tomorrow, and upon them will rest the responsibility, not alone of developing professional standards, but also of furnishing the element of statesmanship needed to chart the course of social work in the community wisely in the years to come.

How many of us know much about the composition of the group of new recruits coming into the profession at the present time? What brings them? What do they bring of training and personal equipment? What do they receive

in salary and in opportunity for further training? In an attempt to answer these questions in some fashion material has been secured from three sources: first, members of the Association of Schools for Professional Social Work (24 in number); second, social agencies, such as family societies, community chests, and social settlements; third, 134 new recruits themselves (persons who entered the social work profession in 1925-26). An effort has been made to secure representative data by including communities of different sizes, located in different parts of the country, and from agencies doing different kinds of work. It is not assumed, however, that anything in the nature of a "true sample" has been obtained. Results, if anything, probably represent an optimistic picture.

In analyzing the composition of the new recruit body as represented by the 134 replies received from such individuals we find that five out of the total were from men, and the data from schools of social work gives forty-one men as the total number graduating from sixteen schools in four years. Incidentally, of the new male recruits reporting, four were college graduates (one from a school of social work), while the fifth was recruited from business, with no academic or professional training.

As to type of community, of those who reported a job, 62 per cent were working in cities of over 200,000 and below 1,000,000, while 25 per cent were in larger cities; 13 per cent were in smaller communities or in county-wide work.

Of these people, 89 per cent were in case work agencies; 11 per cent, in recreation and settlement work; and 8 per cent (one individual), in research.

The question of the desirable age for a new recruit seems to be a perplexing one. Taking twenty-four as the dividing line, not quite half (46 per cent) of the new recruits fell below it, the rest (55 per cent) being twenty-four or older. A number of social agencies reported that they preferred not to employ persons for case work younger than twenty-five, though one settlement worker considered youth an asset. One family society secretary, while setting twenty-five as the desirable age, added: "Experience has shown, however, that if we do not take a promising girl immediately upon her graduation from college, we are not likely to get her at all, for she will go into some other profession and become established." Several people gave forty as the upper limit beyond which a new recruit was not sufficiently adaptable to make a satisfactory worker, and nine of our new recruits have reached this dead line.

What has been the previous experience of these older people who form a little more than half our group? Only nine reported no occupation prior to entering their first positions in social work. Of the remaining sixty-four persons, the largest percentage (39 per cent) reported 1 to 5 years' previous experience, while 22 per cent had worked for 1 year or less, 25 per cent, from 6 to 10 years, and 11 per cent, from 10 to 20 years. Two individuals (3 per cent) have a record of more than 20 years.

Teaching, which leads all other occupations, was reported in 63 per cent of the cases; clerical and secretarial positions, in 40 per cent; while the fields of

business, nursing and dietetics, religious education, journalism, and law (stated in the order of frequency) are mentioned by a few persons. It may be interesting in this connection to note that three out of sixteen schools of social work reporting stated that they make a definite effort to recruit students among the teaching professions.

Let us compare the recruits falling into these two age groups as to the type of training that they have received. Those are counted as having school of social work training who have had at least four years of academic work beyond high school, part of which has been taken at a school of social work. In order to represent fairly the recreational as well as the case work field, the Recreation Training School of Chicago has been included as a school of social work, though not a member of the national association. Of the older group, 23 per cent did not have four years of college, and slightly more than half of these had no academic work beyond high school; 38 per cent were college graduates without school training; 16 per cent have completed work in the schools, and 11 per cent are engaged at present in apprenticeship courses which include study at a school of social work. Eleven per cent have had, or are engaged upon, some social work courses which do not fall within the foregoing definition.

Contrast with this group the younger recruits, of whom only 5 per cent are without four years of college work, all of whom (three in number) have had some academic work beyond high school; 48 per cent are college graduates without school training, and 46 per cent have either taken such training or are embarked upon it under an apprenticeship arrangement (21 per cent completed, 25 per cent in training); one individual has had some social work courses not amounting to four years of undergraduate work.

How were these people recruited? What first called their attention to social work? What determined their choice? The following replies may be suggestive: seventy-one individuals, 54 per cent of the total, report that they first heard of social work in college, were recruited for it there, or both; sixteen individuals (12 per cent of the total) made their contacts through a social work school; forty-four individuals (34 per cent) report no school or college influence, but were informed, or recruited, through personal contacts with social workers, the interest of members of their own family, reading, church work, or through contacts with a social agency, which include volunteer work, clerical work, or temporary positions; fifty-three out of eighty-six individuals reporting school of social work or college influence (62 per cent of that number) report additional influences similar to those just mentioned. It nevertheless appears that the oft-despised professor of sociology is the most important single influence in bringing these young workers into the profession.

While three individuals among the new recruits stated that they had learned of social work in high school, only four of the schools of social work make any attempt to reach high school students with vocational information. To what extent this is done by social agencies was not learned. In fact, the problem

of recruiting seems hardly to have been attacked by either schools or agencies on any but a somewhat individualistic basis. Before any well-organized effort can be made, however, we will have to arrive at some consensus of opinion as to what information is to be given to the inquiring individual as to the preparation required for social work. At the present time no such agreement appears to exist about the character or length of training that should be undertaken.

One thing at least is certain: the schools of social work do not begin to graduate enough students to fill the agency demand. From data furnished by the schools it appears that for the last five years an average of approximately 240 students has been graduated yearly (out of a total of twenty-four schools, no replies were received from four, and returns from several others were so incomplete as to be of little use for statistical analysis). Making estimates on this basis for the schools not replying, we may say that possibly 330 represents a generous estimate. In addition to this number, there are the students who take some work but do not complete the requirements for a degree or certificate, and it would appear that in some instances these are more numerous than the actual graduates.

The replies of the social agencies reflect very definitely the same situation. Those located in cities where there are schools state that there are not enough graduates to meet their demands, and those located in other places, particularly in the smaller communities, seem to have great difficulty in securing any workers with school training, the only exceptions being in cases where the individual has some personal reason for wishing to live in that particular place. Some correspondents from such communities report that their great difficulty is to get workers at all. In other cases a tendency to employ only local people is mentioned. There are several instances where agencies employing graduates of a local school also conduct their own training courses. The other side of the picture is that the students do not always choose to seek employment in the community where they have been trained.

But do the agencies approve unreservedly of the school product? Not in every instance. Several criticisms are made of the schools by agencies, chiefly on the score of their failure to select good material to begin with. To quote one outspoken correspondent:

The schools will have to go after the matter of recruiting in a much more fundamental way. They will have also to be a little sterner in regard to suitable material. It lowers the whole standard of training to have elderly ladies and young immature girls almost devoid of personal requirements wandering around from agency to agency with a diploma in their hands, asking for employment.

Substantially the same criticism is made by a social worker familiar with the situation on the Pacific coast. He adds that their difficulties are multiplied by the fact that eastern trained workers (and for hospital social work, at least, the West offers no organized training) do not remain permanently in the field.

An indifference to the training school product is very marked in the settle-

ment field. Settlement workers seem to feel a little uncertain whether they are doing "social work" in the sense that the schools define the term. According to one settlement leader,

Community work is a much larger business than social work, so called, and must take people who are trained in different ways. . . . Personally, I am not satisfied with the curricula of the schools [of social work]. I feel that they are still planned with case work especially in mind, and that the whole color of the school is in that direction.

One school at the present time is developing its group work or recreation division in cooperation with local settlements on the same cooperative plan that already exists in the case work field, and specialized training along this line is given in at least two other schools, so possibly in time the objections of the settlement workers may be overcome. It should be noted that most of the criticism is not leveled at school training as such, but upon the material chosen for training and, in some instances, on the content of the curriculum.

How is this situation reflected in the schools? It is not apparent that these institutions are greatly concerned with increasing their own enrolment, although but three out of fifteen reporting show a steady upward trend over a five-year period; six being irregular and upward, while four are irregular and downward, and two are practically stationary. Stated in terms of their capacity, six are within 75 per cent of it (one being 100 per cent), six are between 45 and 75 per cent, and two are less than 45 per cent, while ten made no report.

Do the social agencies recruit for the schools? Apparently in four instances, where a definite arrangement exists between the two regarding an apprenticeship course, this is definitely done; seven other schools report that agencies frequently send them students; in five cases this happens occasionally, and rarely in two. (No report from six.) Nevertheless, the fact that agencies actually recruit persons for their own staffs and make no training school requirement must have a reflex action upon the school enrolment. If the agencies should not be expected to accept poor material that has taken the precaution to fortify itself with a school diploma, should not the schools, in their turn, be given the opportunity to show what they could do with the promising material which the agencies, on their own admission, frequently keep to themselves when they get hold of it?

Now let us turn to the economic aspect of the problem. Training means an investment on the part of the student of both time and money, and an investment is not generally made unless it is likely to bring some definite returns. An attempt was made to learn from the schools the extent to which their student body had been assisted through scholarships or fellowships, and also the proportion which had been wholly or partially self-supporting. Figures on the latter points, however, were difficult to obtain and, when given, were in most cases in the nature of estimates. Certain points may be noted, however: First, the schools in which the majority of the students take work leading to an advanced degree (four in number) give financial assistance to a large number:

two of them through scholarships, and two through apprentice salaries paid by the agency with which the student is under contract for a period of two or three years. In one school in the first group (the only one in which an A.B. degree is an absolute prerequisite for entrance) almost 100 per cent of the students for the past five years have held scholarships or fellowships. In the two cases where apprenticeship is in force, the proportion of students securing support in this fashion varies from over 75 per cent in one instance to less than 50 per cent in the other. The total enrolment of the first school is about six times of the latter, though the number receiving degrees during the past four years is nineteen in the first case and fifteen in the second, which would seem to indicate that the apprenticeship student frequently fails to fulfil the requirements for an academic degree. Second, the schools in which training is given as part of the undergraduate curriculum show a smaller proportion of scholarships. Several report, however, that a large proportion of their students earn part of their way, while a few are wholly self-supporting. Third, the schools which grant certificates and not academic degrees, and which, while they prefer students with an A.B. or B.S., nevertheless are willing to accept something which they declare to be its equivalent, also show a considerable amount of financial assistance to students, both through scholarships and apprenticeship salaries.

In so far as any conclusions may be drawn from such fragmentary and inexact figures, it would seem that the student who takes up social work as a profession is not usually financed by an affluent family, but is frequently assisting in any way possible to pay for the training undertaken, and expects to be self-supporting on completing it and, in some instances, to pay back indebtedness incurred for college expenses or to assist other younger members of the family to get an equally good start. Such, at any rate, is a picture of the group of prospective social workers with whom I have been in contact for the past four years.

What are the salary prospects facing such an individual seeking his or her first job? On this point the data from the schools, the social agencies, and the new recruits themselves seem to be in substantial agreement: 50 per cent of new recruits reporting a job fall into the salary group of less than \$1,200, the lowest figure given being \$750; 34 per cent range from \$1,200 to less than \$1,500; 10 per cent get \$1,500 and less than \$1,800; 6 per cent receive more than \$1,800, \$3,300 being the highest salary reported.

How do the figures on salary correlate with those on training? Are the higher sums received by persons with preparation in a school of social work? In general this is true, though the individual at the head of the list has neither academic nor school preparation—but then, he is a man! The students of social work schools form 45 per cent of the total number reporting (11 per cent of these have not had four years' work). They hold 75 per cent of the positions in each of the highest salary groups and only 41 per cent of those ranging from \$1,200 to less than \$1,500, while only one individual (2 per cent) who has completed training is in the lowest group, 32 per cent of the group being composed

of students working on a joint apprenticeship arrangement, and consequently not giving full time to the agency employing them, and 3 per cent being persons who, though they have some school training, have not completed four years' work beyond high school. Those who are college graduates without school training form 40 per cent of the total and hold 46 per cent of the positions in the lowest salary group and only 25 per cent of those paying \$1,500 and less than \$1,800, while one individual (13 per cent of total in this group), also male, rises to the \$1,800 mark. Fifteen per cent of the recruits are not college graduates and have had no work in the schools (beyond possibly a single extension course), and of these, 67 per cent are in the lowest salary group (comprising 19 per cent of that group. The rest, with the exception of the one high-salaried man referred to above, are getting \$1,200 and less than \$1,500. It may also be interesting to see how those persons rank who have had at least one year of school training in addition to a college degree. Out of a total of fifteen, five are reported in the highest group; three, in the next; four, in the next; and one, in the lowest.

Most agencies report that they start persons with school training at not less than \$1,200, while new workers without such training usually get a salary beginning at \$75 or \$85 per month, which is increased to \$100 by the middle or end of the first year. Eleven schools out of fifteen reporting say that their graduates are given a preference as to salary by the agencies employing them, while fourteen claim that they are given precedence over other candidates for positions, and nine think that they secure promotion more rapidly.

It is encouraging to note that as far as the few examples we are able to cite are concerned, advanced work does count in terms of salary in the large proportion of cases. But as against this fact we must remember that 50 per cent of the new recruits are getting less than \$1,200 per year, and 68 per cent of these, in turn, are full-time workers, not receiving any academic instruction, and 74 per cent (including the apprenticeship group) are college graduates. Twelve hundred dollars is a very modest estimate of a living wage for anyone, especially if a person has intellectual interests and ambitions, as we hope is the case with our young social workers, and it leaves practically no margin for savings to pay off indebtedness or to be applied against further training in the future.

Neither must we overlook the fact that we are setting up a standard of training which is higher than that required either for secretarial work or for teaching, and that we must compete with the opportunities offered in these fields when we seek recruits. Comparisons with the professions of law and medicine, which are sometimes made by those who advocate two years' postgraduate training, will hardly hold when translated into terms of dollars and cents. We believe that the day is past when we should ask young people to choose social work as a career in a spirit of self-sacrifice, accepting a pittance in exchange for the great opportunity to "do good." Such an appeal would find scant acceptance with the realistic-minded youth of today did we attempt to make it. And

it is somewhat disingenuous to point to the few large salaries, earned by some of those in executive positions, as a bait when we recall the rather disheartening figures developed in Mr. Hurlin's study for workers in the lower ranks.

Recruiting today is, as we have seen, something of a hit-or-miss proposition; is it not time that as teachers and practitioners we should together work out a plan of campaign based upon an agreement as to what we feel to be necessary in the way of training and what we think desirable in the nature of personal qualifications for securing the workers whom we need to build up the profession?

Ohio has tried one experiment, which might well be copied by other states, in establishing a "Students' Luncheon" at the state conference, to which students and professors of sociology from the various academic institutions in the state are invited. Why should not the National Conference arrange such an event most appropriately under the leadership of this division, for the students of the colleges in the region where the meeting is held?

Furthermore, why should high school students not be informed in general terms about social work? At the present time it seems that comparatively few persons have thought much about social work before entering college, yet high school students are thinking of vocations; they know something of the possibilities of teaching, of nursing, of secretarial work, or business, law, and medicine. Why should they not be acquainted with social work as well?

The question of whether or not we should appeal to those who have already chosen another profession must be considered. It is, of course, likely that we shall continue to get recruits who have originally taken up another line of work and have decided for one reason or another to leave it for social work. Are we not dodging our own obvious responsibility if we suggest, as some people have done, that it is a good plan for a prospective social worker to teach for a couple of years until he or she is "mature" enough for our job? Why should we expect the public schools to carry our workers during their least productive years, and ourselves profit by the experience gained at their expense?

The scarcity of men recruits has been stressed. Are we satisfied that social work should be admitted to be, by and large, a woman's profession? Inequalities of salary between men and women have been noted, but it should be remarked also that three out of our five men are receiving salaries in the neighborhood of \$1,200. Can we expect to attract promising college graduates in any numbers at this rate? It would seem that the economic factor is an important element to be considered in securing men for social work, as well as in determining the length of training to be required of recruits. Can students be expected to finance themselves for a year of postgraduate study if they are not to be assured of higher returns at the end of it? We have seen that such study is very largely assisted at the present time. Is it desirable to develop such assistance further, and in what way should it be given? Are the results obtained from the joint apprenticeship arrangement referred to satisfactory? And what should be the proportion of time devoted to academic studies under such an arrangement? And

what is to be done in the town (particularly the small town) where there are no academic facilities for training? Should the agencies, through community chests or other means, raise scholarships for promising recruits which will enable them to attend a school in another community?

No satisfactory answer can be given to these questions at the present time; they have been raised in the hope that we may at least begin to look for such an answer, for it is difficult to see how they can be evaded indefinitely if we are to face our problem of recruiting squarely, and face it squarely we must if we wish to build concretely for the future, and not to allow our aspirations for the profession to dissolve into the thin air of pious pronouncements about desirable personality and adequate training.

SOME ETHICAL ELEMENTS IN LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL WORK

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Development of personality in its higher aspects and the more significant expressions of conduct are dependent upon complex social groupings. "Groupal phases" of our life may be considered as—in fact, are—an environmental challenge. Adjustments involve a never ending process. The process of these adjustments is conditional upon prevailing standards in the family, the neighborhood, the town, the nation, the church, the club, the business, the profession, and the like.

Ethics is a scientific attempt to crystallize prevailing so-called "right" behavior into codes, with synchronous aspirations to explore the field of human conduct and to develop such additional socially useful formulas as are consistent with individual good. "What is his viewpoint" is the vernacular for "What are his business or professional associations." "Viewpoint," if we speak broadly, is tantamount to the prevailing ethics of a group. For example, the possession of the degree *Doctor Medicae* precludes the use of advertising as a recruiting force in building a clientèle. It is assumed to mean a deep interest in curative and preventive medicine, an effort to keep abreast of scientific knowledge in that field, a recognition of the value of human life, and a dedication to the program, individually and socially, of prolonging the same. Physicians and surgeons are clannish. They associate themselves together. The group legislates for the individual. "In good standing" in the local medical association, involving relations with state and national associations, is of vital concern. Not only are there things a good doctor will not do; there are also things a good doctor is not allowed to do and yet retain the respect and support of his associates. Their ethics are codified.

Social workers, in their efforts to build up professional standards of conduct,

will eventually evolve a code of ethics. This will be a significant step leading to the improvement of the quality of social work, because it will lead to a higher personnel among social workers. Ethics means the science of behavior as good or bad, judged by its effect on others. Even with an accepted definition in the field of ethics, social workers will still be obliged to struggle, and struggle hard, to establish the good, rule out the indifferent, and eliminate those workers who aspire to the name and to the emoluments of the profession without the corresponding willingness to make the heavy sacrifices incident to success in this important field of human endeavor. Social work may be viewed as organized activity to promote such adjustment among individuals, stimulated to the greatest possible degree of efficient behavior, as will count most for the common welfare. It never isolates individuals. The very word "social" avows its communal aspects. Its fundamental purpose is to teach people how to live. The good of all inheres in the concept of social work.

The idea has been advanced that the day is not far distant when the state will take cognizance of the delicate nature of service involved in trying to make helpful social adjustments. By law we require registration of physicians, dentists, barbers, plumbers, automobile drivers, vendors of shoe laces, etc. Those who deal with delicate human relationships, aggravated as they are by all distractions of our intricate civilization, are allowed to tinker with boy problems, girl problems, domestic difficulties, leisure time and industrial problems, do this, that, and the other in the name of individual happiness and the common welfare. State restraints are meager. Social work is a big and a hard undertaking.

First, I want to point out the duty of preparation—initial and continuous. In medicine, a specialist is always one who is grounded in a general knowledge of the human body. A pediatrician, for example, has taken a general course in medicine, as has an oculist or an ear and throat specialist. In all the professions the content of training is becoming broader and deeper.

The effort on the part of some social service agencies to take raw material, administer a few doses of instruction in case work, and label the result, after six months' or a year's so-called "training" a case-worker, is commendable in so far as the intention is to start such workers on the path of hard work. The method, however, finds no justification if there is an intention to produce social workers.

Before the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club in April, 1926, President Clarence C. Little of the University of Michigan made some interesting comments. He was talking about the need of selective requirements in regulating intake for university matriculation:

The aims of our colleges are generally high and idealistic, but the efforts to see that the applicants for admission are able to qualify for entrance in an institution possessing those ideals are few and far between. A steadily increasing sense of public obligation and duty is the great outstanding need of the citizenry of a nation faced with our problems.

We can scarcely appreciate, I believe, the seriousness of the conditions which we, as a country, must face in the next 25 or 35 years. To send out youth without giving them a sense of social humility and the need for lifelong service is just as blind as it would have been to send

our men to the front in the world-war totally ignorant of all phases of trench warfare and having only antiquated tactics at their command.

It is not kind to admit immature or frivolous or narrowly selfish boys and girls to college today. It is not democratic to do so. It is fair to assume that in a democracy the admission of common obligations lies at the basis of progress. To assure ourselves, in so far as we can, that the boy or girl desiring a college education, largely at public expense, is able to show at least the fundamentals of a democratic social personality is our clear duty.

Socially, moreover, there is a very grave danger involved. Young people already expect and receive many public and private privileges. To remove the competitive phase from admission to college would not lead to democracy, but to a sort of educational bolshevism, where all available public funds for higher education are to be equally distributed to all applicants, regardless of fitness or merit. This would result in lowering standards and in a complete breaking down of all efforts to build up unselfishness or self-abnegation.

College education should be given to every boy or girl of courage, honesty, and self-denying vision who places service above self and obligation above opportunity. It should be denied those unable to grasp these ideals on the grounds that the world needs leaders in social progress and in adjustment of human relations more than it needs youth trained in increasing its own salary.

If this is true of youth seeking a college degree, what should be said of seriousness of purpose on the part of men and women seeking to become in a real sense "leaders in social progress and in adjustment of human relations"?

According to Professor John L. Gillin, of the University of Wisconsin, the objectives of social work education imply

the coordination of knowledge and experience to produce results of the greatest importance to society. They imply vision in us who are engaged in training social workers which may well make us humble. They demand an understanding of the vastly complicated factors at work in society which produce the deepest tragedies on the one hand, and on the other, the finest social personalities; which result in maladjustments which destroy lives, and cost money and suffering, and which also give opportunity to talent and genius to develop for the blessing of mankind. They challenge us who are engaged in the task of discovering and developing social engineers to coordinate learning and technique, and focus it upon the problem of skilful organization of personality and social agency for the adjustment of warped or threatened personalities and of social conditions which are warping personalities to unsocial attitudes. They call us to look upon this difficult task of training as the highest kind of social statesmanship.¹

Whether we be social worker, social work teacher, or social work publicist, a lofty ideal of this challenging sort "may well make us humble." Social work may be congratulated, and social work of the future is safe, if those who are professionally engaged in developing social workers continue to "look upon this difficult task of training as the highest kind of social statesmanship." Not only the task of training, but social work itself, is social statesmanship of the highest kind.

The time will come in social work, in my judgment, when there will be a relation between executive social workers who may be classed as social statesmen and those who assist in the performance of social work, similar to the relation that exists between physicians and nurses. So executive social workers, who

¹ J. L. Gillin, "Restatement of the Objectives of Social Work Education: from the Point of View of a Teacher of Social Science," *Journal of Social Forces*, Vol. III, No. 3.

really should be social engineers and statesmen, will find that many subordinate workers skilled in the technique of some particular phase of the problem but not appreciating, and not devoting themselves to, community problems as a whole, are as nurses to physicians. It will be found true also that many of the so-called "subordinate social workers" will develop vision and grasp, and by their suggestions and behavior will start many an intellectual process in the minds of the so-called "social engineers." However, those who are executive social workers by virtue of the exactions of rigid standards must be leaders in the development of thought leading to social progress.

As was well said at the National Conference in Denver in 1925, "The best methods can be ruined by untrained and untrainable people." Intellectual vigor is a paramount requirement. Nobody but a fool would attempt to deny the important rôle played by the emotions in the successful conduct of social work. Only a fool would quarrel with the proposition that emotion must consort with reason. Therein social workers will agree with Page: "In strong characters, therefore, emotion is the servant of a self-control actuated by ideals; while in weak ones, emotion is the master of a volition not dominated by a strong concept of ends and aims."¹ Likewise will we not quarrel with Ray Stannard Baker when he says: "There are no miracles in progress; there is only the plodding but beautiful adventure of inquiry and education."²

Inquiry and education have definitely proved a few things in social work. Despite this there is always a ready crop of splendid people, busy with uncoordinated welfare activities, whose outstanding qualifications are pleasing personality, social standing, and an abundant supply of that kind of underlying attitude with which hell is said to abundantly paved.

The second duty is the cultivation of breadth of vision. It is an ethical error for anybody to be engaged in social work whose power of vision is limited to his own specialty. It is quite possible to appreciate the importance of one's own job and at the same time have a fair measure of appreciation of the activities of social workers engaged in a different line of activity. I heard the chief of staff of an educational health center make the following statement: "We have been going along pretty well for the last fifteen years, and we propose to go along in the very same way for the next fifteen years." This happened anno Domini 1926. Anyone who has officially reviewed the budgets of social service organizations in a community chest has frequently heard expressions somewhat similar to this: "Our work is so important that it can stand no budget reduction. The fact is that we can take almost any amount of money and use it to good advantage. If there exists the necessity of cutting budgets, cut the budgets of other organizations, and, for the good of the community, leave ours intact."

If specialization in social work has any outstanding sin it is that of smugness. It is a good thing to be satisfied with one's self—to a degree. Enthusiasm and conviction about one's own job are desirable qualities. That state of mind,

¹ *Trade Morals*, pp. 132-33.

² *Survey*, February 1, 1926, p. 557.

however, which assumes one type of social service effort to be the *ultima thule* is fatal to progress. Such a condition is comparable to that type of religious thought which naively assumes that Almighty God has chosen one particular sect to be the repository of all truth. In the field of religion this way of thinking produces much theology. No one denies that. Whether or not it produces much religion is a matter of conjecture. There is a vast difference between religion and theology. Theology is a razor to split a hair. Religion is a knife to cut a slice of bread. So social work specialization is tending toward distinct stratification, desiring agency gratification even at the expense of community betterment. It is amazing how people become enthused on the importance of present-day happenings, failing to take account of the ephemeral nature of much of their own work. The charity organization movement took itself rather too seriously during the past two decades, and suffered partial deflation. The mothers' pension movement was, by its earnest but too zealous advocates, expected to reduce the relief problem to tractable proportions. There are signs that the latest actor on this stage of narrow-mindedness is the community chest movement. I believe in this movement, and see in it great possibilities for good. In fact, I think it has already achieved much good. I must say, however, that there are alarming tendencies within this movement which seem to me to indicate disaster if the trend is not checked. If the time comes when a small group of people in any community assume to dictate what types of social service movements should be allowed to function, thus exercising a benevolent birth control in the field of welfare agencies; if a few autocrats, consciously or unconsciously so, tend to check pioneering in the field of social work; if the community chest movement finds itself unable to avoid provincialism and to work out a program involving proper support of non-local movements, it does not require a prophet to say that the movement will die, and it does not require a leader in the field of ethics to say that it ought to die. The community chest movement ought to stand for breadth and vision. If the time comes when it is viewed as an end rather than as a means—goodbye, community chest.

Third, the social worker must believe in his job. If he does not, what right has he to be in it, and what right has he to expect to make a success of it? Cynicism is more or less a matter of temperament. That social worker, however, who, while engaged in making motions in his profession, incidentally taking a living wage for his effort, has lost faith in the possibility of approaching the objectives for which he is supposed to be striving, should go into communion with himself about the propriety of continuing therein. I submit that the social worker who clings to the emoluments of the profession, scanty though they be, with a cynical attitude toward all his associates and toward his own work is guilty of sabotage. He is destroying the products of labor and is negative in his accomplishments. If he is a man of conviction, he will be a man of enthusiasm. Again, temperament will, of course, play a large part. Some people bubble over and some do not. He will have his ups and downs in this regard, but he

will nevertheless be in his work because he likes it, and like it because he is in it—just as Russell Conwell's man in his famous lecture, "Acres of Diamonds," was contented because he was rich, and rich because he was contented. One may be justified in feeling righteous indignation against a minister of the Gospel who reviles religion, a physician who scoffs at the established rules of hygiene, and a social worker who habitually and continually sneers at the mere mention of social progress. Involved in this idea is the whole question of common honesty.

Finally, I would mention the obligation to cultivate a lively imagination and an appreciation of the aims and efforts of clients and organizations. A social worker's convictions and enthusiasm about his own job may now and then tend to isolate him. Technical training in the specialty of social work may have the same effect. Breadth of vision, however, due to intellectual background and wide experience, will make him look with generous appreciation upon the efforts of all groups striving for the common good.

I was greatly impressed by reading a few years ago in the *Survey* about a case worker with unmarried mothers, who had been earnestly insisting upon a certain line of social treatment when coming in contact with her girls. When, however, a young woman friend of hers was approaching motherhood before marriage, this same case worker looked upon the problem with an entirely different point of view, and found herself not only willing to modify the views which she had insisted upon toward strangers, but even willing to suggest a different course of treatment for her friend. The inference the case worker intended to leave was that she had failed in appreciation, up to this point, of the circumstances in which these girls were placed, and was not quite big enough to cooperate fully with established institutions like the home and the church. Within a few weeks I received a letter from a family welfare case worker, formerly a member of my own staff when I was secretary of such an organization, who is now married and has two children. She said to me: "I wish I could be a case worker now. I see things so differently. I would do so much of my case work on a different basis than I used to do it." Many a conventional case record reads: "Case closed. No cooperation." A social worker lacking keen imagination is constitutionally unable to cooperate. Everybody is willing to cooperate upon, but not all are ready to cooperate with. Cooperation is reciprocal or it is nothing. It is possible to give and take without surrendering worth-while convictions. Every social worker should inventory his convictions at least once a year. We believe that a man should have the courage of his convictions, but we believe also that he should have convictions worthy of his courage, and only those that are founded on reason. Dr. Van Waters pointed out last year in Denver that "professional work is chiefly an affair of the spirit." This being so, cooperation ought to be relatively easy. It is not so much a question of getting this or that done in our way as it is a question of a broad approach to the solution of the big problem. Generally lack of cooperation is due to conflict of per-

sonalities. If social workers do not like each other they are not inclined to cooperate. If they do like each other, that is to say, if their personalities coalesce, problems are generally worked out on a satisfactory basis. Cooperative effort is sometimes indicated by selfish concern for the prestige and standing of an organization or department rather than by an aggressive interest in getting something done for the common welfare. If we care not who does it so long as it gets done, results will be greater. Thus it is that conviction about one's own job and enthusiasm for one's own service must be balanced by power of imagination and a breadth of vision which will stress the opportunity of the other fellow to do his job. If our profession becomes an affair of the spirit rather than an affair of detailed behavior the results are likely to be greater. Many times lack of cooperation is due to immersion in a sea of details. A big, broad view of the objectives everybody is seeking is lost sight of.

To summarize, ethics is the science of behavior as good or bad, judged by its effect on others. Social work is dedicated to that vague thing called social progress, which must at least be viewed as approachable, whether or not it is realized to any great degree. This, of course, strikes at individual and communal behavior viewed in terms of its good and bad effects. Social work involves contact with the most baffling problems of the day, namely, those dealing with human behavior. Only those can rightly be called social workers who are broadly indoctrinated. Social workers must be people of breadth of vision, able to look beyond the limitations of their own back yard. They must be sincere in their work, with convictions of its importance and with enthusiasm for its accomplishment. They must be willing to sacrifice even the ambitions of their own organizations, and surrender some of their less important habits of behavior in the interests of a demonstrably sound program. In short, they must have heart and brains.

THE INVESTIGATION OF ENGINEERING EDUCATION

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There is probably no field of higher education in which the results are more susceptible of objective measurement or critical appraisal than in engineering education. It is quite natural that this should be true. For the most part the engineer's work results in concrete things. Scarcely an incident of modern life is uninfluenced by those things. His work is subjected constantly to the severest tests of safety, convenience, and economy. His failures cannot remain undetected, and may have the most far-reaching consequences.

Engineering education, which prepares men for these exacting duties, is nearly, if not, indeed, quite, as readily judged by its results. For one thing, engineers themselves who look to the colleges for the recruitment of their ranks are

a most critically and analytically minded group, accustomed as they are to deal in realities and always to seek the underlying truth of every situation. Not unnaturally, then, engineering education might have been expected to receive its full share of attention in the well-defined movement of the past twenty years or so to scrutinize closely the methods and results of higher education in this country. This, indeed, has proved to be the case.

This critical attitude toward the results of education is a very wholesome one. It has been manifested in many ways; in none, perhaps, more clearly than in the number and variety of educational investigations which have been undertaken in the past few years. While these studies and their results are quite generally known, it may not be inappropriate to mention the Flexner investigation of medical education and the virtually revolutionary change which has followed it as an example of what they may accomplish.

In the field of engineering education there have been two of these surveys. The first was undertaken by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching at the request of a group representing the four major professional engineering societies. It is generally spoken of as the Mann investigation, since the report upon it was written by Dr. Charles R. Mann, formerly of the Department of Physics of the University of Chicago. The Mann report was published in 1918, at a time when the engineering colleges were struggling through the period of the Student Army Training Corps. They were in no position to act upon the recommendations which the report presented. About four years ago, feeling that constructive action was needed, the engineering teachers themselves, through their organization, the society for the Promotion of Engineering Education, petitioned the Carnegie corporation for funds to continue the study of engineering education. The second of the two studies then followed. In presenting the request and in planning the work a principle new at that time in such undertakings was proposed. Briefly, it was recommended that the study be carried out by the engineering teachers and the engineering colleges themselves as a cooperative undertaking; that it should be a sympathetic study of engineering education by those most directly concerned. It was planned to conduct the work primarily through the agency of committees of the faculties in all of the colleges, and to coordinate the work through a central committee known as the board of investigation and coordination. It was also proposed that the work be in direct charge of a director and a staff. These proposals were accepted and the sum of \$108,000 was appropriated for the work, the money to be furnished over a period of three years, during which it was assumed that the major portion of the study would be completed. The work has now been in progress for about two and one-half years. During that period it has been proved beyond any reasonable doubt that it is entirely possible to conduct a study of a branch of professional education by the method of cooperation of the colleges themselves and to demonstrate that the work can be of a sufficiently detached and critical character. It has been possible to make a thorough analysis of engineering edu-

cation in all of its important phases, to study its relationship with the profession and with industry, and to begin the formulation of plans for constructive betterments. In fact, the enlistment of the aid of the colleges and other agencies, including the national engineering societies, has made it possible to accomplish a volume of results which would not have been possible by any other method in a similar period, if, indeed, some of the information and results would have been obtained at all.

This aspect of the investigation of engineering education deserves careful consideration by anybody considering a similar project; in fact, it has been adopted in other studies and is working successfully in them. It has its limitations as well as its advantages. One of its great advantages is that the work is done by those who will be affected by the results, and the way is thus paved for the adoption of the plans which grow out of the enterprise. Furthermore, the colleges look upon it as their own undertaking. They are vitally interested in its outcome, and our experience is that they will do almost any amount of work to insure its success. When the plan was first proposed it might well have been feared that the colleges could not look upon their problems from a sufficiently detached point of view; that, as someone expressed it, there might be a strong tendency "to rationalize the *status quo*." It might also have been feared that there would be a tendency on the part of individual colleges to magnify their merits and conceal their defects. As far as the engineering colleges and the engineering teachers are concerned, it may be affirmed quite definitely that such fears are groundless. Throughout the entire undertaking it has been manifest that all cooperating parties desire only to look the situation squarely in the face, to know the worst as well as the best, and to bring about results of lasting and substantial benefit to the colleges and those they serve. One disadvantage of the cooperative method, but one which can be surmounted by careful planning, is that it imposes a rather cumbersome organization. There are 154 institutions in the United States and 10 in Canada which offer engineering courses leading to degrees. There is also a considerable number of institutions offering pre-engineering courses or other courses related to engineering. Of the 164 institutions mentioned, there are now 136 which are officially affiliated with the undertaking. This, incidentally, is one measure of the widespread cooperation and support which the project has had. In all of these institutions there are either special committees of the faculty or one or more individuals designated as co-operators. To deal with all of these cooperators has required very careful planning and a considerable amount of systematic organization.

Such, then, has been the origin and the general plan of the investigation. Since it is undoubtedly the most salient development in the movement to elevate educational standards in the field of engineering, and since it is being conducted on a plan which is somewhat different from that followed in similar studies of education for the professions, it may be advisable to give a rather explicit statement of the methods of organizing and administering the work.

In planning the study it was decided to follow what we like to call the engineering method, that is, first to assemble all of the essential and relevant facts: to learn exactly where we stand, and to comprehend fully all of the conditions and limitations of our problems, as well as to arrive at an adequate understanding of the methods and agencies through which to arrive at their solution. In accordance with this principle the investigation was divided into a sequence of stages, and an estimated time requirement was set for the completion of each stage. These stages and time allotments are as follows: first, a period, estimated to require one college semester, was set aside for what may be termed a *reconnaissance*. During this period it was planned to visit a rather large number of the more important institutions; to confer with faculties, committees, and individuals; to appraise in a general way the work of the institutions; to learn what constituted the most pressing problems with which they were confronted; and finally, to estimate the effectiveness of the agencies, namely, the committees, through which the work would later be done. At the same time the interest of the colleges in the undertaking was aroused, and invitations to participate in it were extended. Second, a period of one year was devoted to a thorough analysis of all important phases of engineering education; to the assembling of the basic facts, not only those relating primarily to the colleges themselves, but also to the work of engineering graduates in industry and professional practice; to the relationships of engineering colleges and the professional bodies of engineers; and to other important aspects of the general problems of engineering education. This stage of the work was completed in the spring of 1925. Reports were then prepared which embody a considerable proportion of the results. The third stage, which has been in progress during the present college year, has been devoted to an analysis and interpretation of the facts gathered in the preceding stage. This study has been made by the faculty committees, general committees of the society, and by the headquarters staff. In this way the bearing of the evidence upon the purely local, as well as upon the general, situation has been studied. It may be remarked that it is in just this way that the cooperative method is of greatest value. It permits the institutions not only to contribute directly to the general result, but gives each of them a strong impetus to compare their own situation with the general one and thus to discover their strengths and weaknesses. During this third stage study has also been given to the preparation of recommendations and to the formulation of plans for those constructive measures which should follow as the outcome of the undertaking. The fourth and last stage will be launched at the annual meeting of the society about two weeks hence. It will be devoted to putting the plans for betterment into effect through concerted action by all of the colleges.

In addition to this division into stages, the investigation has been divided into five major groups of projects, as follows: first, studies of engineering curricula and methods of instruction; second, studies of the personnel of engineering education—students, teachers, and graduates; third, studies of the services,

facilities, and costs of engineering education; fourth, studies of relationships with the national engineering societies and with American industry; fifth, studies of engineering education in Europe. In each of these major divisions the work has been subdivided into a number of specific projects. Each project has been carried out according to a definite plan of procedure, and the work mapped out in considerable detail. Some of the projects were undertaken by all of the affiliated colleges. Some were undertaken, upon invitation, by a limited number. A few special studies were assigned to single faculty committees. A special group of studies was undertaken by the major engineering societies. All studies of the engineering curriculum were undertaken by the United States Bureau of Education. In most of the studies forms were prepared on which results could be submitted in a uniform manner, thus permitting comparisons and summaries. The plans for the various projects were made in consultation with general committees of the society; in fact, one such committee sponsored and supervised each division of the work. The committees were chosen so as to represent all types of engineering colleges, all sections of the country, and the various faculty ranks. Since there was such general representation of the colleges in the general committee memberships, the faculties themselves had no hesitation in carrying out the various projects. It may be worth while to indicate by one illustration how this plan has worked. In studying problems connected with teaching staffs it appeared desirable to learn quite accurately the financial status of our teachers. It will probably be appreciated that it is a rather delicate matter to attempt to obtain accurate information on personal incomes. Yet the attempt was made. In planning the study it seemed necessary to go to the teachers themselves for the information. Accordingly, all of the teachers in seventy-five representative institutions were asked to give confidential information regarding their academic salaries, their incomes from professional practice and from invested savings, length of teaching service, and other information. At the same time the college authorities were asked to supply figures on their salary scales. Over 80 per cent of all teachers from whom the information was asked gave the desired figures. Of the college authorities, not one refused the information. The result has been an accurate analysis of the financial status of our teaching staffs, and the mere publication of these facts is bringing about changes for the better. It has been possible to prepare recommended scales of salaries based upon actual facts instead of upon conjecture. This is but a single illustration, and the speaker would not give the impression that we have been concerned chiefly in this particular phase of the study.

In all of our studies we have been concerned with two principal problems: first, how to adjust our programs and methods to the needs and abilities of our students; and second, how best to supply the needs of industry and the profession for technically trained men. From the results of the investigation thus far, the speaker, at least, is convinced that we shall go a long way in the search for the best solutions of these problems.

WAYS IN WHICH STANDARDS OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING HAVE BEEN RAISED IN SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION

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Professional training for teachers under this name covers a period of about one hundred years in the United States. The first normal school was founded in 1823. As far back, however, as 1756, Benjamin Franklin, whose remarkable genius faced in so many directions, saw the problem and helped to establish an academy of liberal training for various kinds of leadership and especially for those of the "lesser sort" who might be teachers. The undesirable distinction between teaching and the other professions still exists to a degree, but, fortunately for the profession and, I think, for the welfare of our institutions, the distinction is less deserved than it once was.

It is beyond the function of this paper to trace the development of higher standards, but it will be suggestive if we report the changes which have come about in one institution for teacher training in the last thirty years. In 1896 there were thirty graduate students in the Teachers College of Columbia University. In 1926 there were 2,471 graduate students. It is also significant that the undifferentiated curriculum of 1896 in this institution has evolved into thirty different lines of specialization in the catalogue for 1926. From an institution admitting students who had the desire to secure professional training it has now come to admit only graduate students, that is, with previous training of four years in the standard college. This is an extraordinary record of growth and improvement in standards in an institution which trains the leaders.

The experience in Cleveland is fairly typical of the country for training the rank and file. In 1875 a requirement of one year of professional training was set up in connection with a high school course. In 1900 the course was made two years, and this spring it was made three years. A separate training school for elementary school teachers had meanwhile been set up, with an elaborate plan for training teachers-in-service, and with higher salaries for higher levels of training.

Even in this country of rapid changes this is unusual. What are the reasons which lie back of these phenomena? It will readily be agreed that this development of standards in teacher training cannot be explained simply by referring to the mechanics of administering these institutions. The genius of the American people has placed its faith in the public school system. The development of this great democratic institution, tax supported, has created a demand for trained workers. The very magnitude of the organization has differentiated their work into many well-defined fields. The school superintendent, the school principal, the teacher of special subjects, the psychologist, and the visiting teacher are only a few of the headings which we have come to expect in a well-organized school system. All this indicates, in the first place, an economic basis for train-

ing. The individual planning his career can look forward to a position which will at least modestly repay him for his expenditure of time and effort. It further indicates the pressure under which the schools of education have developed their standards in the last fifty years. The social pressure and the economic background have been especially favorable, therefore, for the development of professional standards. In view of our increasing interest in the control of human behavior this situation is likely to continue and make increasingly heavy demands upon our teacher training institutions.

This explanation of these changes would be superficial, however, were it not to include other aspects of the problem. In the last hundred years we have changed from the medieval and philosophical attack on our problem to a more modern and scientific method. The roots of this movement may be traced to Europe, and especially to Herbart, a German. Herbart taught that the mind can be systematically studied and scientifically described, and that in this study lay an empirical science comparable with the physical sciences. He it was who first made the comparison between reform through personal insight and reform with scientific controls. Wundt, following this lead, developed psychology as a science. Stanley Hall and Cattell were students who went from the United States to study with Wundt in Germany. Titchner, Münsterberg, and a host of others came to know the laboratory method under his direction. They brought the scientific attitude to the United States, and it soon found practical application in our school problems. To Edward L. Thorndike, a student of James and Cattell, we must ascribe the major portion of the credit for this application of scientific method to our school problems. Everything which exists, exists in some quantity and can be measured. Accurate measurement means control in directing human nature as well as in the direction of physical forces. This is the essence of his attack, and its influence has been felt in all phases of both teaching and administration in our school system.

Scientific research in the field of human behavior has developed a new psychology, a new teaching, a new supervision, and a new technique of school administration. The materials of instruction in the field of education have thus expanded enormously in the last thirty years. While the roots of this movement go back about a hundred years, it is only within the last thirty years that the movement has been accelerated. The difficulty now is that instruction in the professional field will become academic because of the feeling that all that has been learned by those engaged in research must be learned by those who are going to practice the profession. There is a new movement well defined to take out of this body of materials that which has a definite relationship to a given position.

This brings us to a second major influence in improving the quality of work required, namely, the organization of instruction around the specialized need in the field. One vice of the school teacher has been that he has always tended to formalize his instruction. The demand of a great public school organization

for efficient workers in given positions has forced schools of education to provide workers who are equipped with the specific skills and knowledges required to be superintendents of schools, high school principals, teachers of English in the junior high school, visiting teachers, specialists in measurement, and so on through the whole list. This tendency to professionalize and specialize the instruction has had a major influence upon the materials and methods of instruction. This, together with the influence of the scientific attack and the constant flow of new materials from research, has protected us from the vice of incrustated formalism. Using another terminology, job analysis, while in its infancy, has had a very large effect on the character of instruction in our professional schools.

The new scientific attack on school problems has attracted large bodies of students. This has enabled the schools to finance their program directly, and also indirectly. It has enabled the schools to raise their standards and eliminate the unfit. The higher forms of academic recognition and the increasing difficulty of the course have brought a superior type of student and have improved the morale in the leadership of the group. It is clear also that the more the position depends upon scientific knowledge, the more secure the tenure. The conditions under which the workers in the profession do their work, and the methods of training, inevitably have a great influence on the kind of workers who come into the profession.

I have purposely kept away from mechanical explanations for the improvement in standards of teacher-training. It seems clear, however, that some emphasis should be given to one point in administration. Schools of education have become increasingly independent groups in the university organizations. Where the professional group is responsible for its own curriculum and for its own financial program the progress has been marked. Where the education group has been subordinated to the traditional liberal arts program few changes have come about. It appears that a group of people who have a direct responsibility for producing effective field workers must be responsible for this field. Otherwise, professional progress is smothered by the vested interests of traditional academic instruction. Of the dangers to the professional group of divorcing its training entirely from the liberal training I could speak, but I have no reason to in this paper. The standard of training for field workers has been materially influenced by training-in-service. Supervision has brought the new materials to the teachers in their classrooms. Field courses have been set up in the local communities by professional schools. The summer sessions have been very largely attended—a stimulus to the student and to the teacher training groups as well.

The lessons to be learned from this, if we agree with this analysis, are these: first, to demand skilled and specialized workers for the field; second, to find the facts relating to the field through research; third, to organize the materials around the specialized job; fourth, to keep the worker everlastingly at the job of being better prepared for work.

WAYS IN WHICH PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS ARE ELEVATING
EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

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Broadly speaking, the education of lawyers in continental Europe is entrusted to state-controlled universities; in England, to the lawyers themselves. In America the English tradition naturally was followed. The law student read law in the office of a member of the bar; and while some instruction in law was given in the colleges and universities at an earlier day, and a few private law schools were maintained for brief periods, there was no university law school worthy of the name until Judge Story went to Harvard in 1829. The Harvard Law School, under Story, quickly prospered, and in 1844 had 163 students. Its success stimulated other universities, and during the period from 1840 to 1860 new law schools were established at the rate of nearly one a year. At the outbreak of the Civil War there were in the United States twenty-two degree-conferring law schools; in 1870 there were 31; in 1890, 61; in 1910, 124; in 1920, 142. At the outbreak of the war with Germany there were 23,000 law school students in the United States.¹

One might expect to find that the rapid increase, especially between 1890 and 1920, in the number of law schools and of law students was accompanied by a rapidly increasing influence upon the educational standards of the profession. Such, however, was not the case. In some states examinations for admission to the bar were considerably stiffened, as the result, in part, of pressure by the schools. The period of law study required of candidates was also, in some states, considerably lengthened. But the general education required was nowhere more than that represented by graduation from a high school, and in many states there was no general education requirement whatever. Furthermore, the law student was everywhere still permitted to acquire his technical training in a law office instead of a law school—a method which meant something in the days when lawyers had the leisure to give instruction to their apprentices and in many cases felt the responsibility for so doing, but which, even in the latter part of the eighties, had become an obvious sham. What were the reasons for the persistence, even up to 1920, of standards appropriate enough for a sparsely settled country with few colleges and fewer law schools, but astonishing, to say the least, in twentieth-century America?

The chief underlying reason, of course, was the democratic tradition; the distrust of all forms of aristocracy; the fear of privileged classes; the conviction, or at least the profound feeling, that the bar, which plays so large a part in shap-

¹ For these figures, and for much of the factual material upon which this paper is based, the writer is indebted to Dr. Alfred Z. Reed's *Training for the Public Profession of the Law*, published by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1921, and to the reports of the President of the Carnegie Foundation.

ing our political institutions and in making and administering our laws, must be open on easy terms to all. "Look at Abraham Lincoln!" was the conclusive answer to every argument for the elevation of educational standards. But there were more particular reasons, which may not be so familiar to you. One was the lack of an effective and responsible organization of the bar. There was an American Bar Association; there were state, and county, and city bar associations. But, with very few exceptions, they were pitifully weak and lacking in serious purpose. The American Bar Association, it is true, had a section on legal education, and for a time the meetings of this section and of the Association of American Law Schools, of which I shall say more later, were held in close connection with each other. But the section on legal education showed so little sympathy with the modest proposals of the Association of Law Schools for raising educational standards that the law school men were discouraged and, in large measure, alienated. Another reason for the persistence of law standards, at least in regard to general education, was the conservatism or timidity of the law schools themselves. It was not until 1908 that the Association of American Law Schools ventured even to express the hope that all member schools would ultimately require two years of college work of their students. In 1920 only thirty-one schools, less than half of the university law schools, to say nothing of evening law schools, actually required as much as two years of college work for entrance. There were reasons for this conservatism, one of which was the fear that, in view of the lack of support from the American Bar Association and the profession, the major result of higher standards would be to drive the students in large numbers into the proprietary evening law schools. But whatever the reasons, the university law schools as a whole were not showing a vigorous leadership in the matter of general education.

So much for the conditions which prevailed up to 1920. I have said nothing of methods of teaching or of scholastic standards within the schools. There had been marked progress in these respects, and also in the character of law school faculties and curriculums. But the educational requirements for admission to the bar, as I have pointed out, were lamentably low, and there seemed little prospect of substantial improvement. It is not too much to say that those who had at heart the lifting of the bar to the position of a true profession were profoundly discouraged.

Then, in 1921, occurred an event which revived our hopes, and which probably will prove to have marked the opening of a new era. The American Bar Association at last put its hands to the plough. Elihu Root, a former president of the association, had been persuaded to accept the chairmanship of the section on legal education and to appoint a special committee on education, of which he was chairman. Just how this was brought about is an interesting story, but I cannot tell it now. Ostensibly, the law school men had nothing to do with it. Experience had taught them that any program openly advocated by them would be looked upon with disfavor. Their influence was exercised, however, in a per-

fectly legitimate way. The committee made a study of the situation for itself, and also had the benefit of the elaborate and thorough study made by Dr. Reed for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In due season it brought in a long, carefully prepared, and vigorous report recommending the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. The American Bar Association is of the opinion that every candidate for admission to the bar should give evidence of graduation from a law school complying with the following standards:
 - (a) It shall require as a condition of admission at least two years of study in a college.
 - (b) It shall require its students to pursue a course of three years' duration if they devote substantially all of their working time to their studies, and a longer course, equivalent in the number of working hours, if they devote only part of their working time to their studies.
 - (c) It shall provide an adequate library available for the use of the students.
 - (d) It shall have among its teachers a sufficient number giving their entire time to the school to insure actual personal acquaintance and influence with the whole student body.
2. The American Bar Association is of the opinion that graduation from a law school should not confer the right of admission to the bar, and that every candidate should be subjected to an examination by public authority to determine his fitness.
3. The Council on Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar is directed to publish from time to time the names of those law schools which comply with the above standards and of those which do not, and to make such publications available so far as possible to intending law students.
4. The president of the Association and the Council on Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar are directed to cooperate with the state and local bar associations to urge upon the duly constituted authorities of the several states the adoption of the above requirements for admission to the bar.
5. The Council on Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar is directed to call a Conference on Legal Education in the name of The American Bar Association, to which the state and local bar associations shall be invited to send delegates, for the purpose of uniting the bodies represented in an effort to create conditions favorable to the adoption of the principles above set forth.

This report was undoubtedly a shock to many of the "oldtimers" in the Bar Association, and there was a long debate in which the name of Lincoln was, of course, frequently heard. But two forces worked mightily in its favor; first, the prestige of Elihu Root and of Chief Justice Taft, who spoke vigorously and convincingly in support of the recommendations; second, the growing number and influence of lawyers who had themselves obtained both a college and a law school education. Many of these had worked their way through both college and law school, and clearly realized the difference between the conditions of Lincoln's day and of their own. In the end, the recommendations were adopted in full and by an impressive majority.

Immensely cheered by this action, the Association of Law Schools at its next meeting voted that after 1925 all of its member schools must require at least two years of preliminary college work. The Council on Legal Education of the American Bar Association at once proceeded to prepare, and in due time published, its list of the law schools which met the Association standards, a list

which now comprises sixty-four schools, as against thirty-one schools which required two years of college work in 1920. The Council also called a conference of legal education, as directed by the American Bar Association, at which most of the state bar associations and many of the city bar associations were represented by delegates. At this conference, which was held in Washington in 1922, the resolutions were again debated at length, and again the recommendations, in substance, prevailed:

We believe [the conference said] that the adoption of these standards will increase the efficiency and strengthen the character of those coming to the practice of law, and will therefore tend to improve greatly the administration of justice. We therefore urge the bar associations of the several states to draft rules of admission to the bar carrying the standards into effect, and to take such action as they may deem advisable to procure their adoption.

Do not be misled. The fight for these standards has just begun. Remember that the power to make rules governing admission to the bar rests, not in bar associations, but in the legislatures or in the courts. In no state have the recommendations of 1921 yet been adopted in full. West Virginia has adopted them to go into effect in 1928; Kansas now requires two years of college work or its equivalent, and so will Illinois after July 1 of this year, but neither has yet required a law school education as distinguished from study in a law office; a few other states have taken steps in the right direction. At best, it will be many years before the new standards will have anything like general acceptance; but the movement has begun, and I am confident that it will gather force with time.

Meanwhile the university law schools, in increasing number, are requiring three or four years of preliminary college study instead of two, and some of them, following the leadership of Harvard again, as so often in the past, are adding a fourth year to the law school curriculum. This additional year is still in large measure a matter of experiment. In my judgment it is unlikely that it will become, in the near future, a requirement for the ordinary professional degree. The tendency, rather, is in the direction of making it a year of special training for students who contemplate a career of teaching and research, with the requirement of a dissertation and leading to a doctorate in jurisprudence or the science of law. We are looking forward, in other words, to the better education of law teachers, not only that they may be better teachers in the narrow sense, but that they may be better qualified to take the lead in the great movements already under way for the simplification of the law and the improvement of its administration. That a great part of the burden of these tasks must be borne by the law faculties of our universities is widely recognized. If it is to be borne worthily, we must give to the law teachers of the future at once a broader and a more intensive training. We must encourage them to cultivate the neglected border lands between law and the other social sciences; we must, so far as possible, aid them to integrate the law and the other social sciences; we must stimulate their curiosity to know just how our law functions, and to discover how it might be made to function with higher efficiency; we must give them practice in the art

of simplification. In this direction, I believe, lie the next steps in elevating our educational standards. And you will not have failed to observe that it is a direction in which we cannot go very far without the cooperation of the economist, the political scientist, the sociologist, and the student of social service administration.

WHERE IN SOCIAL WORK CAN THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY BE APPLIED?

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We are concerned in this discussion with two of those elusive concepts in which individual predilections and experience are so intertwined with group traditions and institutions as almost to preclude a general definition whose validity is widely accepted. As to democracy, wars have been fought over the interpretation of the content of the term; no two generations have conceived it alike, nor has anyone even approached the exemplification in practice of its own democratic ideal. The changing and uncertain content of the concept "social work" is clearly exposed in the sequence of earlier descriptive terms, "charity," "philanthropy," "social service," and in the continued currency of all of them in common usage as almost, if not quite, interchangeable among themselves and with the later and perhaps somewhat broader term, "social work."

Yet, surviving all vicissitudes and variations, there seems to have emerged in both these concepts, more distinct and more potent at every stage of their evolution, one common character, which is today dominant and decisive as a criterion of democracy and social work alike. Institutions are democratic in spirit if they rest upon the recognition of the inherent dignity and worth of individual personality; they are democratic in form if they provide the mechanisms by which the individual can develop and express himself in the affairs of the common life. The control and manipulation of social relations become social work when they are primarily directed to the promotion of individual self-development and self-realization through the opening of opportunities and the development of incentives for the fullest personal growth and the largest social contribution of every member of society.

If we have rightly described these concepts, it is obvious that there can be no inherent incompatibility between them. Their goals are identical; their processes must be mutually consistent. Democracy is at the heart of social work; social work, in some respects, is an instrument for the realization of democracy. Both imply that social values must be measured in terms of individual personality.

The problem stated for discussion, Where in social work is the concept of democracy applicable? might easily be resolved into the deeper and wider question, Where in social life is the democratic principle workable? For the problem

of applying democracy in social work is the problem of practicing democracy everywhere. The essential question is always this: How can we reconcile the fact of wide differences in knowledge, in interest, in capacity, in the power of self-direction and achievement with the principle of individual self-determination and self-expression and the equal right of personality? Or, stated in another way, How can we realize the social value of special knowledge and ability, of insight and leadership, while still respecting and conserving the right of the individual to develop and express himself, that is, to accept or reject that leadership and to contribute to it?

Social work is not alone in its quest for a satisfactory answer to those questions. Politics, industry, education, religion—all await the same magic formula of applied democracy. If social work can demonstrate in its own practice the consistent application of a truly democratic principle, if it can demonstrate its command of a truly democratic technique, it can make a contribution to civilization of immeasurable significance. We believe that such an achievement is possible; is even now in process of attainment. One step toward that achievement has been the definite acceptance and general application by social work of the findings of science, that the essential process of personal growth and progress is self-activity. Social work, more quickly and more fully, perhaps, than any other organized factor in social life, has come to realize the futility of passive acceptance and consent as a means of self-fulfilment. Personality development through active exercise of personal powers, through increasing mastery and manipulation of personal resources and personal relationships, is becoming the dominant aim and method of all social work operations. Methods tainted with coercion and external control, with usurpation of the rights of personal guidance and decision, are giving way to methods founded on cooperation, common counsel, and planning, the constant and steadily increasing participation and self-direction of the individual. Another step toward this achievement of social work is its recognition and demonstration of the social value of the differences in human beings. This realization has supplanted the concept of inherent equality as the basic element in a sound and fruitful human relationship. It is the unique elements of individual personality that social work finds worth conserving and developing for the common good. It is these, rather than the sameness or likeness of members of the group, that make for progress. In this conclusion social work reconciles its profound respect for individual personality with a due regard for the unity, stability, and progress of the whole social group. Social progress becomes possible through the integration of differences. Social purpose becomes the enrichment and fulfilment of the quality of each, rather than the equality of all.

In both these aspects of its philosophy and operation social work has clarified the meaning and the value of democracy and has opened the way to a new interpretation of the function of democratic leadership. The value of democracy, in the view of social work, lies in the active and expressive personalities that

compose society, each contributing its difference, its uniqueness, to the common stock of ideas and ideals. The democratic society draws upon the constantly replenished store of talents and experiences of an infinitely various membership, rather than upon the relatively restricted gifts and resources of any few. Herein lies its strength, as compared with every other principle of human association.

Leadership, in a truly democratic relationship, is based upon "inherent authority," to quote Porter Lee's pregnant phrase in his Washington address. And that inherent authority emerges as acceptable because it evolves out of the interplay of active, contributing personalities. It is based upon the recognition of special contributions of knowledge and experience, which involves, however, no loss of respect for the lesser or different contributions of other members of the group. Leadership and authority in a truly democratic relationship are, in fact, the constantly reconsidered, constantly recreated product of the group within which that leadership and authority is exercised. It is a function of the group rather than of the individual alone.

The technical problem of applying democracy, then, is to discover and invent mechanism through which the individual can make his own contribution to the social good, and therefore to the effective leadership of society, through the development and active expression of his own personality in interplay with others. How is that problem solved in the practical processes of social work? There are three sets of relationships within which this problem is presented: first, in the relations of social work to the whole community; second, in the relation between individual social worker and individual client; third, in the relation of social workers to their professional associates, that is, in the relations between board, staff, and executive. While these three aspects of the problem are separable for purposes of discussion, it is perhaps not inappropriate to remark at the outset that they are by no means wholly independent in fact. None of these relations is an abstraction. In the last analysis all are concrete relationships between human beings, and at some point in all of them stands the same person, the social worker. For him a philosophy of democracy must be expressed consistently in all these relations, or it will, in the end, be expressed in none of them.

First, then, with reference to the relation of social work to the community at large, Where and how can the concept of democracy be applied here? We suggest that it can be applied at four vital points.

a) The goals sought by social work, and the criteria by which it measures progress toward these goals, can express democracy. Democracy implies that the true goal of society is the personal growth and self-realization of all members of society, not of a few only. The goal of social work, therefore, if it would express democracy, must be the achievement of a social situation in which all find the largest possible opportunity and the greatest possible incentive to self-development and self-fulfilment. Social work cannot be, and cannot permit itself to be, considered content to act merely as the salvage service of an existing social order if certain parts of that social order are fundamentally undemocratic

in that they lead inevitably to the suppression, rather than the fulfilment, of individual personality in a few or in many members of society. Social work, if it be truly democratic, must judge of institutions as well as serve men; it must contribute, out of the wealth of its own experience and observation, to the criticism and reconstruction of all agencies of social life in the interest of the attainment of a truly democratic social order, and it must measure its own efforts in terms of their effect upon this larger democratic process. It cannot remain aloof from other democratic movements—in politics, in industry, in education, for example—without becoming essentially undemocratic in its own aims.

b) The programs projected by social work, to attain these goals, can apply the democratic concept. We submit that faithfulness to the democratic principle requires that social work programs be inclusive, not exclusive; that the service offered by social work be of a kind, and projected in a way, that is available and serviceable to members of the community as persons, not as members of a class or group; that these programs be of a kind whose effect is to unite, not divide, the community. Social work developments in almost every field are clearly in this direction. None perhaps offers more complete demonstration of the soundness and fruitfulness of the democratic principle than the public health nursing movement. Beginning primarily as a service to the sick poor, to persons, that is, as members of a particular group or occupants of a particular social status, it has steadily pressed forward toward a program of truly democratic character and scope. Its new program is founded upon the universal fact or threat of sickness, or, perhaps better, the universal demand for health, a fundamental and universally recognized need of all of us as persons, rather than upon the class fact—the external, impersonal fact—of poverty, which bears no inherent relationship to the proffered service or the real value of that service.

The whole case work movement is itself a definite step forward toward a democratic program in social work. Case work, as such, is a service of persons as persons; charity or relief, at least when dissociated from case work, are essentially service of individuals; not as whole, indivisible persons, but as members of a group or class, separated and differentiated from others by purely external, essentially impersonal, conditions. The vitality and fruitfulness of the new development of case work in the schools is in no small part due to the opportunity which it affords to carry into effect a distinctly democratic program of social work; democratic, because based on no distinction of outer, impersonal conditions and confined to no single group or class, but available and serviceable alike to all, on the basis of their need, as whole persons. Mental hygiene, medical social work, child guidance, the steady trend of development in settlements and community centers, some elements in the federation movement emphasize, each in its own place and way, the democratic trend in social work programs by expressing a new interest in, and approach to, clients as persons, rather than as members of classified and separated groups. We venture to assert that there is no field of social work in which a similar transfer of emphasis is not possible

and desirable, and where the democratic principle cannot be realized more and more fully in social programs.

c. The organization and management of social work, in its community relations, can express the concept of democracy. The democratic principle implies that community processes which affect the whole community—and democratic social programs must do so—shall enlist the cooperation and participation of the whole community. In this regard we urge no counsel of perfection, nor are we blind to the obstacles of ignorance, of indifference, of selfish interest when we declare that the ideal of social work, which can be realized ever more fully, is the active participation of all elements of the community's membership in the guidance and control of social work enterprises. In this direction lies the ultimate achievement of the essential object of community life and community organization: the growth, release, and fulfilment of the personalities of the members of the community. In this direction lies also the permanence, stability, and progress of any social work agency and its program.

There is real democratic growth and promise, therefore, we submit, in the obvious present movement toward the steady increase of public governmental functions in the field of social work. In political democracy—in theory, and increasingly in practice—all citizens of the community do have a part in the direction of their common affairs. What is there done is done for themselves by themselves. It is in the interest of social work and of true democracy that this movement be not blindly resisted on the strength of old prejudices and old experience, but be discriminatingly encouraged. Social workers can find a far larger opportunity for true community and true professional service in promoting and protecting the development of those processes in politics that insure efficient democracy through real democratic participation, and in watchfully and helpfully promoting right legislation and effective public administration in the social work field, than in contesting the inevitable and wholly desirable assumption, by the organized community as a whole, of essential functions and programs of social work that vitally concern community-wide interests. But not alone in public or political agencies, but in private agencies as well, can the principle of organization invite the active cooperation and participation of all elements of the community. The management of such agencies can—and must, more and more—be intrusted to truly representative bodies in which all elements of the community's membership sit down together to deliberate and decide together on community plans and projects.

An agency which is long dominated by considerations of wealth, of prestige, of power, even of trained intelligence or capacity for independent leadership in the selection of its managing board cannot long remain an instrument of community action in a democratic sense. It will lack in fact, as well as in the community's picture of it, that close view of the whole community situation, that sensitive appreciation of the effect of projected action on the lives of all members of the community, which is the foundation of a sound community program. It

will lose also the positive value of the contribution to social planning that can be made by the usually inarticulate but uncommonly sincere and sensible folks that make up the great body of society. It is they who know and share the emotional backgrounds that are at the very heart of every social situation and that must affect every intelligent appraisal of the community and its need. May we venture the assertion that much as social work has gained in breadth of scope and breadth of participation through the federation movement, there remains a great, though frequently unrecognized, opportunity in that very movement for the constant renewal of democratic spirit and method through the steady enlargement of the basis of representation in management to include all the interests and elements that go to make up the great modern community. Labor, capital, all the professions, all races and religions, the inarticulate masses and the eloquent few—all have indispensable contributions to make toward a realistic democratic program of community-wide planning and service.

d) Finally, so far as social work's relation to the whole community is concerned, the method of social work can embody the democratic concept. The principle of democracy requires, in method, the processes of cooperation, of open-minded, deliberative study and discussion, of steady creation of new ideas and ideals out of common counsel and common experience. It demands the abandonment of methods of conquest, of subtle coercion, or polite intimidation, however benevolent in purpose, of contests for power or for the immediate ratification or execution of a preconceived program, which too often pass for efficiency and success in social work as elsewhere in the world's affairs. Democratic community leadership in social work consists in discovering the incentives and providing the mechanisms through which genuine community-wide participation in deliberation and decision can be achieved. It adopts the method of modern education, that is, the method of creative, cooperative experience, the democratic method of community organization. For by this method, community action will grow out of the growing appreciation and determination of the individual citizen, who will therein find his own fulfillment in the opportunity for constructive contribution to the common good.

Second, in the relation of social worker to individual client, that profound respect for personality which underlies the democratic principle often comes most clearly to expression. Here the worker is face to face with momentous personal issues. Here, more clearly perhaps than in the broader community aspects of social work, the personal growth, self-mastery, and self-realization of the individual are the objectives steadily held in view. Here the democratic spirit and method must dominate. It is scarcely necessary in this company to do more than state that proposition. It needs no defense. Yet in view of the temptations that beset the devoted worker impatient to remove the obvious misunderstandings, to enlarge the narrow vision, to be rid of the destructive habits, to remove the physical obstacles that block the road to the personal readjustment of the client, it is perhaps appropriate to reaffirm that first tenet in

the creed of modern social work. Only the client, after all, can or should master his own life. It is the client's life that is at stake; it is his personality that is to find expression in that life. The patient, respectful, truly democratic method, involving the client's right to participation at every point and the steady development of the client's initiative and responsibility for decision throughout the process, is the only method that accords with right principle, and it is the only one that achieves permanent and progressive results.

Two knotty problems obtrude themselves, however, in the application of that principle to concrete situations. It has been suggested to us that there is one point, even in this process, where the democratic concept positively cannot be applied, namely, in the administration of relief. It is said to create a relationship that is utterly and inevitably undemocratic from beginning to end. This raises profoundly disturbing questions, for, much or little as we may deplore the fact, it is scarcely conceivable that social work can be entirely rid of this ancient and elemental function. It is not necessary to consider here the relief situation at its worst, the situation in which relief is the sum total of the social work attempted—if such an activity can still pass under the name of social work—the situation in which relief becomes a club with which a preconceived and autocratic program is imposed upon the client, nor even the situation in which relief is administered in such a fashion, or over so long a time, as to threaten to pauperize the spirit of the recipient. At its best relief presents towering obstacles to the establishment of a democratic relationship. Is there a way out of this dilemma, or must we confess that at this vital point our democratic faith breaks down and fails us? It is scarcely sufficient to declare that relief should be, and will be, a diminishing part of social work that will ultimately follow indiscriminate almsgiving into the limbo of forgotten, or at least discredited, things. Relief is here. It is an accepted part of the social work task. It is rather increasing at present than diminishing. Nor is it enough to assert that social work must set itself to the task of fundamental economic and social reconstruction in order to make relief unnecessary. True as that may be, and it is true, it still is but founded on a rather vague hope and faith that a social millenium of that sort sometime will dawn. None of us is so hardy as to venture to describe the particular steps by which it can be ushered in. Meanwhile, the problem of economic need, and therefore of relief, remains.

We venture to express the belief that even this relationship in social work is not outside the sphere of operation of the democratic principle. We dare to hope that the skilful practitioner of case work will find a way—indeed, that some of them have found a way—to make the administration of relief so integral a part of the whole treatment process, so bound up in a program of self-developing and self-expressing activity in the client, as to assume the character of an honorable, respectable, and constructive step toward personal and community well-being, involving the acceptance of responsibilities and the making of social contributions on both sides which otherwise would be impossible.

Granting that this is idealizing a situation that now has many sordid and destructive elements, there are indications of the essential soundness of this ideal in the new spirit and method that has been invoked in the administration of some forms of material relief. In certain communities, for instance, financial assistance of mothers has been put upon a plane where its undemocratic aspect has practically disappeared. It is administered and regarded as a compensation for service rendered, past, present, future. It is an integral part of a plan in which personal development and the realization of community values are so intertwined as objectives, and in which the contributions of client and worker are so interwoven in practice, as to make the relationship between them, even though it involves the granting of material aid on one side and its acceptance on the other, still a constructive, democratic relationship. The choice of this example brings to light again the significant circumstance once before mentioned, that we have in democratic government a potential resource of democratic spirit and method in social work that may yet save us all from the temptations and pressures to sacrifice democracy in the interest of some other good. It is clear that public relief is in itself in some respects a more democratic process than private relief. Public funds are gathered from all; to them every citizen contributes according to his capacity. In receiving funds from such a source the citizen is partaking of his own in a very real sense. There is nothing essentially divisive in the relationship established. Of course, we are again idealizing a much less attractive present fact, and we have no desire to deny the very grave dangers inherent in public relief, nor the obvious abuses that so often characterize it. Yet is not the answer to these dangers and abuses rather the extension of the spirit and method that now dominate some parts of public welfare administration to all its parts than the continued rejection of the obvious advantages of the democratic spirit and method potentially available in a community-wide, all-inclusive, governmental action? To the extent, we should add, that private welfare organization becomes truly democratic in scope of operation, in purpose, in program, in management, and in method, the opportunity for thoroughly democratic relief administration as a part of thoroughly democratic case work is correspondingly increased.

Another practical problem faced by the social worker in establishing and maintaining democratic relations with the individual client is a more subtle and difficult one. It relates to that situation in which treatment is undertaken by the social worker involving the manipulation of environment in the interest of a program whose true or full purpose and outcome the client does not understand, and to the promotion of which the client is contributing unconsciously, if at all. It is obvious that we are here moving close to the limits of security of personal dignity and self-determination. It is easy, in such a case, to cross the boundary that separates democratic cooperation, based on mutual confidence and participation, from an arbitrary leadership imposed by subterfuge or even external force. Can we define that boundary, or must we admit that the democratic prin-

ciple is at this place inapplicable? Again we decline to admit the need for sacrificing either democracy or efficient social work technique. In the first place, we are reminded that the social worker's program, in this case as in every other, is not a final, rigid, static program, immutably fixed in advance. It develops and changes, contracts and expands, under the interplay of personalities and experiences of client and worker. It is a plan of action based on an hypothesis, subject to change or to abandonment in the light of newly discovered reality. To that discovery, and to the constant re-creation of the program, the client steadily contributes, consciously groping his way from step to step as his developing powers unfold, and steadily undertaking at every stage as full a responsibility as he can be induced to accept.

The relationship has been likened to that between parent and child, though the analogy of paternalism is, to some extent, perhaps, unfortunate. What constitutes a democratic relationship in the family circle? Does the wider vision, the deeper insight, the larger experience of the parent, which often is applied to guidance of the child by indirect, not to say devious, measures, preclude the maintenance of a democratic relationship? We revert to our original discussion of leadership. Leadership and authority, on a democratic level, is that which emerges through the interweaving of personalities, through opportunity for reciprocal contributions, contributions different in degree and often different in kind, but all alike in being respected and in being thus expressed in the leadership established. The democracy of the parental relation rests upon genuine mutual respect, upon mutual consideration, upon the steady unfolding of opportunities for the child to accept increasing responsibility for self-direction as, by the exercise of its own powers, it develops self-mastery. In the same way democracy can be established between worker and client, even where there is wide difference in insight as to the full significance of the specific situation and the actions involved. The essential protection of this democratic relation is in the continuity and reality of mutual respect between worker and client and of self-effort and self-development in the client, and in the absence of every arbitrary barrier to the acceptance of his full responsibility for self-direction and decision. An interesting aspect of this problem appears in the comment of one observer who remarks that not infrequently in this indirect approach to the personal problem of the client is to be seen a more genuine and profound respect for his personality than could be shown by a more direct and, judged superficially, a more straightforward or more democratic approach. The former is often a reflection of a sensitive appreciation of the obscure, deep-seated, subtle sources of maladjustment. The process of giving insight at the outset might easily, in many an instance, involve an expression of moral or social judgment, based on external and impersonal standards, which reduces the client to a status of inferiority in his own mind and in the mind of the worker; in which self-respect and mutual respect are difficult to retain; and from which personality development is difficult, if not impossible. It is in the patient process of mutual education and

reciprocal effort, in the tentative and gradual development of understanding and determination, that the finer feeling of respect, devoid of external measurement or personal judgment, has a chance to develop and express itself. Surely this is essentially a democratic relationship.

The third of the relationships in social work to which we shall refer affects directly the personal and professional development of the worker through his professional associations and working conditions, but it also vitally affects the relations of social work to the whole community. It is the internal relation within the organization of an agency—the relations of boards, committees, staffs, and executive. The apparent indifference and unconcern with which this problem is commonly treated, the readiness with which habit and tradition are thoughtlessly permitted to dictate the form of relationships that are at the very root of professional attitudes and activities, is a bit disconcerting when contrasted with the anxious attention given to the personal development of clients and to the establishment of fruitful external relationships. Suffice it to say, as introduction to this phase of our problem, that social workers, both executive and staff, and the members of boards and committees are also persons whose adjustment to work and to one another is a matter of deep concern, affecting very profoundly their personal development as well as the extent and character of their social contribution. It would seem quite obvious that for them, no less surely than for their clients, opportunity and incentive for expressing themselves, for participating in decisions affecting their own activities and the realization of their own purposes, for helping to create and to sustain by their own contributions the basis of sound leadership and united purpose in the common enterprise, are indispensable elements in any satisfactory organization. We venture to declare that here, in this ancient citadel of irresponsible “constituted” authority, democracy can be applied, to the great advantage of the whole social work operation.

a) As to the relations of board to executive and staff, the democratic principle requires, as everywhere else, a relationship marked by partnership and mutual respect. Neither on one side nor the other is an attitude of proprietorship tolerable; rather, a sense of common trusteeship is called for. To the administration of that trust the individual contributions, the unique qualities, of many persons are essential. Each contributes out of his own special background of capacity and experience. All wisdom does not reside in anyone, either social worker or board member. The forms of organization and the processes of administration must be devised in the light of this trite truth.

The board becomes a deliberative body, representing, if it be democratic, wide differences in points of view, in community contacts, in interest, in intellectual and emotional reactions. Into this council are brought from the professional staff and board members alike problems of policy, of purpose, and of method, along with programs of action—not to be settled or “put over” by a process of manipulation or a contest of personalities, but to be subjected to the

analytical and constructive exercise of many minds, in order that out of that free, democratic discussion a conclusion may be reached that embodies a sound common judgment. To that conclusion all have contributed in greater or less measure; to participation, at least, all have been invited; and through cooperation all have grown in social vision and personal power. Such a relationship and such a process presuppose the closest possible contact, the fullest candor at every point between board, executive, and staff. This involves, at the least, the presence and participation of the executive in every meeting of the board and of all committees on the one hand, and on the other, the freest possible inspection, consideration, and consultation by the board in every part of the business of the agency. There must, that is, be a growing partnership of understanding, as well as a steadily advancing concert of purpose, throughout the organization.

It also involves the provision of mechanisms by which there may be a direct relation between boards and committees and the whole professional staff, not merely the executive alone. It cannot too often be recalled that in the last analysis the staff of the agency is carrying on its essential work. It is they who are facing the direct effects of method and policy. It is they, in the long run, who can contribute most effectively and most surely to the right interpretation and proper solution of those problems. There should be no barrier to the free flow of this fresh, vital knowledge and inspiration that comes from life at the front through every channel, main and branch, of the organization. Members and groups of the staff should from time to time attend board and committee meetings; members of the board should from time to time attend staff meetings. In neither case should such participation remain a passive, perfunctory function. It can, under skilful stimulation and guidance, be a positive, active exchange of values. Democracy in the organization of the board requires that all members of the board, not merely a few, shall have opportunity to contribute to its activity. A truly democratic board functions in all its parts and as a whole. An active board is likely to be a democratic board.

b) The relations of staff members to each other and to the executive lend themselves peculiarly to the application of democratic method, and yield, as its fruit, rich returns. This is not merely a matter of policy. It is a matter of principle and consistency. Social work must exhibit within its own circle the sort of conditions and attitudes that it seeks as objectives in the lives of its clients and in the community, and for the same reason: that out of such relationships flow ultimate values in personal and social development.

The largest possible initiative and responsibility must be accepted by members of the staff as an integral part of the process of organizing and administering the task of social work. No vital decision affecting the operation of the task itself, and none affecting the relation of the staff to that task, can have full and final validity until it embodies the contributions of the staff and is in a real sense the decision of the staff. Whether through a representative staff council, through district organizations, or through direct participation as a unit, the stimulus to

thorough, free, frank self-expression in the working staff of the agency must be afforded if social work is to be true to its own democratic faith and is to realize the value of the democratic principle.

We shall not enlarge upon the implications and possible developments of more radical innovations in organization, such as self-sufficient, staff-managed, exclusively professional social work agencies, or organizations in which executive responsibility is to the staff rather than to a separate board; nor upon the somewhat more imminent development of private professional practice of social work. All of these are related to the problem under consideration; they all raise questions of real importance in the application of the democratic concept. Suffice it to say now that when any of these ventures materialize, social work must guard still more zealously the true spirit of democracy within itself and close its portals firmly against the plagues of selfishness, of snobbishness, of jealousy, of self-satisfaction and stagnation, to which, in the past, a too narrow professionalism has often fallen prey.

In this era of transition and expansion in the life of a new profession, in a profession in which the issues at stake are the achievement of the priceless objects of life itself, in an age in which the human spirit is stirred by a deeper appreciation of its own significance and potentialities than at any other time of the past, in a civilization in which progress is coming to be measured definitely in human values, democracy seems to us to be, always and everywhere, the only acceptable and workable philosophy.

XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

THE NEED OF EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY IN SOCIAL WORK

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Agencies, Boston*

Educational publicity as applied to social work is the interpretation to the general public (without differentiating the benevolent merely) of social problems and their remedies, both those in use and others proposed, and is for the purpose of developing sound public opinion based upon knowledge of the facts of social ills and the reasoning of attempted and possible remedies, which understanding and opinion may form a sanction and moral support for professional social work and may guarantee also a more stable financial backing for the social work program.

The purpose of social work is to advance the common welfare. It is a fiduciary service of a public nature. This indelible character is revealed by the law which declares funds devoted by document or agreement to a charitable use to be trusts, the owners and beneficiaries of which are the general or indefinite public. The law further hedges such trusts about with a degree of protection never accorded to private property. Thus, when once legally constituted they may accumulate forever, can never be given or devoted to private interests, and will not be allowed to lapse for failure of the original purpose. In this aspect of social work assets the manager or worker plainly becomes a trustee serving the general public. He may not do as he personally desires with such trust moneys. He may not set up his individual judgment as to what is good for his beneficiaries without their consent, either expressed in actual opinion or implied in his franchise and his articles of trusteeship. He may not give away any of his funds, nor bury his talent in the ground, defeating its proper accumulation. He is bound by all the legal requirements of private and personal trustees, yes, even by something more, for public trusteeships carry a quality of higher moral obligation, being the greater trust. Thus he who would essay to serve the widow and the orphan, the helpless in all walks of life, undertakes that which in a moral sense becomes a sacred public trust. Its pledges are not meaner in their wholesome tenor than religious vows. It follows from this reasoning that the fundamental character of social work, with its spiritual qualities of altruism and devotion, is civic. Social work approaches the population swarm, the workaday community into which modern man gathers himself, as an inquirer into such faults and fac-

tors in those social contacts as it finds to work against the general welfare. These it seeks by all appropriate means to reduce or to eliminate. It exists solely for the common good, and takes up the phenomena of life as it finds them.

If the points thus far advanced are well taken, there is no escaping the conclusion that social work, as a trustee of the community, owes the unequivocal obligation to account to the public not only for its honest husbandry of trust funds within the existing criminal law and laws of property, but also for the soundness of its several judgments and decisions made in the application of that trust. The private trustee consults his beneficiary about major investments, about changes in policy, about every important matter likely to affect the benefit which that *cestui* may derive. So, by an even greater compulsion of duty, should the social trustee take his beneficiaries into his confidence constantly as to the problems he has found, the dangers which they hold for the common welfare, the remedies which he proposes, and the cost which such intended operation may entail. The real puzzle in this question of educational publicity is how to effect such a degree of confidence on the part of the general public.

The fiduciary character of social work is set out at such length because social workers and philanthropic managers do not generally recognize it. A quiz conducted among those who carry on social work would in all probability reveal three persistent answers, in the following order of frequency:

Question: Do you as a professional social worker owe a trust obligation? If so, to whom? Answer: Yes. To the president and board of managers.

Question: Do you as a director of charitable work owe a trust obligation? If so, what and to whom? Answer: Yes. To the government—to be honest and upright under the law with the funds under my direction.

Question: What obligation does either of you feel to persons outside of your directorate and staff? Answer: No legal obligation to anybody. The client we are not obliged to serve: but after once taking him on, we are morally obliged to go through with him or to dispose of his case according to right standards of social work. To the people who give us money we owe nothing but our thanks. We think it good business to keep in touch with them on the chance that they may give us more money. Nobody else in the community has any right to meddle with us.

This fundamental trust quality of social work applies everywhere and with equal force, whether it be social work carried on by a governmental board, by a private charitable corporation, by a voluntary committee, or by an individual. But there are some observations worth making with reference to the status of these two broad groups, public and private social work.

Social work carried on by governmental bodies comprises in some form or other the execution of statutes. Such governmental bodies exist by reason of an organization statute, and function only under its enabling provisions. All such welfare statutes are, in theory at least, the written will of the whole people. That public will, if it is to be made up intelligently, must be based upon reason-

able knowledge of the subject matter to which it relates. Such knowledge must come from actual contact with the subject matter or by report from those intrusted with it. Governmental social work functions modernly, for the most part, and under the constant taint of partisan politics, where there is no reasonably effective method employed of informing the public of the nature of its problems and the methods it is using, and desires in the future to use, in meeting them. General public understanding and appreciation is the life of governmental social work, and at the same time the only true source of sound social legislation.

Non-governmental or private social work must be supported by a very considerable volume of gifts over and above its earnings. Its endowment, if it have any, is of course nothing but gifts carried in capital funds. These gifts are not derived by compulsion, as are the taxes which support governmental social work, but are, on the contrary, the voluntary impulse of the individual. In making his gift to charity the voluntary donor must rely either upon his unreasoned sympathy, or his sympathy fortified by his trust in the individuals who are behind the agency which appeals to him, or upon his snap judgment of the need, based upon guess and hearsay, or, finally, upon sympathy and trust backed by his careful judgment formed out of knowledge of the facts and his reasoning and approval of methods explained to him. Of these four chief reliances the last is the only one that can guarantee continued loyalty on the part of the giver, and consequent stability of income for voluntary social work. That social work relies chiefly on the first three is attested by the fact that the vast majority of all charity appeals are still appeals to sympathy, with scant explanation as to the service rendered and little information other than a claim of good intent, of worthy purpose, and of the numbers "helped." Though a change for the better has fairly set in, Mary Lamb is still the great American collector. May she never grow less! On the contrary, may she be given the support of a fair and full accounting of our husbandry.

While in theory social work is a public function and is to be carried out either by the government or with its express sanction, in practice voluntary social work will be gauged only by the approval or disapproval of the people; by the general reputation it holds in the community. Its mentor is public opinion. Thus far the public has no opinion on social work because it has no adequate body of information. It reads of the activity of certain individuals in charity and learns that many persons are paid for carrying it on. Wherefore the man on the street has two well-set beliefs about this field, namely, that directors are in it for the social prestige they can get out of it, and that most of the money given to charity goes to pay the workers and run offices, which uses he believes are not charity, because also he has never been taught that charity can ever be more than alms. To carry on an informative and interpretative process of publicity would in time develop an intelligent public understanding of the work we do. It would tend to supply that public oversight now lacking, and it would tend, in consequence, to push social work effort to a higher plane of efficiency. Suppose

we were to take stock of the job as we collectively carry it on today. What should we find that job analysis would show to be inefficient? What are some of the outstanding inefficiencies of social work today? This recital should not be felt by any hearer in this audience as an indictment against his own work. If the coat does not fit, do not put it on. But on the other hand, let him not secretly attach it to his neighbor unless he feels sure of the facts in that individual case.

Social work today, vastly better than it used to be, and improving all the time through leadership in the upbuilding of standards, chiefly in this and other important conferences, nevertheless still remains an unsupervised, unscientific operation, wasteful of time and money. Examination will show a surprising frequency in the following inefficiencies: first, the continued use of inappropriate office quarters, either too costly and elaborate, or, more frequently, too meager and inadequate in space, lighting, air, and arrangement of units; second, chronic failure to take advantage of business opportunities in the purchase of supplies to which the size and influence of the society should entitle it (it is probable that over 10 per cent of all the millions spent by American social agencies could be saved without reducing the quantity or the quality of the supplies purchased if expert buying were insisted upon by the directors); third, the expenditure of excessive sums in the collection of donations; fourth, excessive turnover in employment, with a consequently large body of green help, due to failure to study the salary problem and pay salaries commensurate with the task performed; fifth, investments not as keenly watched as personal trust investments are, whereby unwarrantably low interest is frequently received; sixth, improvident undertakings entered upon without thoroughgoing budgetary planning, trusting to the giver to provide; seventh, a chronic tendency to center attention exclusively upon case problems as they arise each day, to the neglect of any sort of stock taking or inventory of the human values at which the society really aims (such stock taking is to be made in surveys of results, follow-up of discharged cases, studies of records); eighth, neglect of new possibilities for economy and efficiency in terms of human values whereby old methods are clung to out of habit and no one, as a matter of course, calls up those old methods for review every so often to see whether they are not out of date. Scores of agencies are now doing what their official grandfathers did chiefly because their grandfathers did it, and not because frequent appraisal has shown that the need of the service calls for it.

Educational publicity would not eliminate these defects, but it would throw the light of public criticism upon them and thus tend to put directors and executives more on their mettle to do their work in the most efficient way. They would be prone to review the content of their job constantly, taking nothing for granted and falling into the mere rut of doing it. And they might be encouraged, too, to orient their work in the larger program of social work of their whole community, helping to eliminate laps and gaps between their own and other agencies.

The present federation movement is the physical expression of the development of social work on a civic and community-wide basis. It is destined to become the great lever for the development of intelligent interpretative publicity in this professional field.

EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY FROM THE ANGLE OF GOVERNMENTAL SUPERVISION

*Richard K. Conant, Massachusetts Commissioner of
Public Welfare, Boston*

Mr. Kelso's proposition is axiomatic. Public charity is a public trust. The beneficiary, the public, should supervise the execution of the trust. Can educational publicity be an adequate method of supervision? I believe that it may supplement governmental supervision but that it cannot take the place of governmental supervision. The best arrangement for supervision of governmental charitable institutions seems to me to be a board of trustees in control of the institution, with a supervisory state board supervising the work of those trustees. No board of trustees can properly supervise itself. This theory, applied to non-governmental charitable institutions or organizations, would provide that a state department should supervise the work of the private charitable corporations. In the case of governmental institutions the principle of supervision is pretty much accepted, but in the case of non-governmental institutions or organizations, state supervision is still in its infancy. In Massachusetts we require an annual financial report and certain other general information from each one of our eleven hundred incorporated charities. We make suggestions to their boards from time to time, tactfully, and realizing that we are not exactly in the position of a supervisory board, as we are with our own institutions. If the directors are disposed to resent our interference with their work they can easily do so. Some states have a more strict supervision through a licensing power over private organizations receiving public funds or over certain classes of organizations like those caring for dependent children, and, sometimes, a licensing power over organizations soliciting funds. Not many states have gone very far in this direction. In general the private organizations have not accepted the principle of state supervision.

In our supervision at present we are bothered a good deal with the problem of what to say publicly about corporations. For many years we published a report giving about a page to each one of our numerous corporations, with a condensed financial report, a statement of the officers, the amount of work done, and the purpose, but expressing no opinion about their work. If a corporation failed to make good reports, the fact was known to other organizations in the same field, and our annual volume made it possible to compare expenditures and methods and, to a certain extent, the amount of work accomplished by organizations

of the same class. We could insist that boards of directors file their financial reports in a certain form, using our published volume as a lever. With our economy régime we had to discontinue the publication of the volume (it cost about \$1,500 a year) and substitute a table in which each organization is given one line, stating a few facts about its receipts and expenditures and the number of persons assisted. We refuse to indorse, and we refrain from adversely criticizing publicly, the work of any organization. In publishing pamphlets and studies we have to be very careful that we do not omit an organization and that we do not make a statement about an organization which will cause hard feeling without resulting in any good. Publicity is of great value to us in setting forth standards and indirectly influencing the work of organizations. The educational publicity which organizations are likely to develop or which federations are likely to develop will never be a sufficient supervision without strengthening the power of public supervision vested in the state government.

In time the educational publicity carried on by the organizations and federations of organizations will, through intelligent public opinion, supplement the public oversight which Mr. Kelso says is now lacking, and if reasonable efforts were made at the same time to strengthen the public oversight, I think that the educational publicity of the organizations by the organizations themselves would be of great value. Two things are necessary: first, it should be possible for the state to publish more about the organizations; second, the organizations should publish more about themselves. If the public could understand the newspaper publicity well enough to read between the lines it would be most effective. At the present time an organization may be doing poor work, but nevertheless may get great publicity through a spectacular case. The public makes no inquiry, as it reads the publicity, as to the cost of collection, the methods of accounting for the funds, the need for the service, or the methods of conducting the undertaking.

Can you give the public a clear enough understanding of these essentials in social service so that it can respond properly to the publicity which comes from the organization itself? Can you accustom the public to visualizing the details of a budget sufficiently so that it will notice the omission of details when a general statement is made? Under the present system very many examples are found of incomplete publicity. It is incomplete largely because the public, the newspaper reporters, and editors have not been educated to insist upon a real public accounting of the trust. A brief news item about a concert or about a case can easily be obtained, securing publicity of considerable value, especially if the clipping is reproduced by the organization in its appeals. The newspapers, of course, try to prevent fraudulent publicity as they try to prevent fraudulent advertising, but the importance of complete publicity has not been sufficiently emphasized.

From the angle of governmental supervision there seem to be two goals which might be held up for educational publicity. The first goal is to educate the

public to judge from an organization's publicity whether it is well or badly managed. The second goal, to be tried for at the same time as the first, is to educate the public to the need for good governmental supervision of the organizations.

AVAILABLE CHANNELS OF PUBLICITY

Mary Swain Routzahn, Secretary, National Committee on Publicity Methods in Social Work, New York

The good old annual report should be our best channel if social publicity's purpose is to render "a fair and full accounting" of our stewardship to donors and taxpayers. On this basis all that need be done is to make the report easily available to those to whom it is due. One might, for example, send this announcement to the newspaper: "The Family Welfare Society of Saybrook has now published its annual report for 1925. Anyone wishing to receive a copy may write to the secretary at 112 Blank Street." If members of the public took seriously the obligation owed to them they would thereupon swamp the family society with requests for reports. Actually, however, it is something of a problem to get our reports read. In practice, the task of publicity is not only to give a fair and full accounting to the public, but to persuade the public to pay attention to it.

Therefore in considering available channels I take it that I am asked not merely to catalogue the means of communication, most of which are familiar to all of you, but to review very briefly ways in which some of these channels can be used to attract and hold attention so that public understanding of social information may be increased.

The newspaper is the most widely used channel for publicity, but since the terms on which we may rightfully ask for space in the news columns is that our information shall have news value, much of what we have to say does not belong here. It is not news, for example, that delinquent boys should be examined physically and mentally, or that the children's aid society places children in family homes. Although social agencies are, on the whole, well represented in the news columns, a very small part of all that is printed about them increases the understanding of the public as to what it is all about. It is announced that officers have been elected, that an appeal for funds has been sent out, or that a meeting has been held, but these stories do not enlighten readers. They merely remind them of the existence of the society.

It might be said that good speeches by well-known people, carefully reported, offer the best opportunity to spread social ideas and facts in the form of news. It is news when a leading citizen explains in a speech the causes of juvenile delinquency or the methods of adapting children to family homes. Another form of newspaper writing well suited to educational publicity is the illustrated feature article, which does not have such rigid requirements as to news value.

If you wish to learn how feature articles should be written, consult a book called *The Special Feature Article*, by Willard G. Bleyer, for some practical help and good examples.

With at least two hundred meetings and one thousand speeches scheduled to be delivered here in Cleveland during ten days, it appears that the meeting as a tool is not unfamiliar to any of us. We have not yet acquired great skill in the use of this tool. Consider the content in ideas of the average speech, the average meeting. There is an art of public speaking and of arranging and conducting discussions and other types of meetings, but we are scarcely aware of it. Speeches and gatherings of people to listen to them are such commonplace occurrences that we assume that anyone is qualified to speak or to arrange a meeting. Speakers' bureaus operated by councils of social agencies are now providing hundreds of opportunities to present social information to thousands of people in our larger cities. They are beginning to realize that an important part of the task is to urge social workers to learn public speaking, and another part is to fit information to the audiences, sometimes arranging a carefully planned series of meetings for a particular organization.

The radio, being our most recently acquired means of communication, thrills us most. This afternoon we will sample the talks which social workers have been giving over the radio during the last year. Advertisers gladly supply entertainment in order to have it said by the announcer that "The Funny Four come to you this evening through the courtesy of Dumb and Ditto, makers of fine tinware." What have social workers to offer? At least we might well consider whether or not we can tell radio listeners something that they wish to know, instead of going to them, as is our habit in all our public relations, to explain how they can help us. Rummage through your collection of experience and wisdom in the study of human relations, or of family relations, to be more specific. Isn't there something there as practically helpful in everyday life as the recipes that advertise salad oil or the lessons in French from the college extension department? Talks of this kind are probably better for the radio than those of the "asking" kind.

Social problems are essentially dramatic; therefore plays and motion pictures should offer an excellent channel for their expression. In this form of publicity we face the problem that while people's troubles are dramatic, ways of helping them out of trouble, as a rule, are not. Moreover, it seems to be the remedies to which we are most anxious to call attention. Again, if social work is dramatized, social workers must be characterized as the noble, wise, or kindly persons who make things turn out well. We cannot very well portray ourselves in these rôles, and if outsiders write the plays, they either give us halos, which we neither claim nor desire, or they picture us quite otherwise, as futile meddlers.

An interesting experiment carried out last year was in the use of puppets as actors in motion pictures. This was done by the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association in plays for children. It seems possible that the novelty of

the device might give it a value in enlivening narratives addressed to adult audiences if we do not make the mistake of merely turning the puppets into preachers, as we so often do in our use of the motion picture or the play.

Books on social problems are usually technical discussions intended for social workers themselves. An outstanding example of a book for general readers published this year is *Other People's Daughters* by Eleanor Roland Wembridge. Every social worker would do well to recommend this book to the mothers and fathers of protected girls. It is not only sound and informing, but so readable that it is sure to be enjoyed by many who would not ordinarily read anything more than a brief article about social work. Incidentally, it calls our attention to what part books may have in spreading interest in such topics as mental hygiene and delinquency.

These are examples of familiar means of getting information into circulation, or, as Mr. Kelso put it, of giving an accounting of the trust placed in us. In these brief comments on them I have tried to keep before you the fact that we cannot use any of them successfully unless we have the skill to engage the attention of people not at all eager to be informed. The chief difficulty, however, is that these same members of the public are approached on all sides by others who have an account to render. Mr. Smith, who is a representative member of our public, is also a member of the public in many other capacities. He is addressed through all available channels, as a voter, a parent, a buyer, a member of a trade or profession, a baseball fan, a taxpayer, a Methodist or a Catholic, a pedestrian or the driver of a car, a tenant or property owner, a 100 per cent American, a giver, and so on. In each of these capacities he receives quantities of information, appeals, requests, and advertising through letters, articles in trade papers, through the regular meetings of his group and in a host of other forms.

Meantime, only a very small percentage of his time in any of these capacities is given to learning; much of it goes to doing; and not a little to informing other people. We are, without doubt, under obligation to teach him something of the meaning of social work. But how much of his attention can we get? We may even have to ask ourselves this: How much of it are we entitled to?

IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY FROM THE ANGLE OF THE FEDERATION

*Donald Vance, Publicity Secretary, Community Fund
and Welfare Federation, Cleveland*

I see educational publicity from the angle of the federation as its best means of justifying the federation's very existence in the eyes of the public.

What does the federation claim to do? It says that it is a central coordinating and planning agency attempting continually to influence the social work pro-

gram of a city, county, or a state better to fit the need. Clearly, it cannot coordinate and plan without full knowledge of existing needs and careful forecasting of possible future needs. Therefore the federation must be an investigating and studying agency. Having the facts, the federation begins to coordinate the work of its agencies and to plan a concerted attack on one or more social evils. This involves skill in the use of all the modern social work tools at its disposal.

I like to think of the federation as the dominant note or theme in a symphony. At the outset we hear also the plaintive oboe-like strain of social maladjustment. At various intervals the dominant federation theme calls to itself the joyous romping flutelike melody of child caring agencies; at others, the mellow horn note of aged relief; recreation and character building comes in like the rapid and substantial clarinet passages; the brasses and the percussion instruments typify our great protective societies; family relief and service are heard throughout like the violins; and finally, the plaintive oboe note of need fades away in a triumphant finale of our social service symphony. Can we not, through educational publicity, help the public to realize and understand some such feeling toward the federation? You say that my figure of the orchestra is unfortunately chosen, that the man in the street does not understand symphony music. My answer is that today in Cleveland added thousands know its beauty through concerts of a popular nature given this winter by our Cleveland orchestra. Are we to admit that a public educated to symphony music cannot be educated to social work if it is presented in similar popular style?

I have said that the federation, to fulfil its function as a central coordinating and planning agency, must know the facts of social needs and the possible ways of meeting those needs. It is the authority on social work in a community. Now please bear in mind this fund of knowledge that the federation has while you journey with me to a great school—a great school that teaches nothing! Its faculty is highly trained and alert. It has wonderful laboratories where it conducts hundreds of experiments and makes great discoveries. But it has no students. No pupils witness the laboratory demonstrations; none hear the discussions of the learned masters, nor take part in the clinics. The school is back in the woods and no one knows about it. It has no students because it has not interested them in coming.

Now of course our federations are not as bad as that. But remembering the knowledge we hold of social problems on the one hand and our vast populations on the other, haven't we attracted comparatively few students to our school? And haven't our federations and our federated agencies an obligation, over and above service to clients, to be real schools of social work for the public? Assuming that it is good for the public to know the why and how of social work, who is better qualified to give it to them than our federations? Yet we all know that the value of many a survey or study covering months of difficult work and research has been greatly impaired, if not wholly lost, because there has been no arousing of the public to the significance of the findings.

Well, what is the matter with our system? What can we do to improve the situation? I am not sure, but I think I have an idea. I shall assume that we have sufficient and capable publicity persons on the job. That, of course, is the first requisite (though not always complied with in some cities). But, assuming that our staff is all right, I believe that we are not using the brains of our publicity departments in a way that will get the most educational good out of them. These brains are being used too largely, I fear, for grinding out daily stories on teas and unimportant board meetings and the promotion of folk festivals.

In the midst of this daily routine a formidable looking fifty-page report on an important survey comes to the desk of the publicity person. It would require a day's study even to find out what it contains. The publicity person hasn't a day to study it, because he has to make dead lines on a miscellaneous assortment of minor news items submitted to him from a half dozen or more sources. "Why," he wonders, "didn't Miss Jones tell me she was going to make this study, so I could have followed it through with her and be prepared now to give her the right kind of publicity?" The report lies on his desk for several days. Maybe he reads it at home or on the car to and from work. Eventually he writes a story. Or, as frequently happens, he finds that Miss Jones has sent a copy to a friend she has on one of the papers, and a story appears. Then the editor of the competing newspaper calls up the publicity person and wants to know why he was scooped!

The point I am trying to make is that while there is a commendable awakening on the part of our agencies to the importance of publicity in general—that is, they are developing a "nose for news"—their nose is not yet discriminating enough. Too often the publicity man is being asked to perform impossible magic with the city editor in making a top head story out of something that should be a paid classified ad. And meanwhile he is having withheld from him the full information he needs of the really significant things the agency is doing. The result is a running fire of small items of questionable value, carried by the papers generally as a gift, and only occasionally stories of real educational merit, and these inadequately presented because neither the publicity person nor the newspaper understood the subjects well enough to make the most out of them.

Therefore our first problem, as I see it, is an internal one—and, I might add, an eternal one—of educating our own agencies on one hand and our own publicity departments on the other. The federation must somehow get over to its agencies the truth that educational publicity is something more than keeping your name before the public; something more than a matter of pride in column-inches of newspaper space; something more than a clipping that a proud executive can show her president.

In most of our publicity we are still in the stage of reminder advertising; we have done little with the more powerful forms known to advertising men as the informative, the directive, the divertive, and the creative. I think we must change our notions of the job of the publicity department of the federation. We

must judge its output less for quantity and more for quality. We must cease to burden it with the necessity of grinding out daily stories on trivial events, and must allow it time for real research. The publicity man should be called in at the inception of a survey or other important project of the federation or of an agency. He should watch its progress, digesting as he goes and planning ways of popular presentation. When the project is ready for publicity the publicity man should know nearly as much about it as the person who directed it, with the added knowledge of how to present it adequately to the public. Especially he will utilize those mediums of publicity characterized by a thoughtful state of mind of the reader or listener. Hence he will rely heavily on articles in certain classes of magazines and journals; on the speakers' bureau; on exhibits; and on the great untouched field of direct advertising. By the same token, he will rely less on the newspapers and not at all on the radio. If we are to conduct a school, let us pick students who are most eager to learn. Then let us give our student public, first, last, and all the time, the kind of education it is eager for.

How many executives can give a clear understandable statement of what a particular agency is set up to do; of the extent to which it is doing it; of its place in the great scheme of community life; can justify its existence by painting a picture of community loss if the agency did not exist; can point to definite changes in social conditions and indicate definitely their effect on the work of the agency? How many can make the man in the street see any relation between a social work agency and his own selfish interests—his family, his health, his business, his tax dollar, his pride in his city?

Until we can weave an intelligent conception of social work into the warp and woof of the individual's thinking, to supplant his present conception of dollars spent, wonderment at where they go, and support because his friend Bill Jones supports it, we are not educating anybody. Until we do that we are asking our public to accept social work without understanding, like the student who painfully memorizes a piece of poetry without being made to see the beauty of it. We are continuing to be great schools that teach the public nothing.

THE PROPER FORM OF ORGANIZATION FOR FEDERATION PUBLICITY

*Elwood Street, Director, Community Council
and Community Fund of St. Louis*

My purpose is to describe a plan for organization of publicity effort for a federation which will produce reasonably satisfactory results in the average federation city. I have in mind not merely the larger cities, to which the plan certainly will apply, but also those of 100,000 population or less. This plan applies to both internal and external aspects of organization. It is, in truth, an

imaginary plan, composite in its nature, not now completely existent in any one city, but in my estimation—and I think you will agree in yours—desirable of consummation. It has been tried partly in one city, St. Louis. That city, in the year after this plan was partially tried, secured a 14 per cent increase in its contributions to the community fund. Toward that increase the adoption of this plan may have been an aid.

No doubt can be held that the financial federation needs year-round publicity. If I may be permitted to borrow a commercial term, we must keep our product "sold." You may remember that some years ago a prominent soap manufacturer neglected to advertise his product, and the soap sales dropped tremendously. Social service, like soap, must keep itself continually before the public. The federation which represents social service must emit a continuous and effective stream of publicity on its own work and that of its member agencies. It cannot be said truly that the work of the agencies will sell itself sufficiently without any supplementary publicity effort. Unfortunately, the work of social agencies commends itself to those who are most in need of help and least able to give. If clients report to their friends the value of these services, such self-advertising means little difference in the amount contributed toward payment for these services. If I may paraphrase the remarks of one of the friends of the well-known and late lamented Julius Caesar, the good of social work is oft interred in steel record cabinets with the dry bones of case histories; while the infrequent evil which the social worker does lives long after the case has been closed, in the gossip of those who seek rationalized excuse for refusal to give to organized social service. We all have seen the evils of inadequate and ineffective federation publicity in the shape of social agencies misunderstood, inadequately understood, widely criticized, and insufficiently financed. Many of us, too, have seen the advantages to be gained by good publicity, which results in agencies possessed of cooperative working relationships with the whole community, held in good repute by all citizens, adequately financed, and able to make definite progress in their projects for social legislation. There can be no doubt of the value of effective year-round publicity for federations and their member agencies; and no doubt, either, of the obligation of the federation, as a holder of public trust, to report adequately, to those of whose funds it is trustee, the results which are attained by the expenditure of the money they have given.

In spite of this recognition of the value and necessity of publicity, federations face real problems of public understanding. They find in their communities lack of knowledge of social work, lack of knowledge of the federation, criticism of various agencies which are included in the federation, and criticism of the expenditures for salaries and other so-called "overhead expenses." Often, moreover, we may find competition for public attention between the agencies which are members of the federation, and much wasted publicity effort. Surely, where such a problem exists a solution may well be sought.

Yet, even if such a problem exists, the question may be asked, "Why organ-

ize to meet it?" Social agencies are prone to say to the federation, "We thought you were going to do all the publicity for us. Why should we assume any responsibility? The federation, suddenly conscious of an apparent dereliction from duty, forthwith hires a publicity man, who often is concerned chiefly in the amount of salary he receives and the regularity of his pay check, and who tries to get stories into the newspapers through a bountiful distribution of cigars charged to the federation, rather than by preparation of publicity material of real merit and understanding. Then again, the federation itself may well say that it is too much bother to try to organize for publicity; that direct action is best; and that a publicity man who knows his job can handle the situation. It seems to me that these proposals do not answer adequately the question as to why a federation should organize its publicity efforts. From the very nature of the federation, which, to my mind, is cooperative, it seems that publicity, as well as the other activities of the federation, should be on a cooperative and organized basis. We have joint finance of social work; why not have joint interpretation of social work? Moreover, the problem of understanding of social work is so great, and the difficulties of securing community acceptance of the federation are so severe, that the average federation needs all the organized power it can get to handle its publicity endeavors. Further, the problem of interpretation of social work is intensified in one respect if the federation is financial as well as social. The financial federation has to be interpreted as a way of giving, in addition to the need for interpreting the member agencies as ways of spending the money which is given. Through organization the interpretive efforts of all member agencies and of the federation itself can be made to count for the utmost in attacking these problems of interpretation. Little question can exist, surely, of the importance of organization to secure continuous and effective publicity for the federation.

He who would organize publicity for a federation usually finds ample material with which to begin his orderly processes. Generally the member agencies of a federation have publicity activities of varying effectiveness. Some of the agencies are likely to have full-time or part-time employes to do publicity work. Some of these employes are excellent and highly skilled, while others are painfully ineffective. Often the participating agencies have publicity committees, sometimes of skilled publicists who do admirable work on a volunteer basis, and sometimes of gracious and well-intentioned ladies who artfully try to persuade city editors to use publicity which deserves only to go into the editorial waste basket. In addition, the federation itself may have some member of its staff who gives full or part time to the interpretation of federation activity and of the work of its member agencies. From this raw material a quite proper form of organization for a federation may be built.

Let us proceed with the premise that we have a model federation and are attempting to provide a model form of publicity organization for it. We shall give our first attention to effective internal organization. We will have a public-

ity secretary who is a good writer and, if possible, a good speaker; who either knows something about social work, or is willing to learn it, not merely by observation, but by study of current literature and books. One might not be so optimistic of securing a paragon of all virtues as was one federation which gave these specifications for its prospective publicity secretary:

The person employed should have been previously engaged in a broader field. He should have enjoyed experience in social service case work as an executive and had substantial training in social service publicity, together with newspaper experience or its equivalent. In addition to any other qualifications which may be required, the publicity executive should not only be trained in publicity, but also possess a well-developed social service consciousness. He should be a person who can win the confidence of the director and others of the federation staff as well as of the board members. He should therefore be welcomed and encouraged to attend all meetings and conferences, even though about subjects that are not to be given publicity. He should have free access to all records, etc., and be permitted to attend all committee meetings.

Certainly, even if this high standard is not realized, this person should be ambitious, be willing to work hard, and be possessed of the rare gift of sympathetic imagination—qualities all too difficult of attainment, you will say, but still procurable, if only one waits long enough and hunts far enough. Remember, too, that this is a model federation with a proper publicity department; so that of course we shall have a proper publicity secretary. This publicity secretary, possessed of all these virtues or as many as can be acquired, will write newspaper stories of all the kinds that are required; will speak when opportunity offers, supplementing the speaking activities of the executive of the model federation; will both organize opportunities for representatives of the federation and its member organizations to speak before all possible groups in town; will secure speakers to fill these opportunities; and will serve as secretary of the committees which I am about to describe. He will prepare exhibits, write collection letters, and prepare other kinds of advertising copy in the spare moments of his time. By doing these things such a model secretary could well justify the not immodest and very "proper" expenditure for salary which would be required. In addition to the secretary, the internal organization of our model publicity department would require the services of a combined stenographer, record keeper, file clerk, answerer of the telephone, and general compendium of office virtues to take care of all the detail work of records of publicity and of public speaking and carry on other routine activities. She would be by no means an unimportant part of the staff of two. It may be suggested that if necessary, in the smaller city, both the publicity secretary and the stenographer might work part time on publicity and give part of their time to other activities of the federation; and that in larger cities these activities might be distributed among more than two people.

Having thus organized internally to take care of all publicity needs, we may proceed to the external organization. The first feature of the external organization would be a committee made up of representatives of the various agencies which are included in the federation, one person from each agency, and the best

person for publicity and interpretation of the work of that agency who is available—perhaps the executive of the agency, perhaps a paid worker, perhaps a board member, and by all means one who knows the agency and has a realization of the importance of interpretation. This committee would meet monthly to discuss the best publicity methods, to have a report on the best stories secured by the member agencies during the preceding months, to criticize constructively all publicity matter of the previous month prepared by the federation or the member agencies. The members of this committee would, moreover, produce publicity material which they would present to the newspapers either directly or through the federation publicity secretary. It is worth while to have the agencies place all the publicity they can, for the sake of variety in approach to the newspapers; but important stories should be “cleared” with the federation office to prevent one good story from “killing” another. Pains should be taken to see that whenever possible the federation is mentioned in publicity about member agencies which is sent to the newspapers, was to tie up the several “brands” of service with one “trademark.” Nor would the committee activities be restricted to the newspapers. Prizes might be given for the agencies which produce the best newspaper stories. In St. Louis, for example, the chairman of the committee, who had recently returned with a collection of curios from an African trip, was persuaded to give a genuine Moroccan pouf-pouf as a prize for the month’s best story. (A pouf-pouf is a leather pillow-cover.) Members of this committee would be useful also for preparing exhibits on the work of their organizations which might be used during campaign times, for arranging musical and other numbers which could be used for radio broadcasting, and for producing speakers about the work of their agencies. The committee members might also secure opportunities for publicity such as the placing of posters in institutions and arranging openings for speakers before groups of which they are a member.

Members of this committee and the presidents of the member agencies should receive monthly from the federation publicity secretary a bulletin showing the amount of space and the number of stories given by the newspapers to each agency in the past month, as a stimulus to more stories and better ones. This suggestion is made with the full realization that it may entail the publicity secretary in serious difficulties with agencies which do not think they have had enough credit (they never complain if they get too much credit). You must remember that this plan is being proposed for a model federation, where no such difficulties will occur.

To supplement this committee of people who produce publicity from the member agencies, this model federation will hold at least an annual meeting of users of publicity, such as the editors of city papers, the editors of neighborhood papers, the editors of house organs, and others, to get their advice as to how they would like the federation’s publicity served up to them, and what kind of publicity, if any, they would like to have. Through such reciprocal relations a feder-

ation publicity committee could be made a tremendously important factor in effective interpretation of the federation and its agency members.

As a supplement to this publicity committee, our model federation would have an advisory committee appointed by the advertising club of the city. This committee's task would be, through monthly meetings of its highly qualified advertising experts, to advise on the technique employed by the federation and the member agencies in all of their printed matter. On this committee the publicity secretary of the federation might try his ideas in order to eliminate the foolish ideas and expand the good ones. This committee, with its technical skill, would greatly improve the quantity and quality of federation publicity.

In our model federation the spoken word would be held as one of the most important factors in publicity. Therefore in the proper plan of organization speakers would not be neglected. All persons who are listed to speak regarding the federation or its member organizations would be invited to quarterly luncheon meetings (for which they themselves would pay). At these meetings the speakers would report the experiences they had had in the previous three months, and would advise as to ways in which the service of the federation in handling speakers might be improved. To these speakers would be sent monthly mimeographed bulletins telling who had spoken, on what subject he had spoken, and before what group he had spoken. These bulletins would include suggestions as to ways in which speaking might be improved, and would contain whatever encouragement might be found in the shape of approving letters from those groups which had had these speakers. Furthermore, a clinic for those speakers who might be interested in improving their speaking ability could be held at weekly dinner meetings, at which the speakers would give sample speeches and be criticized by their fellow-speakers and by a qualified teacher of public speaking. Such organization of speakers would be bound to improve the quality of spoken publicity.

The users of speakers should not be neglected, either. They might well be invited (as guests of the federation) to an annual meeting of their own, at which they would say what kinds of speakers they would like to have and what kinds of programs they would like to have offered in order to make the use of speakers more general. When one contemplates the collection of representatives of optimist clubs, Knights of Pythias, women's clubs, home missionary societies, parent-teacher organizations, labor unions, radio broadcasting stations, and others who might come to such a meeting, one might well hesitate, having in mind the story of the Irishman who, when told by the priest, in response to his inquiry, that at the day of judgment the Orangemen and the wearers of the green, those from the north of Ireland and those from the south, the Irish and the English, the Protestants and the Catholics, would all come together, said, "Faith, and there will be little judging on the first day." Still, when the tumult and the shouting had died away, this meeting might be of much benefit to the federation and to the groups which use these speakers.

In conclusion, we have thus created an imaginary publicity organization for a fictitious model federation. It is strong internally, with a competent staff and with careful and effective assignment of duties. It is well-knit externally, with meetings for those who are concerned in agency interpretation and for speakers; with consultation provided by those who can advise technically with those who use written or spoken publicity, meeting for advice and counsel at suitable intervals; and with all of these groups which may be in need of such information kept informed by periodical mimeographed bulletins. That such a plan may have its value is indicated by statements regarding the operation of this plan, in part, made by persons who represent member organizations on the publicity committee of the Community Fund of St. Louis. Said one: The Community Fund Publicity Committee makes the representatives feel they are parts of one big body, the Community Fund. The committee impresses representatives with the importance of tying up their publicity with the Community Fund's for mutual benefit. I get ideas for publicity at every meeting. The plan keeps the importance of publicity in the minds of agency representatives." Another one said: "I am enthusiastic about the helpfulness of the department, and realize how it stimulates me to do more and better work." A Negro member feels that the committee has been invaluable in that it has given important contact with people like the manager of the big morning paper and the representative of the Associated Press, and it has given ever so many new ideas of publicity. He feels that he has been given a clear understanding of the importance of publicity, and thinks that when all the agencies are sold to the idea and become active in the committee we will have a powerful weapon with which to kill ignorance and apathy. The Red Cross secretary feels that the committee is gradually teaching organizations a publicity sense, that we are having far more and better stories than formerly, and that the public reads them and looks for them.

Actual measurement of the results attained by this plan in St. Louis is significant. Careful search of the files of the daily papers in January and March of 1922, the year before the Community Fund was formed, revealed 529 inches of space and sixty-eight stories in January, and 778 inches in seventy-two stories in March, concerning eighteen agencies which are now members of the Community Fund. In January, 1926, St. Louis papers printed 2,685 inches for 348 stories; and in March, 2,141 inches, or 297 stories, about the Community Fund and thirty-seven out of fifty member agencies, including the same eighteen who had stories in 1922. These months of 1926 were normal months for publicity, with no campaign stories whatever, for the Community Fund campaign was held in November. On the other hand, most of the publicity in these two months of 1922 was about annual meetings and financial campaigns of the organizations. In other words, organized publicity effort secured at least three to five times as much space, and stories about twice as many agencies as did disorganized activity. The proof of the proper publicity pudding is in the eating, and the

eating is very good, especially for a federation which hungers for understanding and thirsts for popular support.

Such a plan of internal and external organization for interpretation might well be likened to an automobile. The internal organization might be regarded as a gasoline engine, which, when fed the proper fuel of publicity, produces power. This power, in turn, is transmitted through a clutch, which might be likened to the publicity committee; through a universal joint, which corresponds to the advisory publicity committee; through a drive shaft, to which one might compare the speakers' committee; through the wheels, to which might be likened the users of written and spoken publicity; so that the whole vehicle of the federation, in which are carried the lives and well-being of tens of thousands of needy citizens, may be carried rapidly and swiftly over the road which is paved with thorough understanding and complete sympathy to the city of highest well-being for all. Such, my friends, is the proper goal for a federation; and such also is a proper form of organization for the publicity of such a federation.

HOUSE ORGANS FOR YEAR-ROUND PUBLICITY

William Feather, President, William Feather Company, Cleveland

House organs, or publications issued at regular intervals, have been used by many federations for logical reasons. The federations expect to be in existence for a long time. They depend for their existence upon the good will and confidence of a large number of people who are not in daily, or even weekly, contact with the work. The purpose of a publication is to inform these people of what is being done and what should be done. I know of no way in which this can be accomplished so effectively as through a house organ.

The cost of publication, including printing, postage, addressing, cuts, and all items except editing, ranges from about 3 to 15 cents a copy. The larger the edition, the smaller the unit cost of printing. The postage unit remains the same, 1½ cents a copy. Only one federation, to my knowledge, has obtained the second-class privilege from the postoffice, under which the rate is 1½ cents a pound. I assume that this rate is obtained by including in the pledge card of each contributor a line which reads, "Twenty-five cents of this subscription is to pay for one year's subscription to the *Bulletin*. This plan is used by many city clubs and Y.M.C.A.'s in order to get a cheap postage rate. I do not care to get into a discussion of this question. It occurs to me that many subscribers, seeing this line on their subscription card, might say, "There's a waste." Subscribers are always criticizing philanthropic agencies for spending money for printed matter. Such criticisms must be considered, but they should not be taken too seriously. Printing is the most economical method of spreading information,

and it is only through the presentation of facts that the level of intelligence on any subject can be raised. Real lack of funds and the latent criticism of subscribers accounts for the necessity of keeping down the cost of agencies' bulletins, even at the sacrifice of effectiveness. I am in sympathy with the spirit that is offended by any unnecessary extravagance, and my suggestions are therefore tempered by an understanding that ineffective publicity is more often due to lack of money than lack of intelligence. Nevertheless, intelligence and ingenuity will often accomplish a great deal without any large expenditure.

My first plea is for good copy, good writing. I am glad to say that all the agencies seem to have discovered that a satisfactory bulletin cannot be edited by a committee. It is a one-man job. I prefer a small four-page bulletin, crowded with facts and human interest, to a fat, dreary magazine where the editor's chief problem obviously has been to dig up enough material to fill the pages.

Are these bulletins, these house organs, read? is a question that is always asked? I publish a large group of house organs for commercial houses and that is the question that is asked me by my customers. After two or three issues have been sent out most of my customers find it difficult to resist the temptation to inclose a postcard and demand an expression of interest as the price of continued receipt of the publication. Such questionnaires are sometimes flattering; often they are depressing. I do not favor questionnaires about publications any more than I favor questionnaires about salesmen. A business man would not think of asking his customers and prospects to tell him whether he should continue to have his salesmen call. A money raising agency would not think of asking its contributors to indicate whether they wished a solicitor to call. I assume that a house organ contains essential information that contributors should have. It should be sent to them, if the executive committee thinks the procedure is wise, without seeking an expression of interest.

Federation house organs fall into two general groups. One type is published for the information of contributors and volunteer solicitors. The circulation of such house organs ranges from 4,000 to 30,000. The other is an internal house organ, published for the purpose of supplying information to agency workers and directors. Its purpose is to supply a calendar of meetings, to promote morale, etc.

In the publications of the federations there is a wide range in size, in typography, and in editorial style. In typography the common failing is the use of too small type. Because the publications are small, the assumption seems to have been that the type must be small. My thought is that no type face less than 9- or 10-point should be used, and that there should always be one point of spacing between lines. In other words, ask your printer to set 10-point type on 11-point body, or 11-point on 12-point body. Use the blue pencil generously in editing copy, save words, and make your publication easy to read.

It is needless to say that pictures are universally attractive. In appealing to all except paid workers, use all the cuts you can afford.

I am glad that among my samples are a few examples of mimeographed house organs. I recently discussed the printing of an internal house organ with one of the men in the Cleveland Welfare Federation, and I told him I did not think any house organ could be printed for much less than \$30. His contemplated edition for an internal magazine was only 250. I suggested multigraphing, and my advice has been followed, with excellent results. For an internal house organ or a house organ with a circulation limited to 200 or 300 I strongly urge that you investigate the possibilities of the mimeograph.

One of the publications has undertaken to meet the cost of publication through the solicitation of paid advertising. This gives me an opportunity to warn you against setting up false hopes. You can sell paid advertising space yourself, or you can hire professional solicitors to sell space for a commission, but I do not favor such tactics. The space cannot be sold on its merits. The principal appeal is that the purchase of space is going to help out. The business houses that are selling supplies to the agencies can often be persuaded to buy space, and directors of organizations will often insert advertisements, but the buyer regards the purchase as a gift to charity, and when he makes his contribution to the fund he takes this into consideration. Professional solicitors usually take at least 25 per cent of the cost of the space, and even though the solicitation is made by a staff member, the cost of selling is no less, because the staff member must be paid for his time. I therefore urge you to keep away from paid advertising. If necessary, confine your bulletin to the back of a government post card, but avoid the complications of advertising.

To summarize, a house organ is a perfect form of year-round publicity, far superior to the occasional hit-or-miss mailing. One hundred dollars per issue is the approximate minimum for a circulation of 2,500.

VALUE OF THE PLATFORM ADDRESS AND WORTH OF OPPORTUNITIES WHICH SOCIAL AGENCIES HAVE FOR USING IT

Martin Bickham, United Charities, Chicago

Since this is the first occasion in the history of this National Conference that social workers have given time to a formal discussion of public address, it seems fitting to open this paper with the ever pertinent question of Goethe: "How shall we learn to sway the minds of men by eloquence? To rule them or persuade?" The poet has voiced a basic question for social work in our day. This same query pressed to the fore in the minds of the committee of this new division in planning its sectional program on educational publicity. I was instructed "to place before the delegates a vivid picture of the real values of public address in the upbuilding of public opinion."

May I start by asking you to think back for a moment over your own relations to social work. How many of you were aroused to your initial interest in social work by listening to a public address delivered by some prominent social worker, like E. T. Devine, Mary Richmond, Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, or scores of others who have greatly blessed their day and generation by sharing their social convictions with others through public address? How many of you have come into deeper understanding and fuller appreciation of social work by this same process? What is true of your experience is, I am sure, true of many thousands of other friends of social work in America. They have been won to this favorable attitude by public address. It seems fair to extend what is so true of so many of us, and of other friends of social work, to that vast number of residents in America who do not understand our social work program, methods, and aims. It is fair to expect that large numbers of these people, some indifferent, some with misunderstandings, some with adverse opinions, some even hostile toward social work, may be won to a friendly interest in, and cooperation with, our constructive plans for social work throughout America by judicious and adequate use of public address.

As social workers we have learned to move forward with more assurance along lines that our own experience has verified. Public address has proved for most of us an impressive interpreter of social work. Yet I am not sure that we are building largely on that firm foundation in our agency programs of publicity. I have an impression that social work is neither fairly understood nor adequately appreciated in many circles in America because social workers have not consistently pushed their constructive message to the attention of the people in public address. Social work has not persistently followed the conviction that there is no substitute for the public address in winning friends for social work. There are forms of publicity that supplement the spoken word, but they do not constitute an adequate substitute for it, either singly or in combination. I am not here to decry any form of productive publicity. I am convinced that in our present complex life in America social work needs to be brought to public attention by every conceivable and legitimate means available to us. It is because my own experience has driven me to a new realization of the value of public address in winning friends for social work that I welcome this opportunity to share that conviction with fellow social workers from over the nation.

For nearly four years it has fallen to my lot to specialize in making public addresses on social work to groups of people throughout the Chicago metropolitan region. On the basis of that experience I want to present for your consideration a working definition of public address. Reduced to its simplest aspects, public address is a form of personal communication between one person who is the speaker and a group of persons who constitute a "public." The length of the speech may be indeterminate, ranging from the informal three or four minute presentation to the formal lecture of an hour or more. The "public" may range in number from the small committee group of two or more to the vast audi-

ences of several thousands. This "public" may be totally quiescent or participate by asking questions or entering into discussion. The essential condition is a communication by word of mouth, with accompaniment of gesture, personal magnetism, etc., from speaker to an audience that is for the moment quiescent and paying attention to this message and so constitutes a "public." That this conception runs true to human experience seems verified by its similarity to the experience of the Greeks and Romans, as revealed in the *Dialogues* of Plato, or the teachings and practices of Aristotle, or the orations of Cicero. That it is adaptable to contemporary social conditions in America will appear more clearly as this discussion proceeds.

But why does social work need to use public address in the sense thus determined? The answer is so obvious that some seem not even to have perceived it. Social work in America in the half-century since this National Conference has been meeting has developed so rapidly as to have run beyond public understanding of its methods and aims. There is a developing sense of this dilemma of social work among us. I take the development of this Division XII, on Educational Publicity, in this National Conference as an evidence of our dawning comprehension of this situation. There is heavy necessity laid upon us of interpreting social work to the American people. Social workers must consolidate the gains already made. The gap between our professional standards and practices in social work and the public comprehension of the necessity for the same needs to be bridged. Social work as a conscious movement in American life is faced with the necessity of building a public opinion favorable to its aims. Otherwise, we build our edifice of social work upon shifting sands. Some of these days it may crumble upon our heads.

To most of us it is a truism that social work advances upon favorable public opinion. Yet it was not until the fiftieth meeting of this National Conference, in Washington in 1923, that public opinion secured a major emphasis in the program. Indeed, it is difficult to find any extended discussion of publicity measures in the *Proceedings* before that date. I have not found anywhere a clear discussion of the relation of public address to public opinion. It may not be amiss, then, to deal briefly with some of the more obvious relations in this field.

Current discussions of public opinion seem to range around two rather dominant points of view, the monism of McDougall and the pluralism of Lippmann. If social work in America had to choose between the national mass, as postulated by the Harvard professor, and the pluralistic millions, given us by the New York publicist, the task of educational publicity would indeed be most difficult. Fortunately, social realism perceives the actual factors of American social organization despite the opposing theorists. To those basic factors in social organization in America our programs of educational publicity need to be addressed. Public opinion in America is increasingly a by-product of organized group life. These face-to-face primary groups, then, are of vast significance to any realistic pro-

gram of social work publicity. Our publicity must address itself to these groups and assume forms calculated to win their attention and good will.

How, then, can social work develop a favorable public opinion among such groups? Social work attracts and holds public attention through its promise of a better life for all depressed persons and its vision of improvements in the contemporary social order. Social work is personal. It cuts deep into the life of the person. It involves familial relations. It affects economic standards. The public attention thus won may be favorable on the part of many by virtue of the implied promise of a better life for themselves or others for whom they are concerned. Some may be won to a favorable attitude by the promise of social changes involving justice for the poor and the "have not's" in general. But these promised adjustments within our contemporary social order may also stir up an inimical public opinion. Some will fear that the proposed changes will imperil their holdings and prerogatives; others will object to social work proposals because they appear to involve institutions or social procedures that seem best to them as they are. These attitudes have appeared clearly in recent discussions of child labor throughout the states. And so, by its very personal nature in dealing with the vital bases of personal life, health, housing, family life, development of personality, etc., social work stirs up the depths of human life. Social work, by its very nature, demands a personal interpretation. It is my conviction that our programs for winning favorable public opinion for social work must take cognizance of this basic personal nature of the social work movement.

Graham Wallas, in his discussion of thought-organization in *The Great Society*,¹ has given us a valuable insight that is applicable in this connection. He first makes the point that the newer types of thought-organization based on writing and printing are "impersonal." In contrast, he says:

The older "personal" forms of thought-organization in groups and committees and assemblies still, however, survive among us owing partly to traditional habit and partly to the more permanent fact that our psychological nature was evolved under conditions of personal intercourse and that impersonal intercourse leaves some of our powers unused and, therefore, some needs unsatisfied.

It is apparent that public address, as defined in this paper, is a form of personal intercourse within the meaning of Professor Wallas. Public address avails itself of the conditions under which our psychological natures were developed. This is a fact of tremendous significance for our programs of social work publicity. In shaping our publicity programs for our social work agencies, care needs to be taken to secure a proper balance between "impersonal" and "personal" types of approach to the American public. It seems to me, as I attempt to estimate the current tendencies in our publicity programs in social work, that there exists a very heavy overemphasis upon those forms of publicity that are clearly "impersonal" in nature.

Lippmann has done us a service in his new book, *The Phantom Public*, by

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 242 ff.

pointing out the fallacies in our loose ideas about the public and public opinion. It is apparent that many of our "impersonal" forms of publicity are being directed at this "phantom public." To pursue such a mirage of "mass public opinion" is to set our social agencies at endlessly chasing a giant will-o'-the-wisp. To seek to win the evanescent "individual" of Lipmann and the pluralists is to take our social agencies upon a perpetual "snipe hunt." Thus is produced a combination in unproductive publicity that is hard to beat. This type of publicity program seems to account, in part at least, for the present unsound position of social work in relation to the people of America.

Public address falls into no such delusions in respect to a "phantom public" or "wild chase after the 'evanescent' individual." Let me be specific out of my own experience in Chicago. Had one attempted to reach the public in Chicago, say about one hundred years ago, in 1825, it would have been a comparatively simple task. The less than one hundred residents of the shacks along the Chicago River could have been assembled in one of the larger huts and persuaded to vote for any social program that promised to better their condition. Contrast with this simple situation, the complex problem of creating favorable public opinion among Chicago's more than three million present residents. Studies of recent months have shown the "phantom public" of Chicago to be made up of many thousands of organized groups. They are ranged around many variant factors such as race, religion, educational achievement and aims, social status, economic holdings and convictions, etc. In my own work of interpreting the modern program of family social work to the people of Chicago I have pursued neither "the phantom public" nor the "illusive individual," but set to work to list and reach these thousands of groups by means of the public address.

This approach simplifies the complexity of the task of interpreting social work to the public in several ways. These thousands of organized groups with their regular meetings constitute audiences ready to hand. Nearly all of them have some interest in some phase of social work and will respond favorably to proper approach. I have yet to receive a rebuff from one of these groups. Their leaders and officers, as a rule, are the active, effective leaders of public opinion both in these groups and in the larger communities around them. In winning their interest and cooperation in social work you carry many others along and set a solid base of good will in the total life of the community. These approaches usually require group discussion and action. This brings out questions, and even an occasional hostile statement, so that they may be answered in a straightforward way at once. Such questions often bring the answer from others in the group who have caught the real significance of social work and are ready to stand up for it. Thus these direct approaches to groups set in motion the most essential element in developing public opinion, namely, natural and free discussion. I have had occasion to study this process in the hundreds of groups I have addressed during this last year. In these groups nearly 50,000 people have been reached by public address that discussed simply, directly, and personally the

principles and methods and results of family social work. That this approach has helped to win a favorable public opinion in Chicago appeared in our recent emergency fund campaign. Scarcely any adverse criticism was encountered. More money was raised than ever before by our organization in such a special campaign. The group approach for three years had carried the interpretation of family social work to the very citadels of public opinion throughout the metropolitan region. Hundreds of pastors and churches had been won to intelligent cooperation. Chambers of commerce, business men's associations, and luncheon clubs had been visited and enlisted in this social work movement for a better Chicago. Many trade-unions were shown the relations of family social work to their own aims, and responded favorably. Scores of women's clubs had listened to the public addresses and taken this family social work into their programs. Universities, colleges, private and public schools, chapels, assemblies, and classrooms had responded to public address presentations of family social work. These thousands of groups had thus been interested in our family social work program and responded in surprising ways during the campaign. The groundwork for a favorable public opinion had been laid with care and on a personal basis. Such a program strongly supplemented the mail appeals. The results of the campaign showed the soundness of the procedure. The great bulk of the money received was from new sources and was in cash, and, in addition to our regular support of over \$600,000 a year, hundreds of groups contributed directly from their group treasuries, sums ranging in amount from \$1.00 to as much as \$1,000.00.

What is true of social organization in Chicago is in kind and in degree true elsewhere in America. The very conditions of development in America since the Civil War have tended toward group organization. Public address in the meaning here given is the most indispensable means for winning understanding and appreciation of social work within a social order thus constituted. It is a direct face-to-face approach. There is no chance for the reporter or editor to misconstrue or distort your agency methods and aims. Your interpretation is first hand, sincere, personal. With direct plans for group participation you can win the public opinion of every group you address and their actual cooperation. There is nothing of the "phantom" about these groups. They constitute the very base of social organization in America. To win their leaders and members in any considerable numbers to intelligent participation in social work throughout America is to lay solid foundations for a favorable public opinion throughout the nation. Public address properly adapted and used as a means of interpreting social work to these face-to-face primary groups holds within its processes the key to win the interest and cooperation of millions of Americans. In a nation so constituted and organized public address is an absolutely indispensable means for developing a public opinion favorable to social work.

The opportunities for public address are, then, as numerous as these groups

in our cities and communities and the various angles of social work in which they may be interested. This instrument of publicity is adaptable to present conditions of social organization in our cities and communities. It is usable by any social agency. It is open to any social worker. This is not the place to go into the form and content of public address as used by social workers. But it may interest some here to know that in Chicago some of our most effective public addresses have been made by our case workers. To tell their experiences in dealing with disorganized families simply and directly to one of these groups grips interest and attention and secures response of a most favorable kind. So this instrument offers a chance to enlist our entire social work constituency, board members, case workers, executives, and experts. Anyone who is deeply interested in our social work purposes and objectives and will recite his convictions and experiences in this phase of human activity to one of these groups in our communities may be an effective agent of public address.

In the light of the explanations here advanced, public address appears as one of the powerful and influential instruments of publicity in social work. It interprets the intensely personal implications of social work in a personal way. It deals directly with groups, and so avoids the distorting intermediaries incident to impersonal types of publicity. It is in harmony with those conditions of personal communication under which our present psychological natures have developed. It is adaptable to those conditions of group organization so characteristic of social life in America. Values such as these inhere in no other form of publicity now being used in interpreting social work to Americans. Surely a mode of securing human attention and response so deeply imbedded in human experience warrants full and free adoption in the publicity programs of our American social agencies. To those of you who are responsible for publicity programs of given social agencies or in given communities, may I suggest that in the coming year you set your forces to analyze the group organization of your community. Then push a program of public address, simple, direct, and adaptable, into these groups. I venture to predict that such a program will amaze you in the returns in understanding and appreciation of social work in your city.

Will you permit me in closing to share a sort of dream of mine with you? If, through the National Information Bureau or some other proper body, organization and operation of a national campaign of public address in support of social work could be carried out within the next year, it would put forward our social work at least ten years in public favor and good will. Such a national campaign of direct public interpretation could list both occasions for public address on social work and best speakers to meet these opportunities. Such a movement would go far toward developing that united front so much needed in the impact of social work upon the organization of social thought and good will in America. If out of this occasion each of you will go forth to your respective places resolved to do your part in properly interpreting social work in America through public

address, it will have been fully worth our while to have given this special attention to the value of public address as an indispensable instrument for the interpretation of social work to our fellow-Americans.

Will you carry with you as you go to this important task Goethe's own answer to his challenging question quoted at the beginning of this paper?

If feeling does not prompt, in vain you strive,
 If from the soul the language does not come
 By its own impulse, to impel the hearts
 Of hearers, with communicated power,
 In vain you strive, in vain you study earnestly.

.....
 But never hope to stir the hearts of men
 And mould the souls of many into one
 By words which come not native from the heart!

CONDUCTING A YEAR-ROUND SPEAKERS' BUREAU

*Lewis J. Hillhouse, Assistant Secretary, Community Chest and Council
 of Social Agencies, Cincinnati*

Under the topic assigned, discussion will be centered wholly around the day-by-day speaking program throughout the year. It is taken for granted that purely campaign speakers' bureaus are more or less alike in all community chest cities.

In our own Year-Round Speakers' Bureau, which has been in operation for three years, the thoughts persistently back of it have been: first, to place continuously and orally before the public, through its various groups, as many details of actual, current social work as possible; second, to place this information in a constructive and educational manner; third, to add to this information facts in simple terms upon the philosophies of social work which would enable the public to grasp not only the objectives of individual agency jobs, but those of the whole coordinated program; and fourth, to make the connection between the agencies and the Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies always clear and definite in the public mind.

This program has been maintained from the first. The organization and machinery required for its operation have been quite simple. The expense of operation, compared with the results believed to have been obtained, has been small. The organization has consisted of the secretary of publicity and his assistant, both of whom conduct the bureau as parts of their regular duties. The plan has now been so simplified that the assistant handles most of the routine. The equipment consists of a special filing record, assignment cards, reminder cards, return report cards, and a printed catalogue containing a list of speakers, topics, and general information. On the basis of about 736 addresses given or

scheduled from September 1 to June 1, the cost per lecture, including printed matter, postage, and similar items, but not including the proportion of the salaries of the two secretaries which might be charged to the bureau, will not exceed 16 cents, which is a very small price for what is generally conceded to be the most effective medium of publicity, namely, word of mouth.

The secretary of the publicity department, during the preparation of the annual catalogue and during the first two months of the fall season, gives from two to two and one-half hours per day to the speakers' bureau. For the remainder of the year he gives perhaps a half-hour a day to looking over the assignments, seeing that the speakers sent out are suitable to the groups to be addressed, and suggesting connections which might be made with new groups. The assistant gives, on an annual average, two hours per day to the bureau, generally in the morning, although throughout the day there are frequent calls upon her time.

Word of mouth publicity has justified the claims made for it. Through it the speakers' bureau has been enabled to place face-to-face before the public the story of actual social work, through those who are engaged in it. The lecturers, 90 per cent of whom are bona fide social workers or executives, have had rare opportunities to come into direct personal contact with groups of givers, supporters, or even doubters, and thus to learn at first hand what these groups think of social work and its needs or failures. The period at the end of each lecture allotted to questions and answers has very often proved to be the most fruitful moment of the meeting. These lectures likewise have enabled the social workers and executives to perpetuate and keep alive through the year the interest which has been aroused during the annual campaign and which too often is permitted to slump thereafter. Of particular importance is the opportunity to bring home to the individuals and groups the fact that social work directly affects and touches everyone present at these meetings.

In addition, through these lectures, often for the first time, certain individuals gain their first real conception of their own personal responsibilities toward the whole movement, and not only their responsibilities, but often their opportunities for serving it and for having social work serve them personally in some special need. It very frequently happens that a mother who is attending one of these lectures hears for the first time a description of some actual instance of family rehabilitation, of a health job, or an instance of delinquency which has been constructively handled. Having a similar problem within her own knowledge, or even within her own family, she immediately makes a contact with the speaker, with the result that she obtains the help needed. She tells others of her good fortune, and thus the very kind of information which the bureau is seeking to disseminate is spread. But it is in the constant spreading of constructive information before all sorts of groups that exerts the greater influence in helping to form a favorable public opinion on social service. The mass result is sought.

The proper development of an all-year-round speaking program that will function adequately is not a matter merely of a few months, but of at least one

or two years. More is necessary than the mere compiling of a speakers' catalogue and the working out of a system of promotion and records. The more difficult parts are, first, training the public through its groups to a realization that the bureau is in permanent existence and always at their disposal without cost, and that it offers them material of highly practical value; and second, to train the social workers and executives to the feeling that the acceptance of speaking assignments is a legitimate part of their normal duties. As time has passed it has been found that there is much less resistance to speaking. It also requires time to create a real desire among clubs and groups for these lectures. A trial lecture which has succeeded in a group will induce the same group to ask for another speaker. During the first year of the bureau nearly all of the lectures were placed through headquarters' promotion. At present the bureau is receiving hundreds of voluntary requests from groups, not only for single lectures, but for complete season programs, running from six to ten lectures each. In fact, not less than 90 per cent of all lecture dates for the past nine months have been filled from voluntary requests, which means that the bureau is beginning to run almost on its own momentum. Notwithstanding this development, efforts are continuously being made to strengthen the bureau still further by reaching additional groups, by improving the standards of the lectures, and by securing more and better speakers.

Preparation of speakers' catalogue.—As social service falls more or less arbitrarily into classifications, the annual booklet containing the names of the speakers and their topics is arranged so as to enable club and group program committees to make their selections easily. The first classification in our own booklet is that of the citizenship and character-building agencies. The speakers in this division are chiefly executives, educational directors, or board members. Their topics cover a wide range of subjects, such as "Making Good Citizens out of Raw Material," "Harnessing Child Instincts," "The Boy's Environment," "Respect for Law," and so on. In the lectures devoted to the importance of recreation such topics are discussed as "The Leisure Time Problem," "Let the Youngster Play," "Absorbing the 'Re' in Recreation," and so on. A section definitely intended for the creation of a favorable public opinion on social service and cooperative effort, while at the same time having a distinct educational purpose, is taken over by a dozen or more speakers who range from deans in the university to executives of agencies. Some of their topics are "Modern Conceptions of Social Service," "What Is a Social Worker," "The School as a Social Agency." In the section devoted to rehabilitation and relief the speakers get down to fundamental work in the field, the practical everyday service which is being given to those who need service. Typical topics used by the speakers in this section are: "What the Poor Can Do for Themselves," "The Blind and the Lame Made Self-Supporting," "The Story of Ten Thousand Maladjusted Families," "Down, But Not Out," "Rebuilding Broken Homes."

Addresses on the prevention of delinquency and cruelty are made by the

judge of the juvenile court and members of his staff, the executive of the humane society, the dean of the department of sociology in the university, the field workers in the Juvenile Protective Association, and others engaged in similar work. Child welfare work is covered by specialists, both those attached to the city and county governments and to social agencies. It may be interesting to call attention to the willing cooperation given to the speaking program by public officials, including those attached to the courts, health departments and corrective agencies, and the schools. This cooperation has not only a high educational value, but a moral value as well. In the field of health alone there are catalogued forty-eight speakers and 102 subjects. These cover every phase of public and individual health, from the unborn child to old age. In the list of speakers are included not only the medical, surgical, and sanitary officers of the agencies, public and private, but well-known physicians, dentists, psychologists, experts in mental hygiene, and even an editor of a newspaper, whose topic is "The Public Press and the Public Health." The intense interest of the public in the matter of health will be referred to later in connection with figures which show the relative frequency with which the various classifications are called for by groups. As health standards have a greater influence upon community and individual welfare than any other, the interest manifested in this topic not only is significant, but fortunate. In passing, it is a reasonable assumption that the great amount of educational health propaganda put out by health agencies, by the educational department of the city, and by the public press is vividly reflected in the preponderant demand for health lectures among the groups reached through this bureau. The public is alive to the importance of health as a basis of prosperity and well-being. The seventh and final classification of the speakers' catalogue is devoted to general topics such as "Cincinnati's Social Resources and Problems," "Labor's Attitude toward Organized Social Service," "Why Negro Migrants Leave Home," etc.

There has been a considerable exchange of speakers between sectarian groups. Catholic social workers have spoken to Protestant groups, and Jewish workers to gentile groups; and while the millennium has not yet been reached, there has been a spirit of cooperation which means that in social service, at least, there is a common ground on which all may stand.

Referring back to the preparation of the catalogue, work is begun toward the end of the hot summer months and during the low ebb in social service. Speakers are invited to accept appointment to the bureau, and their topics are solicited. These are revised in the bureau when possible. A well-phrased topic has a distinct selling value. However, it is frequently difficult, if not impossible, to phrase a topic in graphic terms. Many speakers are disinclined to use popular words. Arriving at reasonable compromise is one of the chief difficulties in the preparation of a satisfactory catalogue, for a topic stated in stilted or technical language will attract few program chairmen.

Much depends upon the character of the lectures which are given. In the

language of the day, nearly all speakers "know their stuff," but some are unable to present it to the best advantage. The bureau does not attempt to revise a lecture. What missionary work is done, is done in a friendly and advisory manner. These instances are of infrequent occurrence. The bureau does, however, insist that the speakers tell not only of their own agencies in constructive terms, but that they shall at some point in their lecture stress their relationship to the Community Chest.

In its daily routine the bureau makes persistent use of the telephone in calling clubs and organizations and in confirming speaking dates. This supplements a general broadcasting of speakers' catalogue and prospectus in the late summer and early fall. Telephone requests for speakers are confirmed by mail, and suitable assignment cards are sent to the speakers. A monthly report of the work of the bureau is compiled.

In the report of the past nine months' operation of the bureau some interesting figures are available. They disclose, for instance, that November and February are the heaviest months, the one just prior to, and the other immediately following, the holiday season. Of the lectures which are of record in the nine months, 179 were given before mothers' clubs, and 25 before women's clubs; 49 were given before church groups; 15 before men's clubs; 29 before school groups; 10 before community centers, and so on. The unclassified lectures numbered 200 in this case, being those for which reports were received with only the attendance mentioned, the group and location being left unstated. The use of church groups offers difficulties, for the reason that church programs usually are crowded and clergymen are somewhat reluctant to extend them. Their mails are always full of circulars and prospectuses which are read casually. It is sometimes incomprehensible to the speaker that social service, which is such an integral part of religious work, should not be more largely represented through lectures.

Illustrated lectures, both motion and still, offer an effective means of publicity. Some cities have developed this plan to a considerable extent. In our own case the expense of preparing films has been a deterring factor. Several agencies, such as the Public Health Federation, the Antituberculosis League, and the Americanization Executive Committee, do, however, use illustrated lectures and accept frequent bookings through the bureau.

As the plan becomes more and more a permanent institution among clubs and groups a defect develops in the accumulation of complete records of results. This is due to the fact that program chairmen acquire the habit of taking short cuts in selecting speakers, going direct to the latter without clearing through the bureau. Persistent effort is made to pick up these missing records. A reasonable estimate of speaking arrangements made without clearing through the bureau would be 40 per cent of the total. On this basis the nine months' record of our bureau would be 736 lectures, to a total attendance of 29,426 people. This is exclusive of campaign meetings. In the main these represent the groups of

smaller givers, running perhaps from \$5 to \$250. But in the smaller groups are those who, as a rule, come into closest contact with social service and whose need for it is greatest. The five-dollar group is in more intimate contact with the families and individuals who cannot give, but among whom the visiting nurse, the family case worker, the field workers in protective organizations, the agents of the humane society, and so on, are frequent and helpful visitors. The dissemination of knowledge among this group is of the highest importance, for in the increase in the number and amounts of smaller gifts lies the margin of safety in the community chest plan. This increase must of necessity be predicated upon knowledge of the work being done and upon a favorable opinion. In our recent campaign some highly gratifying results were noticeable. There was a very marked increase in the number of new givers in the smaller brackets, and a marked increase in the average gift.

Publicity is so intangible in its results that there is no way of assessing the benefits directly accruing from the year-round speakers' bureau. But that the intimate and constant view of the practical job which has been given through these lectures to the various groups has had a material result in developing the new interest and desire to give is reasonably certain.

INTERPRETING PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF SOCIAL WORK TO THE PUBLIC: FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE COMMUNITY FUND

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In cities where central financing of social agencies has been adopted, interpretation of professional standards of social work has made rapid progress.

The reasons are not far to seek. A campaign army of approximately 1 per cent of the population is built up to carry on the annual task of solicitation. This group, composed of citizens of intelligence, unusual aggressiveness, including many of the natural leaders residing or working in almost every city block, building and plant, tends to continue its interest throughout the year. Letting people know what is being done is the first step to interpretation. More people in community fund cities know what is being done in social work than ever before. Why and how follow inevitably.

In Minneapolis the campaign workers, approximately 4,000 in a population of 425,000, are instructed to report misunderstandings at campaign time and are requested to do so throughout the year. And they do. When rumors are heard they demand names, places, and dates. They are rapidly learning to assume that the community fund agency concerned is innocent until proved guilty. It used to be the other way around. Misunderstandings that campaign workers

report at campaign time and throughout the year are run down by staff members of the central office in cooperation with the agencies. In straightening them out interpretation of professional standards of work of one or more types of agency is almost always involved. The community fund campaigner and the person having the misunderstanding get the how and why. This process is continuous. The second reason of major importance in explaining progress made in interpreting professional standards is found in the necessity which the central office faces of conserving the public generosity, in order that this generosity may not be wasted in needless activities. The best way to do this is to interpret professional standards of social work to the public.

Let us examine for a moment the public, to whom social work standards are to be interpreted from the standpoint of the community fund or chest, that is, from the standpoint of someone having to deal with several sets of standards in one community or center. Is it everyone in the city directory? Is it everyone within the city limits? Yes; but just as the military force makes progress by taking the dominating points in the terrain, so there are certain targets which we must concentrate upon in interpreting social work standards. In a city like Minneapolis this definite target consists of about 11,000 persons. Through them and through the persons they reach and influence most of the results must come. Little or no progress can be made unless this group makes progress. This group is composed of the following: first, those giving \$25 and up to the Community Fund; second, those who, regardless of amount of subscription, work in the community fund campaigns; third, the newspaper personnel; fourth, a composite group made up of school teachers and principals, city officials, social workers and board members of social agencies, policemen, and clergymen.

How do we reach this major group which, without duplication, totals approximately 11,000? Largely through publicity. What do we mean by publicity? Publicity is the presentation of a message. By what means? By means of the three "L's": *liaison*, literature, lips. I shall first show these forces in their positive aspect.

The *liaison* officer was a development of the world-war. His job was to effect cooperation. The supporting artillery "seven miles behind" sent a lieutenant to be with the staff of the infantry colonel. This lieutenant knew what the artillery could or could not do, and also what it should not do. When the commander of the infantry wanted the artillery units to act he theoretically addressed the artillery commander. In practice, he summoned the *liaison* officer, who was right at hand, and told him what he wanted done. The *liaison* officer transmitted this information at once to the proper sources, using artillery language. Quick, accurate, and coordinated action was the result. I think the *liaison* officer won the war. He made rapid cooperation possible, and kept out the destructive element, friction.

The public has need of someone to take the part of the *liaison* officer in its dealings with the social agencies. The council of social agencies office, or the

community fund office is that *liaison* center; its staff members the *liaison* agents. The public makes use of this *liaison* center because it can remember one name and one location, whereas it cannot, and will not, remember all of the sixty-four. The name "Community Fund" is easily found in the telephone book. The longer and more involved names of some of the agencies are often hard to remember and hard to look up.

The five precincts of the police department in Minneapolis coincide very nearly with the district boundaries of the Family Welfare Association. With what an exclamation of surprise one of the precinct captains greeted me when I showed him the Family Welfare Association map: "Why, this district is just like mine, except that I've got one more street on the east," he said. He was concerned with that most pitiful of all families, the poor family located in a well-to-do district. Such a family would attract no attention in a poorer section, but in a "good" district the contrast is so great that the family becomes an object of pity to its kind-hearted neighbors. This particular family had been depending upon pity for some time. The policeman on the beat had become a social worker. He often entered the house to check up on the larder, and reported that the Family Welfare Association was not providing enough food. The precinct captain, in turn, so informed a newspaper man, who promptly called the Community Fund office on the telephone. Little did the precinct captain know that Mrs. L was quite capable of hiding supplies which one neighbor after another gave her, in order that the larder might be temptingly low. The father disappeared each year to work in the woods. This appealed to his adventurous spirit. He earned less than he could earn in Minneapolis, but he could spend more on himself and he found that somehow the family got along. It was apparent that the solution depended upon the cooperation of the precinct captain. He was taken in person to the district office of the Family Welfare Association. Once inside this office, which he had never entered before, his entire attitude changed. A policeman, more than anyone else, is impressed by organization. The records themselves impressed him, and when the secretary showed him in one bundle the case histories covering 231 families in his own precinct and explained that only one case had "caused trouble," his desire for cooperation knew no bounds. It was then not a difficult matter to interpret to him the professional standards of the Family Welfare Association. When the secretary told him that real help consists, not in continually supplying food, but in helping a family to independence and self-support so that it could buy its own food, he agreed. When she said that this could not be accomplished while the neighbors and the policeman on the beat were constantly interfering with the family his face lit up with comprehension. When she asked him: "If you found that your family would be cared for without your effort, would you strive as hard as before?" He smiled and shook his head. It is gratifying to be able to report that following a conference of all the neighbors who had been trying without cooperation to help the family, a committee was formed. This committee itself de-

manded that the father be brought back and put to work. The neighbors no longer sent in food. They didn't need to, for the family soon learned to stand more firmly on its own feet. The best part of it is that the neighbors and the police have seen how professional standards of social work, held high by the Family Welfare Association, had brought about this result.

Under the head of *liaison* may properly be included the connections with the agencies established with volunteers recruited by the volunteer service department of the central office. Hundreds of such workers are obtained yearly. They become deeply interested in professional standards and help to educate their families. Another type of *liaison* which should be mentioned and which deserves a complete paper is the survey by nationally known social workers which many community fund cities are carrying out. Many board members (and some social workers) have gained a new respect for professional standards as a result of these surveys. The surveyor from outside the home town is listened to when the statements of those in the home town, possibly just as well acquainted with professional standards, would not carry much weight.

The second "L" of interpretation is literature. Campaign booklets, the community fund magazine, newspaper articles, and pamphlets of all sorts come under this heading. In interpreting professional standards of the key group the community fund house organ has a special value. Interpretation of social work standards through the newspapers is possible, to a limited degree, but there is always danger that qualifying sentences or paragraphs will be lost, that details will be made to stand for the whole, and that the headline may be misleading. That is why the house organ is needed. Reiteration is essential in driving home lessons in professional standards. A newspaper shies at repetition. The best way to hit a target is by direct fire. In Minneapolis the *Community Fund News*, a four-page publication in newspaper style, but printed on a good quality of paper and well illustrated, is sent to the 11,000 members of the key group. It is sent as first class mail, except for the 2,500 copies which go to the school teachers, which are sent through the free school distributing system. Newspaper editors, subeditors, and reporters are among those on the mailing list.

Into *Community Fund News* go many cases such as I have described. Here is constantly reiterated the fact that need of assistance with food and fuel are only symptoms of graver needs and problems which must be met and solved before a family can be started on the way to independence and self-support. The evils of street begging and the pauperizing effect of almsgiving are discussed. Here are shown the results of placement of children through the use of private homes rather than institutions. Why working mothers who are the sole support of their children are the only women eligible to leave their children at the day nursery is explained. Why the rescue home requires that the mothers remain for three months, at least, after childbirth is stated. Here is told why even the poorest at the settlement houses pay their small club dues. Here is explained why the society for the blind opposes institutional care for the sight-

less and favors working out the problems of the blind through helping them to lead as normal a life as possible. Here is explained in detail the dangers of ill-advised Christmas giving in the old Lady Bountiful style. Although the newspaper does not always offer an opportunity of interpreting social work, it can, at Christmas time, if thoroughly cooperative, offer an excellent means of interpreting family case work standards.

In the past two years a Minneapolis newspaper of dominant circulation has published a series of neediest family stories. The initiative in these stories was taken by the central office. The stories are prepared by the agencies themselves. Each article is preceded by a "box," which is run daily at the beginning of the story. It reads as follows:

The *Journal* is presenting, as a guide to the more fortunate persons who wish to do a little extra Christmas giving, the stories of the neediest fifteen families in Minneapolis, taken from the files of the community fund agencies.

Real names of families will not be given; aid will be furnished without display, and every effort will be made to guard the family privacy. Checks or gifts should be sent direct to the agencies reporting the cases. Here is the story of Family No. 7.

The name and the address of the agency reporting the case was given at the bottom in boldface type.

The agencies were called on the telephone on the afternoon before Christmas and a compilation of cash and articles was made. The publicity secretary reported to the *Journal* on Christmas morning with the facts. He had also a "thank you" letter signed by the president of the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies.

After telling of the \$547 in cash and of the special brace for Burt, the toys for the Randalls, the year's supply of fresh milk assured for the Johnson children, the set of false teeth for Mrs. Peterson, the sewing machine for Mrs. Lund, the real job obtained for crippled Mary, and the reading lamp and comfortable chair for her mother, the repairs on the Johnsons' phonograph, the eye glasses for old Mrs. Slater, the music lessons for Mrs. Jordan's oldest girl, the repairs on the home of the Smiths, the *Journal* published in full the "thank you" letter. It follows:

A. M. Sheldon, president of the Council of Social Agencies, thanked the *Journal* today for its assistance to the needy.

"It was done in a constructive way," said Mr. Sheldon, "and will have a direct bearing, not only on the physical well-being of the families aided, but in building up hope and courage and inspiration, without which it is hard to make giving permanently helpful.

"Protection of family pride by using an assumed name in each case and by guarding the families from well-meant but often cruel intrusion by persons unknown to them, and making the gifts as part of a careful plan for the family, all were points in the observance of which the *Journal* acted in accordance with the best standards and constructive social work.

"All these families are having, have had, and will continue to have the aid of the community fund agencies. The *Journal* and its readers have helped to make this large task easier."

The third "L" of publicity, lips: In this section are included efforts by the speakers' bureau and radio. The difficulties of the speakers' bureau are: first,

that organizations which might be reached show a tendency to accept speakers more readily at campaign time than throughout the year; and second, that social workers, with some outstanding exceptions, are not fluent speakers. They do not have the practice in speaking upon their feet and without manuscript that lawyers have, that politicians have, that clergymen have. And yet it is the social workers who must bear the brunt of making the specific speeches interpreting professional standards of social work. They have the near view. They have the concrete examples. They can answer the questions. They are the technicians.

At campaign time, when it is necessary to work up crowd psychology, it has generally been necessary to rely on persons who are familiar with public speaking. The number of social workers on the speakers' bureau has been small. Efforts are now under way to develop more speakers among our social workers. In the field of the radio, in which the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies has entered extensively, the social worker is, however, pre-eminent.

The council of Social Agencies has had continuously for two years a radio program each Wednesday, from 2:00 to 2:30 P.M., at the principal northwest broadcasting station. Ninety per cent of the talks are given by social workers. These talks, of course, are read from manuscripts. Our experience has been that the social workers, almost without exception, are capable of preparing talks which are well adapted to the radio listener which are enlivened by concrete illustrations, and which give a message of human service that is nothing less than inspiring. Some of the best talks have been given by the younger social workers, including some others of riper experience who have found it difficult to address an audience of any size in a talk without a manuscript. The radio talks deal almost entirely with professional standards of social work. There is no censorship of radio talks whatsoever, neither in the council office nor at the broadcasting station. Although carbon copies of the speeches are sent to the council office prior to their delivery, this is for publicity purposes only, and not for censorship. Paragraphs from these papers savor and influence the publicity stream for months to come. They are kept on file at the Community Fund office. They are often examined by students and others who come asking for information.

One of our difficult tasks, and a task which can only be accomplished through constant interpretation of professional standards, is the prevention of useless activities. Almsgiving to beggars and panhandlers is too obvious to need discussion; certainly there is a better solution than begging, no matter what the individual's problem may be. We are dealing with this situation by giving reports of the police and of our own investigations on begging. We are explaining why almsgiving is poisonous to the recipient, and are asking that the public cooperate with the police in enforcing the city ordinances.

The generous impulses of the public must not be played upon without cause. This is one reason why close cooperation with the newspapers is necessary. Con-

stant warning against the use of names of the poor has at least indicated that publication of names may be undesirable. The newspapers seldom look upon the poor family now as a possible source of a feature story, but new men coming to the city or being newly placed in desk positions of authority sometimes have to go through an unfortunate experience. In Minneapolis in the past year there has been no case where the unsupported story of someone who drifted into a newspaper office with a plea for help has been published. But one community fund city reports two recent unfortunate experiences. The first story was published one morning when a new arrival was in charge of the city desk.

A man came to the office with a plea for help. A reporter was sent to his home. This reporter poured out his soul in a sincere effort to be of aid. The headline writer achieved this: "Girl, 3, Hides Own Hunger by Giving Imaginary Food to Tattered Dolls." The story began:

A broken cup, a bit of crockery that had once been a part of a saucer, a bent spoon that had been part of a baby set of dishes—this was the array set and reset before two battered dolls Friday afternoon by a little girl, cooped in a single room at 671 Cedar Street.

She was pretty, the three-year-old mother of the dolls, or would have been had it not been for the haunting hunger look in her eyes, the shut-in pallor of her face, the wistfulness of that repeated gesture of placing and replacing before the dented toys those vessels that imagination filled with food. It was a want-inspired game she played, the pastime to which the little one's mind would cling.

"You can have milk," she told the smaller doll, as she set the cup fragment before her pet. "That's a treat. You mustn't cry for more, though, for there isn't much and you'll have to divide up with big sister. I know you would like more. Milk tastes awfully good, but if you go to bed right after supper you won't be so hungry." [Note that this is a three-year-old girl.]

She interrupted the game here to look at the man who watched her, a question in her eyes.

"Maybe, daddy, when mamma comes home she'll have some milk and bread for all of us. Do you 'spose so?"

Within three hours after this story appeared on the front page of the newspaper a veritable parade of limousines and Fords had stopped at the rooming-house in which the family lived. They left 22 pounds of butter, 14 quarts of milk, 16 packages of meat, and groceries of all kinds. The landlady was kept busy answering telephone calls. Postmen brought special delivery letters, containing checks. The landlady telephoned the family society to complain. She later reported that the husband had said: "We'll stick around 'til we get what we want, then we'll get out."

The family society's record showed that the man had given fictitious stories of prior residence, that he had refused to go to work, that he would not even accept a job of removing the ashes from his landlady's cellar. The agency was about to bring him into court for non-support of minor children. Two weeks later the family disappeared, leaving no address.

There remains the difficult task of telling the public that its bounty was of no avail, for its well-meant generosity did more damage than good. The public sympathized, helped, and forgot. *Liaison* work acquainted the paper with the facts, and it returned to donors belated checks for the family.

For several years a Minneapolis newspaper, which passed out of existence in 1920, conducted a Christmas bureau. The managing editor took much pride in this effort. Returning following an absence of four years as the editor of a newly established newspaper, he began a Christmas series two years ago. The woman placed on the job was instructed to cooperate with the social agencies. She had no experience in social work, and had but recently come to Minneapolis from a non-community-fund city. She judged all standards of living by her own. Soon she was distributing largess when and where she pleased. Her articles, vividly written, painted conditions of destitution and neglect that simply could not exist in a modern American city. At once telephone calls came in asking where the community fund agencies were. The editor was informed of these complaints. A change was noted in the stories, but not to a degree which was effective in stopping complaints. Last year the situation came to a head. This time the newspaper, although it took twenty-five summaries of needs of families from the Family Welfare Association and printed them, asked its readers to send in names of families needing help. The reporter used as her first story the plight of a family outside the city of Minneapolis, a case which was being well handled by the county board of an adjoining county. It was a hair-raiser. A family marooned on a desert island could not have been worse off, according to the article. Instantly there came complaints from persons who accused the Community Fund agencies of neglect. The editor was interviewed. "But we cannot raise money," he said, "unless the stories are written in an appealing way." We said that the families were known to the social agencies and were being looked out for, and that he didn't need to raise money for them. Were we sure? he asked. We agreed to clear all the cases sent in by readers and report to him. At the end of the first week only twenty names had been sent in, nineteen of these in Minneapolis. This small number in itself was a surprise to the editor. Clearance showed that thirteen of the families had already been registered for Christmas care in the holiday exchange. Even more interesting was the fact that, quite aside from Christmas registrations, fourteen families were currently under care, as follows: five, Family Welfare Association; five, Children's Protective Society; one, Catholic Central Bureau; one, church; two, tax-supported agencies. Of the remaining five, all were visited by the Family Welfare Association; two were getting on as usual and themselves said they required no assistance; three were taken under care by the Family Welfare Association on account of health conditions and approaching, though not immediate, financial needs. Not a single instance was reported to the paper of need hitherto unknown to the agencies that register in the Confidential Exchange. Still the editor seemed unconvinced. The plea for a change on the ground that his articles were hurting other families whose support through the year was dependent upon the Community Fund, and the records showing that the agencies were on the job were only partly effective. Then we changed tactics. We interpreted the professional standards of social work, showing how the visitor works with a plan in which the family shares, a

plan which has for its object ultimate independence, yes, independence even of Christmas givers. The difficulties of the visitor in families whose morale has been broken down because of unwise help were described from concrete examples. Does our generosity extend far enough to keep us from intruding into the home of a family which wishes to make its own Christmas plans, even though this means a much more meager outlay than one would deem compatible with the spirit of the season? was the proposition put up to him. It was explained how many gifts to families being aided were given direct to the mothers in order that they, in turn, might give them to their children as their own gifts, or those of Santa, thus strengthening the family bonds. The editor came to see that even Christmas baskets and gifts, when gained not by foresight, not by careful planning and scrimping and saving, but merely by getting the family name on a list, may have dangers.

The results were not just what we wanted. The editor abandoned the series entirely. We would have preferred to have him continue, as another afternoon newspaper, whose series I have already mentioned, had done. Feeling that the medium ground was not sufficiently colorful, he took the only ground which satisfied his own decisive nature. But the point is that what results were accomplished came principally from a careful interpretation of the professional standards of the family agencies.

Holding high the standards—and the result—is illustrated in the experience of the Minneapolis Infant Welfare Society. For some years Minneapolis was overrun with baby shows. Did a department store have a sale of linens, it was felt that nothing but a baby show would make it complete. Was there a trade week in the south, north, or northeast sections, the management seemed to feel that a baby show would make success certain. Children were brought together, kept waiting for hours, with flies, dust, sunshine, and sometimes rain beating upon them. And the best baby was generally the one with the prettiest ribbon, who wasn't crying when the judges came around. The Infant Welfare Society was frequently called upon at the last minute with a request to provide judges or nurses, and often acted in a spirit of compromise. But it found that half-hearted opposition was of no avail. It came out flatly against the baby show. It stated that those seeking to capitalize upon the child life of the city for business purposes were a menace. Cooperation in supplying nurses or judges was flatly refused. It wasn't long before this opposition became known to promoters, press agents, photographers, and stores. Recently a department store manager wanted to celebrate Child Health Day with a display of baby clothing and accessories. He had "Baby Show" on top of his list, as he was a newcomer to the city. It was the photographer whom he called in to discuss taking pictures of the prize babies who told him to look out for the Infant Welfare Society. The manager interviewed the infant welfare executive, arguing that babies come together on street cars and in parks; that mothers would not bring sick babies anyway, since a sick baby wouldn't win a prize. He was asked what good

the show would do. He mentioned the proposed cash and other prizes. But was it a fair contest—should curls and pretty clothes form the basis of the estimate of a baby's health? Would anything be gained for child health? He thought a physician could do the judging. It was explained how the physicians felt about such shows. He was told what an enormous amount of equipment and time would be necessary even for a superficial physical examination, and that even then no good would result unless the babies were brought back for subsequent examinations, and this, he was told, was the task of the private physician in the case of families able to afford it, and of the society's clinics if they were not. Upon his asking upon what basis the Infant Welfare Society would cooperate, he was told that it would help him plan a really educational exhibit for mothers. Stimulation of child training must be the key of the exhibit. A collection of the most recent books on child care would be provided. Problems in child training could be discussed by the mothers with the nurse in attendance. The exhibit was carried on with this plan in mind and proved very successful. Many mothers registered their babies, thus providing a mailing list for the advertising manager. He was happy. The nurse, a former supervisor of the Infant Welfare Society, was kept constantly busy discussing child problems with mothers who called; pamphlets on child health were distributed; books were on display. Has the Infant Welfare Society lost friends by this staunch support of its professional standards? Quite the contrary. It occupies a stronger position than ever before through its frank championing of the rights of the child. No protest has come to the Community Fund office against the attitude of the society in opposing the baby show.

Through publicity we have at last changed the name "charity" to "social work" so effectively that every newspaper copyreader in Minneapolis uses the term with familiarity and by preference. It should be said that such agencies as had the word "charity" in their corporate names have changed their names.

What of the agencies which do not set their standards as high as the leaders in their groups? They, too, are affected favorably by stating the highest standards. The power of example where there is also cooperation and mutual friendliness is of vast effect. It is the task of each social agency to have high professional standards and to keep them up to the level of the best thought in the particular field of social work that it represents. It is the task of the social agency and of the central office together to propound and defend these standards, using to the full the three great forces of publicity—*liaison*, literature, and lips.

In speaking for Minneapolis, I can say that the social agencies need never refrain from adopting the highest standards of social work and acting upon them for fear that the Community Fund will not support them in their stand. The Community Fund is embarrassed very little by agencies having high standards. It is the agency with poor standards which causes most of the difficulties.

INTERPRETING PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF SOCIAL
WORK TO THE PUBLIC: FROM THE VIEW POINT
OF A NATIONAL AGENCY

*Clara Louise Rowe, Publicity Secretary, Child Welfare League of America
New York*

To interpret better standards of children's work to the public prior to undertaking a survey at the request of any organization has been found by the Child Welfare League to be one of the most important considerations in the carrying out of any program. It is hardly to be expected that such interpretation will appeal to the general public. It needs experience of actual work and a consciousness of a certain lack of success in such work to prepare the mind for the acceptance of professional standards.

It is therefore to the organizations at work in the field that the Child Welfare League renders its more important services. It undertakes a program of interpretation of standards at the request of these organizations. To give an illustration: the first city in which the League made a survey covering the entire field of children's work was one of 300,000 population. An anonymous donor stimulated a group of club leaders to try to improve their work in the prevention of juvenile delinquency in the city. A committee was made up of three representatives of each of the following clubs: Rotary, Kiwanis, Gyro, Lions, Zonta, and the Women's City Club, and to this number were added, as advisers, the superintendent of the city schools and the judges of the supreme, county, juvenile, and city courts. The survey committee then engaged Mr. C. C. Carstens, director of the Child Welfare League, to be responsible for the survey. The committee and members of the survey staff acted in complete cooperation during the time the survey was being made. Not only were the children's agencies studied, but consultation was carried on with the juvenile court, visiting teachers, advisers in junior high schools, and the Big Sister Council. When the survey arrived at completion the committee had secured not only the cooperation of all these agencies, but had aroused a lively interest among the townspeople as well, and a luncheon meeting at which results of the survey and a plan of procedure for the future was presented was attended by seven hundred persons. The result of the whole undertaking proved to be most gratifying, due to the splendid foundation which had been laid. The recommendations embodied in the report were received in good spirit, and almost all of the recommendations were later put into effect. From the practical point of view, that of receiving financial support from the city, it is interesting to note that a circular letter, mailed three years later, requesting contributions for the League's work brought a return on the first letter of 14½ per cent in number of responses.

A striking contrast was another survey made in another city, where the methods of approach were very different and the results were not altogether

satisfactory. The League was invited by the Community Chest to make a city-wide survey. The various organizations dealing with children which were receiving support from the chest were brought together and the plan of the survey was outlined to them without any further effort to arouse interest in the community. The agencies gave full cooperation, but when the report was submitted it was almost impossible to put the recommendations into effect because the public was not sufficiently aroused as to the necessity of a new program for their city.

The report of the survey is made in two divisions, known as the general and the specific reports. The latter is the confidential report written by the members of the survey staff concerning conditions at the individual agencies. This report is submitted only to the survey committee and to the organizations involved. In this way members of the local boards receive practical suggestions for better methods of work.

It has always been a general policy of the survey staff to make their experience available as they went along in the day's work. In harmony with this plan many suggestions have been frankly and, we believe, tactfully given to the executives and other workers as the survey proceeded. When the groundwork has been properly laid before the survey has been undertaken, and a good spirit of cooperation has prevailed, the experience has been almost always a gracious acceptance of criticism, even by those most severely dealt with.

On the basis of the individual reports, as well as the other information acquired, a general report is presented to the survey committee. This general report has the greatest value as a medium of education for the public. Sometimes this report is printed in local publications, and there have been instances where the community chest has used the report for campaign material to bring before the public the needs of more adequate children's work and the value of different processes than may have been used in the past.

It is the purpose of this paper to show some of the difficulties confronting a national agency in its endeavor to interpret better standards to the public. Perhaps the experience of the Child Welfare League of America relative to this problem will be of particular interest, as it is a national agency whose purpose is entirely that of raising standards. The work is sometimes within an individual agency which has requested help, and sometimes that of making a case study of the child welfare situation in a city, including the needs of the city, the adequacy of the present program and equipment, and the making of recommendations for improvement. Also, it is the service of this organization so to interpret those recommendations to the residents of the city as to lead to their adoption.

Another reason why the League's experience may be useful is that approximately one-half of its yearly budget is derived from individual contributions. The membership is comprised of 125 agencies and institutions caring for children. These allied groups are distributed over forty states in the United States and four provinces of Canada. Thus, in approaching the public for support the

League has one important advantage, that of serving a very large number of dependent and neglected children in all parts of the country. It has an equally great disadvantage, that it does not deal with children directly, but aims to promote and standardize the work of child-caring organizations and groups.

It is a well-known fact that a large percentage of all the wealth given away in this country is given in the name of children, but to the average person improved methods of caring for socially handicapped children are a relatively unimportant matter. The attempt to secure public interest through newspaper publicity has not brought satisfactory results. I do not believe that the League has ever received definite invitation for service through newspaper publicity. A few individuals have shown interest as a result of articles appearing in such magazines as *Success*, *Collier's*, and *Pictorial Review*. During the five months that I have been connected with the League, in order to secure immediate resources I have found it necessary to appeal only to those people who are connected with some form of work for children in their community; and, because of the many phases of this national work, the spoken word has proved much more satisfactory than any other form of appeal.

Missionary work has to be undertaken before a community can realize what services the national League is prepared to render. Meetings are arranged first in the large cities. These will be followed up later by similar meetings in smaller cities as our field expands. To these meetings are invited members of boards, contributors, and a few other persons interested in the local child caring agencies. A comprehensive report of what the League has accomplished since its organization is presented. Charts have been found to be a most effective way to show these accomplishments. The attention of the audience is aroused by the graphic presentation of the many activities of the League. This preliminary report is very necessary before one can attempt a discussion of the needs and qualifications of higher standards. Among the charts which have been prepared for this purpose are the following: maps which show the exact location of the member organizations and their branches; maps to show in what cities surveys have been made and where consultation services have been rendered. These exhibits show the exact number of institutions and agencies covered by each survey. They also show the location of the regional conferences. Another chart shows the total number of child caring institutions in the country, the proportion which have received consultation services, and those which have been surveyed in detail. The charts never fail to be of great interest to selected and intelligent audiences. After the visualization of the extent of the work it is comparatively easy to keep up the interest through a talk involving standards. The audience learns the meaning and use of a survey. It is also shown the services rendered by the departments of the national League, for example: the Department of Group Movements in Child Care, which gives assistance to civic, business, and fraternal organizations and to churches in setting up practical child welfare programs; the visiting teacher service, which carries the best

technique of case work to staff workers in all parts of the country by visiting for a period of not less than six weeks individual organizations; the Department of Institutional Care, which cooperates with trustees and executives of institutions as they develop modern policies and methods.

If raising of standards is an important and valuable service to community, and even state-wide, projects, it is surely important that the national organizations performing this service should be supported. How can this be done? It is often impossible for the local organizations which need our help to contribute to our support from their budgets. Their own money comes either from the chest, or has been contributed with the understanding that it is to be devoted to the local work of the organization. Unless some provision is made to meet such needs the only recourse of national organizations is to appeal to the generosity of individual givers in the community. There are two objections to this policy: in the first place it meets a strong opposition from those who feel that outside organizations should not intrude into their field; and in the second place, such a method of raising money by a national organization is extremely expensive in proportion to its results. The solution of this problem is of enormous importance to every national organization whose function is the interpretation of professional standards, and also to every community which makes any use of such national interpretations.

C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

PART 1

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| Joanna C. Colcord (1927)..... | New York | Betsey Libbey (1927)..... | Philadelphia |
| Elizabeth Dutcher (1926)..... | Brooklyn | H. L. Lurie (1928)..... | Chicago |
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| Margaret Chapman (1927)..... | Minneapolis | R. M. McIver (1926)..... | Toronto |
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| | Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D. (1927)..... | New York | Frankwood E. Williams, M.D. (1926)..... | New York |
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| Jeffrey R. Brackett..... | Boston | Philip Klein..... | New York |
| Miss S. P. Breckinridge..... | Chicago | Harry L. Lurie..... | Chicago |
| Mrs. Mary C. Burnett..... | Pittsburgh | Cecil C. North..... | Columbus, Ohio |
| Sherman Conrad..... | New Orleans | A. Percy Paget..... | Winnipeg |
| J. E. Cutler..... | Cleveland | Walter W. Pettit..... | New York |
| Karl de Schweinitz..... | Philadelphia | Kenneth L. M. Pray..... | Philadelphia |
| Thomas D. Eliot..... | Evanston | Jesse F. Steiner..... | Chapel Hill, N.C. |
| Leon W. Frost..... | Detroit | Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh..... | Chicago |
| L. A. Halbert..... | Kansas City | Arthur E. Wood..... | Ann Arbor |
| William W. Hodson..... | New York | | |

DIVISION XII—EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman, Robert W. Kelso, Boston.

Secretary, Mary S. Routzahn, New York.

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| Anna B. Beattie..... | Cleveland | Philip Jacobs..... | New York |
| Jacob Billikopf..... | Philadelphia | Charles S. Johnson..... | New York |
| Paul S. Bliss..... | Minneapolis | Arthur Kellogg..... | New York |
| William Chenery..... | Washington | Edward W. Macy..... | New York |
| Irene F. Conrad..... | New Orleans | F. D. Preston..... | Omaha |
| T. J. Edmonds..... | Des Moines | Elwood Street..... | St. Louis |
| George J. Hecht..... | New York | Clare M. Tousley..... | New York |

PART 2

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1927

OFFICERS

President, John A. Lapp, Chicago.
First Vice-President, Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President, Richard C. Cabot, M.D., Boston; Third Vice-President, Eva W. White, Boston.
Treasurer, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.
General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio: John A. Lapp, President; Sherman C. Kingsley, First Vice-President; C. M. Bookman, Treasurer. Term expiring 1927—Edith Abbott, Chicago; James F. Jackson, Cleveland; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York; Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford. Term expiring 1928—Grace Abbott, Washington; Jane Addams, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Owen R. Lovejoy, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Helen T. Woolley, Detroit. Term expiring 1929—Joanna C. Colcord, Minneapolis; Neva R. Deardorff, Philadelphia; William Hodson, New York; Joel D. Hunter, Chicago; Jesse F. Steiner, Chapel Hill, N.C. Chairmen of Divisions—Mary F. Bogue, Harrisburg; Neva R. Deardorff, Philadelphia; Marion G. Kenworthy, M.D., New York; George W. Kirchwey, New York; William M. Leiserson, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Harrisburg; Mary Swain Routzahn, New York; William F. Snow, M.D., New York; Charles C. Stillman, Grand Rapids; Elsa Ueland, Flourtown, Pa.; Eva W. White, Boston.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

John A. Lapp, Chicago, Chairman; Margaret F. Byington, Hartford; Louise Cottrell, Iowa City; Maurice J. Karpf, New York; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio; Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago; Gertrude Vaile, Denver.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

James F. Jackson, Cleveland, Chairman; Rev. John O'Grady, Washington; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Amelia Sears, Chicago, Chairman; Mary Clark Burnett, Pittsburgh; Jane Hoey, New York; Philip Klein, New York; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; Stockton Raymond, Boston; E. G. Steger, St. Louis; Elmer Scott, Dallas.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Sherman Conrad, New Orleans, Chairman; Harriet Anderson, New York; Marguerite Boylan, Hartford; John R. Brown, St. Paul; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; T. J. Edmunds, Des Moines; E. G. Eklund, Springfield, Ill.; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City; Mrs. R. P. Halleck, Louisville; Cheney C. Jones, Boston; Evadne M. Laptad, Lawrence, Kan.; Rose J. McHugh, Chicago; M. C. MacLean, Toronto; John Melpolder, Springfield, Mass.; Joseph L. Moss, Chicago; L. H. Putnam, Providence; Mary Russell, Memphis; L. H. Shattuck, Cleveland; Frances Taussig, New York; H. L. Lurie, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN (to cooperate with National Education Association)

Graham R. Taylor, New York, Chairman; Grace Abbott, Washington; Howard S. Braucher, New York; C. MacFie Campbell, M.D., Cambridge; J. M. Cooper, Washington; Jane F. Culbert, New York; Dorothea de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Thomas D. Eliot, Evanston; Elsa Ueland, Flourtown, Pa.; Cheney C. Jones, Boston; William Hodson, New York; Frank J.

O'Brien, Louisville; Jessie Taft, Philadelphia; Henry W. Thurston, New York; Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles; Helen T. Woolley, Detroit. Also the chairmen of the Conference divisions particularly concerned with the behavior problems of children, as follows: Miss Elsa Ueland, Division I, Children; Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Division II, Delinquents and Correction; and Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy, Division VII, Mental Hygiene.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Margaret Curtis, Chairman, Boston; Edith Abbott, Chicago; Jane Addams, Chicago; Homer Folks, New York; Mary E. Hurlbutt, New York; Mrs. Alexander Kohut, New York; Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell, Pittsburgh; Julia Lathrop, Rockford; Jessica Peixotto, Berkeley; Walter Pettit, New York; Mary Van Kleeck, New York; Dr. R. R. Reeder, Van Wert, Ohio; Mrs. L. Hollingsworth Wood, Mt. Kisco.

DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

DIVISION I—CHILDREN

Chairman, Elsa Ueland, Flourtown, Pa.
Vice-Chairman, Laura Taft, Des Moines.
Secretary, Joseph Kopecs, Chicago.

Marian Barney (1927).....Louisville
 Charles L. Chute (1928).....New York
 Jane F. Culbert (1929).....New York
 Marcus C. Fagg (1927).....Jacksonville, Fla.
 Leon W. Frost (1928).....Detroit
 Mrs. Adolf Guttmacher (1928).....Baltimore
 Charles F. Hall (1928).....St. Paul
 Rhoda Kaufman (1929).....Atlanta
 Rev. C. H. LeBlond (1929).....Cleveland
 Emma O. Lundberg (1928).....New York
 Robert E. Mills (1928).....Toronto

Mrs. W. L. Murdoch (1927).....Birmingham
 A. Percy Paget (1927).....Winnipeg
 R. R. Reeder (1927).....Van Wert, Ohio
 A. H. Stoneman (1929).....Detroit
 Ruth Taylor (1929).....East View, N.Y.
 Mrs. Minnie Trumbull (1927).....Portland, Ore.
 Elsa Ueland (1928).....Flourtown, Pa.
 Miriam Van Waters (1929).....Los Angeles
 Hans Weiss (1929).....Boston
 C. V. Williams (1927).....Chicago

DIVISION II—DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Chairman, George W. Kirchwey, New York.
Vice-Chairman, Jessie P. Binford, Chicago.
Secretary, Hastings H. Hart, New York.

Edith Abbott (1929).....Chicago
 Harry E. Barnes (1928).....Northampton, Mass.
 Jessie P. Binford (1929).....Chicago
 Edward R. Cass (1927).....New York
 Emerson Coatsworth (1927).....Toronto
 Mrs. Martha P. Falconer (1927).....New York
 Bernard Glueck (1927).....New York
 Mrs. Maude Miner Haddon (1927).....New York
 Max Handman (1928).....Austin, Tex.
 Hastings H. Hart (1927).....New York
 Mrs. Jessie Hodder (1929).....Framingham

A. L. Jacoby (1929).....Detroit
 Maud Loeber (1927).....New Orleans
 Virginia Murray (1928).....New York
 Valeria H. Parker (1928).....New York
 Herbert C. Parsons (1927).....Chestnut Hill, Mass.
 Louis N. Robinson (1929).....Swarthmore
 Carrie Weaver Smith (1929).....Gainesville, Tex.
 Miriam Van Waters (1928).....Los Angeles
 Franklin R. Wilson (1929).....Muncy, Pa.

DIVISION III—HEALTH

Chairman, William F. Snow, M.D., New York.
Vice-Chairman, Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati.
Secretary, Jessie I. Lummis, Denver.

Severance Burrage, M.D. (1928).....Denver
 Homer M. Calver (1928).....New York
 Hazel Corbin (1927).....New York
 Louis I. Dublin (1927).....New York
 Charles P. Emerson, M.D. (1929).....Indianapolis
 Edith Foster (1928).....Milwaukee
 W. J. French (1927).....Fargo
 Howard W. Green (1928).....Cleveland
 H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D. (1929).....Toledo
 A. J. Lanza, M.D. (1928).....New York

Helen MacMurchy, M.D. (1928).....Ottawa
 Mary E. Murphy (1928).....Chicago
 M. P. Ravenel, M.D. (1928).....Columbia, Mo.
 Elizabeth Smellie (1927).....Ottawa
 Elnora E. Thomson (1928).....Salem, Ore.
 Felix J. Underwood, M.D. (1927).....Jackson, Miss.
 R. Ray Lyman Wilbur (1929).....Stanford, Cal.
 C. E. A. Winslow, M.D. (1929).....New Haven
 Rachelle S. Yarros, M.D. (1929).....Chicago

DIVISION IV—THE FAMILY

Chairman, Mary F. Bogue, Harrisburg.

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|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| Paul I. Benjamin (1929)..... | Louisville | Mary C. Goodwille (1928)..... | Baltimore |
| W. S. Bixby (1927)..... | Akron | Helen W. Hanchette (1927)..... | Cleveland |
| Elinor Blackman (1929)..... | New York | Joel D. Hunter (1928)..... | Chicago |
| Mary F. Bogue (1928)..... | Harrisburg | Anna Kempshall (1928)..... | New York |
| Frank J. Bruno (1927)..... | St. Louis | Betsey Libbey (1927)..... | Philadelphia |
| Adaline A. Buffington (1929)..... | Madison, N.J. | H. L. Lurie (1928)..... | Chicago |
| Joanna C. Colcord (1927)..... | Minneapolis | Rose Porter (1928)..... | Pittsburgh |
| Lucile K. Corbett (1929)..... | Columbus, Ohio | Amelia Sears (1929)..... | Chicago |
| Elizabeth Dutcher (1929)..... | Brooklyn | Ella M. Weinfurter (1927)..... | Milwaukee |

DIVISION V—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman, William M. Leiserson, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Vice-Chairman, James Mullenbach, Chicago.

Secretary, Charles S. Johnson, New York.

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| John B. Andrews (1928)..... | New York | Sidney Hillman (1929)..... | New York |
| Mary Anderson (1929)..... | Washington | Charles S. Johnson (1929)..... | New York |
| Roger Baldwin (1927)..... | New York | Rev. F. Ernest Johnson (1929)..... | New York |
| Edward I. Benson (1929)..... | Cleveland | Mrs. Florence Kelley (1927)..... | New York |
| Linna Bresette (1929)..... | Chicago | Paul U. Kellogg (1928)..... | New York |
| Robert Bruere (1929)..... | New York | George S. Lackland (1928)..... | Denver |
| Allen T. Burns (1928)..... | New York | John A. Lapp (1927)..... | Chicago |
| Elizabeth Christman (1929)..... | Chicago | William M. Leiserson (1929)..... | Yellow Springs, Ohio |
| Paul H. Douglas (1929)..... | Chicago | E. C. Lindeman (1927)..... | New York |
| Haven Emerson, M.D. (1927)..... | New York | Owen R. Lovejoy (1929)..... | St. Petersburg, Fla. |
| John A. Fitch (1928)..... | New York | Robert E. Lucey (1928)..... | Los Angeles |
| Gertrude Fletcher (1927)..... | Boston | James Mullenbach (1929)..... | Chicago |
| Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1927)..... | Louisville | | |

DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, Eva W. White, Boston.

Secretary, Mary E. Gilbert, Cleveland.

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|----------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| Jane Addams (1928)..... | Chicago | Paul U. Kellogg (1929)..... | New York |
| George A. Bellamy (1929)..... | Cleveland | John A. Lapp (1927)..... | Chicago |
| LeRoy E. Bowman (1928)..... | New York | E. C. Lindeman (1929)..... | New York |
| Mrs. Edith T. Bremer (1929)..... | New York | Mary E. McDowell (1929)..... | Chicago |
| Margaret Chapman (1927)..... | Minneapolis | J. H. Montgomery (1929)..... | Richmond |
| Charles C. Cooper (1929)..... | Pittsburgh | Jesse O. Thomas (1927)..... | Atlanta |
| R. E. Hieronymus (1927)..... | Urbana, Ill. | Eva W. White (1927)..... | Boston |
| Frances Ingram (1928)..... | Louisville | Aubrey Williams (1928)..... | Madison, Wis. |

DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D., New York.

Vice-Chairman, Lawson G. Lowrey, M.D., Cleveland.

Secretary, Jeanette Regensburg, New York.

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| Smiley Blanton, M.D. (1927)... | Minneapolis | Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D. (1927) | New York |
| Dorothy Crounse (1929)..... | Louisville | David M. Levy, M.D. (1928)..... | Chicago |
| Kate A. Dinsmore (1929)..... | Dallas | Helen L. Myrick (1928)..... | Chicago |
| Marie L. Donohoe (1928)..... | Boston | George K. Pratt, M.D. (1928)..... | New York |
| Mrs. W. F. Dummer (1929)..... | Chicago | Bertha C. Reynolds (1928)..... | Stoughton, Mass. |
| Franklin G. Ebaugh, M.D. (1928)..... | Denver | Esther Loring Richards (1929)..... | Baltimore |
| George A. Hastings (1927)..... | New York | Thomas W. Salmon, M.D. (1927)..... | New York |
| Clark E. Higbee (1927)..... | Grand Rapids | Jessie Taft (1929)..... | Philadelphia |
| C. M. Hincks (1928)..... | Toronto | Ralph P. Truitt, M.D. (1929)..... | New York |
| Cornelia Hopkins (1927)..... | Chicago | E. Koster Wickman (1928)..... | Cleveland |
| Mary C. Jarrett (1927)..... | Boston | | |

DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, Charles C. Stillman, Grand Rapids.
Secretary, Margaret F. Byington, Hartford.

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|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Mrs. E. T. Brigham (1928)..... | Kansas City | M. C. MacLean (1929)..... | Toronto |
| Kenyon L. Butterfield (1927) | | W. F. Maxwell (1927)..... | Harrisburg |
| | East Lansing, Mich. | Charles C. Stillman (1928)..... | Grand Rapids |
| Margaret F. Byington (1927)..... | Hartford | Kenneth Sturges (1928)..... | Cleveland |
| William Hodson (1929)..... | New York | Mabel Weed (1928)..... | San Francisco |
| Guy T. Justis (1928)..... | Denver | David Holbrook (1929)..... | New York |
| Robert W. Kelso (1927)..... | Boston | | |

DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Harrisburg.
Vice-Chairman, John L. Gillin, Madison, Wis.
Secretary, William J. Ellis, Trenton.

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|---------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Hugo B. Anderson (1927)..... | Salt Lake City | Rhoda Kaufman (1929)..... | Atlanta |
| Mrs. Amy S. Braden (1928)..... | Sacramento | Frank E. Kimball (1929)..... | Jefferson City |
| Richard K. Conant (1929)..... | Boston | James S. Lakin (1928)..... | Charlston, W. Va. |
| Louise Cottrell (1929)..... | Iowa City | James T. Mastin (1927)..... | Richmond |
| Mrs. Elizabeth R. Forrest (1927)..... | San Antonio | Ellen C. Potter, M.D. (1928)..... | Harrisburg |
| Lillian T. Franzen (1928)..... | Albuquerque | William J. Sayers (1928)..... | Muncie, Ind |
| John L. Gillin (1928)..... | Madison, Wis. | H. H. Shirer (1929)..... | Columbus, Ohio |
| Charles H. Johnson (1928)..... | Albany | Gertrude Vaile (1927)..... | Denver |
| J. E. Jones (1928)..... | Toronto | George S. Wilson (1929)..... | Washington |
| Rev. W. J. Kerby (1927)..... | Washington | | |

DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Mary E. McDowell, Chicago.
Vice-Chairman, Cecilia Razovsky, New York.
Secretary, Georgia Ely, Boston.

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| Harriet Anderson..... | New York | Alice E. Jones..... | Erie |
| Edith Abbott..... | Chicago | Ida M. Keltner..... | Cleveland |
| Sophonisba P. Breckinridge..... | Chicago | Katherine Lawless..... | Pittsburgh |
| Mrs. Edith T. Bremer..... | New York | Read Lewis..... | New York |
| Bradley Buell..... | New Orleans | Grace Love..... | San Francisco |
| Nicholas Ceglinsky..... | New York | Louise McGuire..... | Chicago |
| Thomas L. Cotton..... | New York | Ruth Crawford Mitchell..... | Pittsburgh |
| Elizabeth W. Clark..... | New York | Mary B. Minnick..... | Uhrichsville, Ohio |
| Fred C. Croxton..... | Columbus, Ohio | Josephine Roche..... | Denver |
| George Green..... | Cleveland | Rabbi A. H. Silver..... | Cleveland |
| Nellie Foster..... | San Diego | Fanny L. Schulman..... | Brooklyn |
| Max Handman..... | Austin | Mary O'Donnell Turner..... | Detroit |
| Winifred Hutchinson..... | Toronto | | |

DIVISION XI—PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman, Neva R. Deardorff, Philadelphia.
Vice-Chairman, Kenneth L. M. Pray, Philadelphia.
Secretary, Harry L. Lurie, Chicago.

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| Sophonisba P. Breckinridge..... | Chicago | Philip Klein..... | New York |
| Mary Clarke Burnett..... | Pittsburgh | Kate McMahon..... | Boston |
| Sherman Conrad..... | New Orleans | Joanna C. Colcord..... | Minneapolis |
| James E. Cutler..... | Cleveland | Cecil C. North..... | Columbus, Ohio |
| C. A. Dawson..... | Montreal | Walter W. Pettit..... | New York |
| Louise Drury..... | Los Angeles | Bertha C. Reynolds..... | Northampton |
| Thomas D. Eliot..... | Evanston | Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh..... | Chicago |
| Earle E. Eubank..... | Cincinnati | Jesse F. Steiner..... | Chapel Hill, N.C. |
| Leon W. Frost..... | Detroit | Walter W. Whitson..... | Kansas City |
| William Hodson..... | New York | Arthur E. Wood..... | Ann Arbor |
| Harry L. Hopkins..... | New York | Rev. F. N. Stapleford..... | Toronto |
| M. J. Karpf..... | New York | | |

DIVISION XII—EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman, Mary Swain Routzahn, New York.

Secretary, Florence Seder, New York.

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| Anna B. Beattie..... | Cleveland | C. D. Morris..... | New York |
| Paul S. Bliss..... | Minneapolis | Bernard C. Roloff..... | Chicago |
| Sherman Conrad..... | New Orleans | Charles C. Stillman..... | Grand Rapids |
| T. J. Edmonds..... | Des Moines | Sidney A. Teller..... | Pittsburgh |
| R. Heber Hixson..... | Oklahoma City | Clare M. Tousley..... | New York |
| Louise M. Clevenger..... | Toledo | Margaret Rich..... | New York |
| Hilda K. Mills..... | Long Island City | Geddes Smith..... | New York |
| Charles E. Miner..... | St. Louis | Katherine Wells Whipple..... | New York |

PART 3

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Saturday, May 29, 1926

Meeting called to order by President Vaile.

The following report of the Committee on Time and Place was presented by Mr. Elwood Street, St. Louis, Chairman:

The Committee on Time and Place recommends to the Executive Committee that the 1927 Conference be held at Des Moines. It is recommended that the time of the Conference be left to the Executive Committee.

ELWOOD STREET, *Chairman*

Mr. Street explained at length the reasons that led the Committee on Time and Place to recommend Des Moines. The recommendation had already been approved by the Executive Committee.

After motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report be accepted.

The report of the special Committee on Amalgamation of Kindred Group and Division Programs was presented by Mr. Fred R. Johnson, Detroit, Chairman. The report is as follows:

The Committee on Amalgamation of Division and Kindred Group Programs has held two meetings during the year, one in New York during the holidays and a second in Cleveland in connection with the annual meeting of the Conference. Delegates were invited to the latter meeting, and eighty attended.

The Committee has no new course of action to recommend. It desires to call attention to Paragraph 6 of the By-Laws of the Conference which places a measure of authority for the conduct of meetings of kindred groups with the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work. It desires to further remind the Executive Committee and the Conference of resolutions passed at Denver last year, stipulating that kindred groups for whom the Conference arranges publicity shall become institutional members of the Conference; that the program of these groups shall be printed with the Conference program, as was done this year; and that representatives who are responsible for the programs of kindred groups shall be ex-officio members of the appropriate division committee. Further attention is directed to the excellent results obtained by the Children's Division in giving kindred groups representation, and in developing a joint program in the children's field.

The Committee wishes further to suggest that the incoming Executive Committee and the Conference office give continuing and intensive consideration to this question, but that no special committee to deal further with this subject be appointed at this time.

FRED R. JOHNSON, *Chairman*

After motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report be accepted.

Mr. Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Chairman of the special Committee on Elections, reported two amendments which had been approved by the Executive Committee, as follows:

a) To amend Article 13, Section 1, of the By-Laws to read, "The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating persons for each of the

offices of president, first vice-president, second vice-president, and third vice-president, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body."

After motion duly made and seconded it was voted to amend the amendment by inserting the words "one or more" before the word "persons" in the first line of the proposed amendment.

After motion duly made and seconded it was voted to adopt the amendment as amended:

b) That Article 8, second paragraph, be amended by omitting "was a member on the first of January preceding and."

During the discussion an amendment was offered to the effect that "those members duly qualified and in good standing be allowed to register their choice in the selection of officers for the ensuing year." The President ruled that as that had the effect of a new amendment not previously considered by the Executive Committee, it was therefore referred to the Executive Committee without debate.

A second amendment was offered providing that "persons may vote in their absence by mail from any part of the United States." The President ruled that this proposed amendment also be referred to the Executive Committee without debate.

After general discussion of the whole subject of qualifications for voting, and motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the proposed amendment as reported by the special Committee on Elections be referred back to the Executive Committee with the request that it be given careful consideration during the coming year and that a report and recommendation be brought in at the business session of the 1927 Conference.

In the absence of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee the General Secretary read the report of the committee, which had been presented at the evening session the night before.

The President announced as the Committee for the Election of Officers: Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Chairman; David Holbrook, New York; Arthur J. Strawson, New York; Rose J. McHugh, Chicago.

The President announced as tellers for the election: H. H. Shirer, Columbus, Chairman; Joanna C. Colcord, Minneapolis; Otto W. Davis, Cincinnati; James Ewers, Cleveland; Bradley Buell, New York; Margaret F. Byington, Hartford.

Meeting adjourned.

GERTRUDE VAILE, *President*

HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *General Secretary*

Tuesday, June 1, 1926

Meeting called to order by President Vaile.

The minutes of the previous business session, as read by the General Secretary, were approved and ordered placed on file.

In the absence of the Treasurer the financial statement for the period June 1, 1925, to May 15, 1926, was read by the General Secretary.

After motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report be accepted and filed.

The General Secretary read the nominations of all divisions except II and VI for divisional officers and committee members as submitted by the divisions. After motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the General Secretary be directed to cast one ballot as read for the officers and committee members for these ten divisions.

Mr. Graham R. Taylor, Chairman of the Committee on Behavior Problems (cooperating with the N.E.A.) read the report of his committee, as follows:

As Chairman of the Committee on Behavior Problems of Children appointed by the President of the Conference following authorization at the Denver meeting one year ago, I submit herewith a report on the activities of the Committee:

It will be recalled that the National Conference Committee was appointed in response to a request addressed to the President of the Conference by the President of the National Education Association, who stated that he was authorized and instructed by the Executive Committee of the Association "to appoint a standing committee on behavior problems, and also to lay before the National Conference of Social Work the desirability of the appointment by that body of a similar standing committee to cooperate with the proposed standing Committee of the N.E.A." As appointed by President Newlon and reappointed by his successor, President McSkimmon, the N.E.A. committee consists of twenty-five (25) members under the chairmanship of Miss Olive Jones. The personnel of the National Conference Committee as appointed by President Vaile consists of twenty (20) members, with the undersigned as chairman. The personnel of these two committees appears at the conclusion of their joint report, which accompanies this report.

Meetings of both committees were held in February, and a joint session was held February 24 in Washington in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. This meeting authorized the appointment of two subcommittees to constitute a joint executive committee to consider a plan of cooperative effort and to call, when it seemed desirable, joint sessions of the two main committees. The subcommittee of the N.E.A. committee was appointed to consist of the following: Olive M. Jones, Chairman; M. C. Lefler, Dr. Florence Mateer, Howard W. Nudd, and Professor Cora M. Winchell.

The subcommittee of the National Conference committee was appointed to consist of the following: Graham R. Taylor, Chairman; Grace Abbott, Judge Chas. W. Hoffman, Cheney C. Jones, and Dr. Ralph P. Truitt.

As a result of much correspondence with the superintendents of 250 city school systems, from which 278 replies were received, much information became available for consideration. This information was collated and summarized in a memorandum by the research department of the N.E.A. It indicated much misunderstanding as to what is meant by "behavior problems," the term being frequently confused with mental defect, and indicated also a wide variety in the methods used in the handling of children presenting behavior problems.

After several meetings in New York City, the two subcommittees submitted to the membership of the two main committees a tentative report of a joint report and called a joint session for May 27, 1926, in Cleveland, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. At this joint session, attended by fifteen (15) members of the co-operating committees (five from the N.E.A. committee and ten from the National Conference committee), the tentative draft was revised and adopted. A copy of it is attached hereto. It includes a carefully prepared statement defining "behavior problem" children, a formulation of the objectives of cooperating committees, and a statement of suggested steps for obtaining these objectives.

Since the National Conference committee was appointed at the request of the National Education Association, to cooperate with its standing committee, the members of the National Conference committee feel that it would not be appropriate to make this generally available until after it has been submitted to the meeting of the National Education Association to be held in Philadelphia in July, 1926.

We trust that the Executive Committee of the National Conference will approve of the work of the committee, as thus far carried on, and of the joint report of the two cooperating com-

mittees as attached hereto, and we would appreciate an opportunity to make known this approval to the Chairman of the N.E.A. committee.

The members of both the N.E.A. and National Conference of Social Work committees are impressed by the fact that the development of the cooperative effort in the field of their joint considerations must necessarily develop slowly. In the case of the outstanding previous example of cooperation between educators and another profession (the Joint Committee on Health Education, appointed by the National Education Association and the American Medical Association), work which began on a very small scale has developed through a period of fifteen (15) years, during the latter part of which contributions of great influence have been made. We feel that a very promising beginning has been made in the development of cooperation between educators and social workers through the work of the two committees on behavior problems of children, and we wish to recommend the continuation of the National Conference committee during the year ahead.

Respectfully submitted,
GRAHAM ROMEYN TAYLOR, *Chairman*

After motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report be accepted and the committee be continued for another year.

In the absence of the Chairman the General Secretary read the report of the Committee on International Conference of Social Work, as follows:

This Committee was created in July and August, 1925. The correspondence of previous committees of the National Conference were turned over to it. It was evident that the leading spirit of the idea of an international conference since the war was Dr. René Sand, Executive Secretary of the League of Red Cross Societies.

The Chairman of the Committee was in Europe during August and September and had interviews with Dame Rachel Crowdy of the League of Nations, Dr. Sand, and Captain Ellis and Mr. Percy Alden of London. Dame Rachel made it clear that the League of Nations was not prepared at this time to take on a job of calling or financing a conference. Dr. Sand reviewed the conditions, which had not changed materially from previous years. He has representatives from many countries who believe in the idea. They are largely made up of public officials or Red Cross people.

The British group was sympathetic and understanding, but spoke very frankly of the administrative difficulties and the lack of finances.

From much informal talk certain things seem to stand out: first, too many Americans in attendance or on the program could easily spoil the international aspect of the meeting; second, it would be better to have the meeting in a small place, as one of the chief assets would be the informal talks of people thinking about the same problems from very different angles. In a city such as Paris the delegates might be "lost."

There are in most of the countries in Europe at least three groups of workers: the older group, made up largely of officials; the newer post-war Red Cross group; and a smaller and much less influential group of young workers in many different forms of social work. This last group includes several workers who are graduates of American schools of social work. They are keen for a conference, but tend to be not well known in their own countries, and impecunious.

Within the last few weeks the Committee has been notified by both Mr. Alden and Dr. Sand of the existence of an organization known as Congrès International d'Assistance publique et privée. This organization has held five international congresses. The last three were: 1900, in Paris; 1906, in Milan; 1910, in Copenhagen. There was to have been a meeting in 1915 in London, which was obviously not held. The organization is now becoming active again. It has been approved by the League of Nations. It plans its next meeting in England in 1927. It has £400 in its treasury. The President is Mme Carton de Wiart, of Brussels, and its Secretary is M. George Rondel, of Paris. Its office is 49 Rue de Miromesnil, Paris. The chairman of the British Committee is Sir W. J. Collins, M.D., F.R.C.S., 1 Albert Terrace, Regents Park, N.W. 1, London.

After some consideration the following recommendations were voted to be presented to the Executive Committee of the National Conference at its meeting June 1, 1926: first, that we recommend that the present committee be continued, it being understood that the new president would have power to add to its numbers; second, that we wish to be excused from making a definite recommendation, it being the hope of the committee that it can reach some conclusion after a meeting at this time with Dr. Sand and Dame Rachel, and that the trend of opinion is in favor of joining with the pre-war organization of the Congrès International, particularly if they are ready to receive some of the "new countries," such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., and ourselves; third, that if a decision has to be made before the first meeting of the new Executive Committee we would like "power to act."

MARGARET CURTIS, *Chairman*

After motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report be accepted and the committee be continued for another year.

Meeting adjourned.

GERTRUDE VAILE, *President*

HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *General Secretary*

Wednesday, June 2, 8 P.M.

During the general session the President called for unfinished business which had necessarily been laid over.

In the absence of the Chairman the General Secretary read the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

Your Committee on Resolutions respectfully submits the following report:

The fifty-third annual session of the National Conference of Social Work is one of the best and most largely attended ever assembled, and we desire to record our appreciation of the arduous and devoted service of the many organizations and individuals in the city of Cleveland which have contributed in such a large measure to the success of the meeting.

The all-pervading spirit of hospitality has been a matter of comment on the part of many Conference members. All Cleveland seems in some manner to have concerned itself to make our stay in the city both pleasant and profitable.

The local committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. F. W. Ramsey, with the aid of the numerous civic, social, and religious organizations, is heartily commended for the completeness and convenience of the arrangements for our meetings and entertainment that have worked out so smoothly that we could neither hear nor see the working of the machinery.

The city administration, from the policeman on the beat to the City Manager, from the humblest messenger to the Mayor himself, have seemed bent upon doing everything possible for the comfort and convenience of their guests.

An evidence of the great interest shown in our meeting is the significant fact that 1,200 citizens of Cleveland have been added to the Conference membership.

Our meeting places have been convenient and commodious. The headquarters facilities were ample and appropriate, and so manned and equipped as to render easy the transaction of the necessary Conference business.

We express appreciation of the extensive intelligence and sympathetic reports of the work of the Conference extended by the public press.

The generous concern for our social life and entertainment has found expression in the gracious manner in which the many homes have extended their hospitality, and in the delightful entertainment on the occasion of a President's Reception of a kind unique in our Conference history.

The local preparations for our meeting involve many weeks and months of planning and work on the part of an innumerable band of people. It would be impossible to enumerate the many agencies and individuals which have contributed to this great task. To all concerned we tender most hearty appreciation for the completeness and effectiveness of the arrangements made for all our Conference activities, and for the all-pervading hospitality which, though never officious nor obtrusive, has at all times been so genuine and cordial as to make us feel thoroughly at home in your midst.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE S. WILSON, *Chairman*

After motion duly made and seconded it was unanimously voted that the report be accepted.

Nominations for officers and committee members of Divisions II and VI were elected by vote of the Conference as submitted by the divisions.

GERTRUDE VAILE, *President*

HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *General Secretary*

PART 4

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

Officers

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the assistant secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Committees

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

Annual Meetings

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

General Secretary

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

Amendments

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. Membership Fees

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. Duties of Officers

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. Finance

No financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. Appointment of Committees

Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the next meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Conference Program Committee of seven members, to consist of the retiring President, the newly elected President, who shall act as chairman, the General Secretary, and four persons to be appointed by the newly elected President for a term of one year. This committee, subject to action by the Executive Committee, shall have entire responsibility (1) for preparing all programs for general sessions of the Conference, (2) for harmonizing and co-ordinating the programs of the several Divisions.

d) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

The appointment and personnel of all committees shall be published in the *Bulletin* next following the appointment.

5. Divisions

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. Kindred Groups

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. Submission of Questions

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. Business Sessions

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

All individuals holding the rank of member under any of the classes provided in the constitution and duly qualified shall be entitled to vote. Dues shall cover the period of one full year from the date of their payment; but dues paid at the annual meeting in any year shall cover the period to the date of but not including the next annual meeting. Any person who was a member on the first day of January preceding and is a member on the date of voting shall be entitled to vote. No member of the Conference shall be entitled to more than one vote.

9. Voting Quorum

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. Division Meetings

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairman of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. *Minutes*

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. *Local Arrangements*

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. *Nomination and Election of Officers*

1. The nominating committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the nominating committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the nominating committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the second day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the third day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the third day of the Conference.

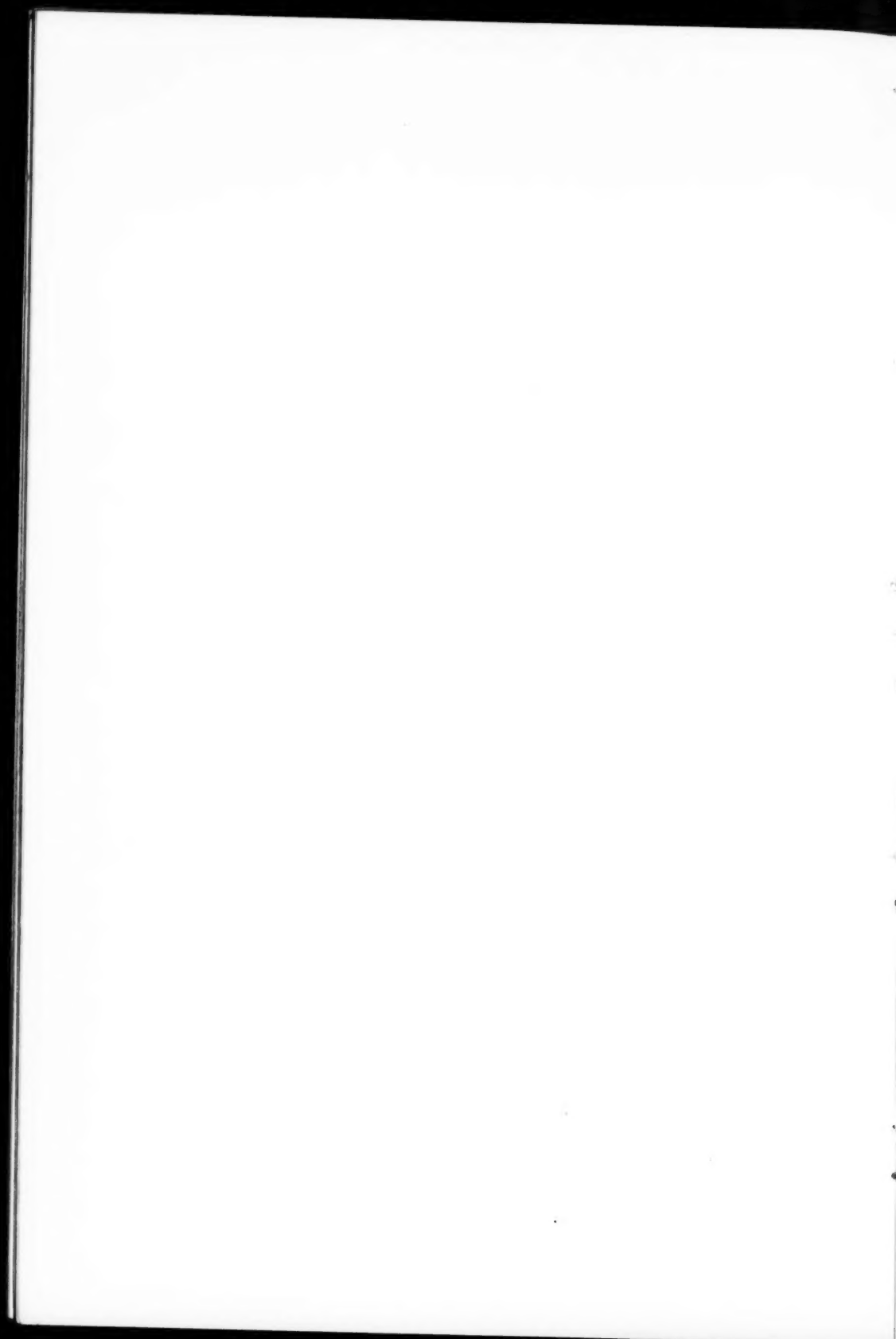
5. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the nominating committee. Such nominations shall be received up to one o'clock P.M. on the fourth day of the annual meeting.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday. Should the fifth day fall on Sunday, such publication shall be made on the morning of the sixth day.

Ballots shall be supplied to all members who are entitled to vote and who present themselves for voting.

A polling place shall be established and maintained between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired the ballots shall be counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.

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